COMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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431

517

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Control: 1942
Rec'd: January 5, 1956
4:18 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1338, January 5, 5 p.m.

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 1338, REPEATED INFORMATION PRIORITY PRAGUE 21

PRAGUE FOR AMBASSADOR

FROM OSBORN

Following is English text letter addressed Johnson delivered by representative CHICOM Consulate General to Consul General Gowen 3:25 today. As in case December 28 letter (Geneva's 1320) neither English nor Chinese text bears Wang's autograph. Signature is typed. Dated Geneva January 5.

BEGIN QUOTE

I have asked you, in letter of December 28, to investigate serious matter regarding Chinese student ... who is prevented from returning to China, and give me satisfactory reply. I still wait your reply.

I have received 7 more letters from families of Chinese students in USA. It is mentioned in these letters that 7 Chinese students are prevented from returning to China as follows:

. . . . . .

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END QUOTE

....

GOWEN

AB:LJ/1

1956 JAN 6 AM 7 27

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 432

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

02775
1956 JAN 9 PM 7 04
DCT

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1465
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for January 12 meeting.

1. We believe at next meeting you should review at length course of discussions on renunciation of force issue. Such review will serve to summarize our position for record and refute Wang's accusations past several meetings that US has been stalling.

2. In opening, you should state that you are dealing with this subject now, only because at last meeting you agreed to comment on Communist counterproposal. Otherwise because of Communist public statements since last meeting, you would have devoted this meeting solely to presenting protest to Communist misrepresentation of Agreed Announcement and its failure to implement it. This you will deal with later.

3. You should emphasize that US first introduced subject of renunciation of force, and repeat your introductory statement October 8. Point out that Communists waited three weeks, then on October 27 introduced draft which not only fell far short of meeting US proposal, but introduced extraneous elements. Point out that on November 10, two weeks later, US presented draft which incorporated all points made when you introduced

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S/S
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G
FE
CA
L - Mr. Phleger

11130

subject

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 1/9/56
L:HPhleger

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
CA - Mr. McConaughy - in draft
FE - Mr. Sebald - in draft

SECRET
Classification

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subject and also legitimate portions of Communist draft and should have been acceptable. Read draft. However, this not accepted by Communists, who after another three-week interval, on December 1 presented counterdraft which represented some improvement over their first proposal, but failed to meet essential requirements including that announcement apply to Taiwan area and provide for legitimate self-defense.

4. You should avoid linking your presentation directly to Wang's accusations that US stalling. You should not be on the defensive, but rather take the offensive, taxing Communists with undeniable fact that for three months they have refused to agree to reasonable proposal made by US and intended to prevent hostilities in Taiwan area.

5. Conclude your presentation with statement that US willing to make further effort to reach agreement on this issue and to this end introduces revision of Communist counterproposal repeat counterproposal of December 1. Then present draft Deptel 1466 1466. This identical with that previously approved for your use, except word "means" substituted for word "negotiations" in paragraph D in order broaden meaning and give more flexibility. This phrasing in line with language in Communist December 1 draft paragraph C.

6. You should then proceed to statement on implementation, stressing that you protest in strongest terms Communists attempt to claim that Agreed Announcement does not apply to imprisoned Americans, pointing out that their

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SECRET
Classification

their names were actually before parties and were being discussed when unequivocal statement regarding their expeditious repatriation was drafted and made public. These imprisoned Americans were ones about whom we had for previous weeks been actually making representations. Also protest failure of Communists to live up to their announcement and point out that this cannot but have serious effect on success of discussions. Obvious that progress depends upon good faith performance of agreements already reached.

7. FYI Deptel 1455 contains substance O'Neill's report on receipt of communications from five imprisoned Americans since last meeting.

8. Material for use in replying Communist charges Liu Yung-ming case and others telegraphed separately.

9. Do not agree on earlier date for next meeting than January 19.

Dulles
(CORRECTED)

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Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 433

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

02776

1956 JAN 9 PM 7 04

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1466
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Deptel 1465

Following is U.S. revision of Chinese Communist counterproposal of December 1 to be introduced January 12 meeting:

BEGIN QUOTE

Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, and Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, agree to announce:

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China are determined that they will settle disputes between them through peaceful means and that, without prejudice to the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense, they will not resort to the threat or use of force in the Taiwan area or elsewhere.

The two Ambassadors should continue their talks to seek practical and feasible means for the realization of this common desire.

END QUOTE

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S/S
U
G
FE
L - Mr. Phleger
CA

DC/T
Anal 55
Rev
Cat

Dulles
(WPMcC)

11133

Drafted by: L:HPhleger/CA:RNClough:ek 1/9/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter ~~S. Robertson~~ P. McConaughy WPMcC

Clearances:

The Secretary - in draft

CA - Mr. McConaughy WPMcC

FE - Mr. Sebald - in draft

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (434)

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Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

02778
1956 JAN 9 PM 7 06

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1467
FOR JOHNSON

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

Your 1320.

You may inform Wang at next meeting that immediately upon receipt text his letter Department undertook investigation situation Liu Yung-ming. Hospital stated that although Liu not repeat not completely recovered he now able to travel. US immigration authorities obtained transit visa for Hong Kong and have arranged his return. He sailed for Hong Kong on President Wilson January 8.

American Red Cross has also been investigating case in response to request from Madame Li Te-chuan and is in communication with her concerning case.

Indian Embassy, in response to Peiping request, took up Liu case with Department. On being informed of action taken to effect Liu's repatriation, Embassy expressed satisfaction and stated no action their part appeared necessary.

Dulles
(WPDULLES

11134

Drafted by: FE:CA:RdCloughlock 1/9/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. ~~Robertson~~ McConaughy

Clearances:
The Secretary - in draft
FE - Mr. Sebald - in draft
CA - Mr. McConaughy
L - Mr. Phleger - in draft

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 435

Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

02779
1956 JAN 9 PM 7 07

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1468
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Your 1338.

You should inform Wang at next meeting that repeat ~~xxx~~ none of persons mentioned his letter is being prevented from leaving U.S. As you have repeatedly told him, there are no obstructions to Chinese leaving U.S. Furthermore, any Chinese who wants to go to China mainland and feels he is being obstructed is free to communicate with Indian Embassy. So far, Indian Embassy has not brought to attention of Department any such case.

Dulles
(WWP)

611.93/1-556

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)
S/S
U
G
FE
CA
L - Mr. Phleger

11135

Drafted by: FE:CA:RWClough:ek 1/9/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
The Secretary - in draft
L - Mr. Phleger in draft
FE - Mr. Sebald in draft
CA - Mr. McConaughy

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☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301___
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date _____

January 9, 1956

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
SECRET
Letter No 28

Dear Alex:

During the recess period we received a number of communications from the British concerning O'Neill's activities in Peiping. I am enclosing copies of those which I think you have not yet seen. Unfortunately they are not numbered in any way so there may be one or two missing. However, I believe you have received all important documents.

We are in the process of numbering all documents received from the British concerning O'Neill's work and we hope to maintain this file on a more systematic basis henceforth.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph N. Clough
Deputy Director
for Chinese Affairs

Enclosures:

Memoranda dated 12/22, 12/29, 12/30, 12/31, and 1/5/56 from British Embassy.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate Generalk,
Geneva.

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(437)

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

523

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CONFIDENTIAL

Action
PE

Info
RMR

SS

Control: 4486
Rec'd: JANUARY 11, 1956
6:28 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1351, JANUARY 11, 11 A.M.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

RE DEPTEL 1467.

WOULD APPRECIATE PRIOR TOMORROW'S MEETING TEXT ANY STATEMENT BY INS RE LIU AND SUBSTANCE AMERICAN RED CROSS REPLY TO MADAME LI.

WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE ANY INFO THAT WOULD ASSIST ME IN ANSWERING PROBABLE QUESTION AS TO WHY NOTHING HAPPENED RE LIU'S CASE BETWEEN ATTEMPTED DEPORTATION 11951 WHEN HE PRESUMABLY ABLE TRAVEL AND DATE WANG'S LETTER.

GOWEN

SBH

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438

31-39

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Action

FE

Info

RMR

SS

Control: 4636
Rec'd: January 11, 1956
9:38 a.m.

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FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1353, January 11, 2 p.m.

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

Would appreciat prior to tomorrow's meeting text any public reply that may have been made by then to Peiping Allegation of US overflight Manchuria carried FBIS item 1949 1/10 or any instructions on reply if Wang should raise subject.

GOWEN

LMC

611.93/1-1156

Action Assigned to CDK

Action Taken tel

sent

1/11/56

Date

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Name of Officer RNC

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 439

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03772 525

1956 JAN 11 PM 7 01

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 1475
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

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Your 1353.

No public reply made to Peiping allegation.

If Wang should raise subject you should reply this is irresponsible charge similar to others made in past and you do not intend to engage in discussion of it.

Dulles
WSR

= DULLES

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNCleugh:ek 1/11/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

S/S-CR

JAN 11 1956 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 440

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FOR JOHNSON

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Your 1351. — 611.93/1-1156

1. INS has issued no repeat no statement regarding Liu case.

2. American Red Cross telegraphed Madame Li January 6 that Liu scheduled depart San Francisco by boat January 8; that US Immigration handling arrangements in accordance with deportation proceedings instituted earlier; that Red Cross representative in Hong Kong would meet Liu and escort to border; and inquired whether Chinese Communist Red Cross would meet at border.

3. Red Cross representative saw Liu in San Francisco and provided him with toilet articles and cash for trip. Red Cross representatives in Honolulu, Yokohama and Manila also instructed lend any necessary assistance.

4. During period 1950 to 1954 hospital was in communication with Liu's father who asked that hospital continue to care for Liu. Hospital has no record of correspondence from Liu's wife. Department's first information concerning her existence and interest in Liu's return contained in Wang's letter.

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611.93/1-1156

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Dulles (W.S.R.)

DULLES

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClou:ek 1/11/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

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JAN 11 1956 P.M.

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32-H

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Action

FE

Control: 5371

Rec'd: JANUARY 12, 1956 1/6

Action Taken

12:09 A.M.

Info

RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1362, JANUARY 12, 4 P.M.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Action to DC/R

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NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 32ND MEETING TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS:

A. YOU WILL RECALL THAT AT OUR LAST MEETING I SAID I WOULD HOPE TO BE IN POSITION AT THIS MEETING TO MAKE FURTHER COMMENTS WITH REGARD TO YOUR COUNTERPROPOSAL OF DECEMBER 1 FOR DECLARATION BY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS CONCERNING RENUNCIATION OF FORCE.

B. HOWEVER, I REGRET TO NOTE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS DURING INTERVAL SINCE OUR LAST MEETING UNDERTAKEN MOST VIOLENT AND UNFOUNDED PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN INSTEAD OF TAKING ANY CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION WITH REGARD TO OUR AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 WHICH WOULD GENUINELY CONTRIBUTE TO UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US. THESE UNFOUNDED PROPAGANDA ATTACKS AGAINST MY GOVERNMENT APPEAR TO INDICATE AN INTENTION ON PART OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO MISUSE AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 TO FOSTER MISUNDERSTANDING RATHER THAN TO CONTRIBUTE TO UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US. IN VIEW OF THIS, I WOULD THINK IT WELL TO DEVOTE THIS MEETING SOLELY TO PURPOSE OF CLARIFYING THIS SITUATION AND POINTING OUT FACTS WITH REGARD TO WHICH SIDE HAS THUS FAR REALLY FAILED TO CARRY OUT SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT. NEVERTHELESS, IN LIGHT STATEMENTS WHICH I MADE AT OUR LAST MEETING, I WILL FIRST DISCUSS THIS MORNING YOUR DECEMBER 1 COUNTERPROPOSAL WITH REGARD TO RENUNCIATION OF FORCE.

611.93/1-1256

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

C. I THINK IT WELL TO RECALL IT WAS MY GOVERNMENT WHICH INITIATED SUGGESTION FOR CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US AND PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT ON BASIC AND FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR DIFFERENCES WOULD BE PERMITTED TO LEAD TO WAR. YOU WILL RECALL I INTRODUCED THIS QUESTION FIRST AT SEPTEMBER 28 MEETING AND AGAIN AT MEETING OF OCTOBER 5. THEN MORE THAN THREE MONTHS AGO AT MEETING OF OCTOBER 8 I MADE VERY CAREFULLY DRAWN STATEMENT FULLY SETTING FORTH POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT IN THIS REGARD. I THINK IT WELL TO RECALL EXACTLY WHAT I SAID AT THAT TIME. (I THEN REPEATED MY INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT OCTOBER 8 ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND CONTINUED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS:

D. THAT STATEMENT TOOK FULL ACCOUNT OF ISSUES BETWEEN US AND POSITIONS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD THERETO. I WAS HOPEFUL WE WOULD BE ABLE PROMPTLY TO REACH FULL UNDERSTANDING ON SUBSTANCE THEREOF WHICH WOULD PERMIT US TO DRAFT AND ISSUE SUGGESTED DECLARATIONS. IT WAS ONLY THREE WEEKS LATER ON OCTOBER 27 YOU INTRODUCED DRAFT WHICH NOT ONLY FELL FAR SHORT OF SPECIFIC PROPOSAL I HAD MADE OCTOBER 8 BUT ALSO INTRODUCED EXTRANEOUS ELEMENTS. I DISCUSSED THIS MATTER IN DETAIL WITH YOU AT SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS AND ONLY TWO WEEKS LATER AT MEETING NOVEMBER 10 INTRODUCED DRAFT WHICH INCORPORATED ESSENTIAL POINTS WHICH I HAD HOPED IN LIGHT OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WE WERE AGREED UPON. (I THEN WENT OVER MY NOVEMBER 10 DRAFT POINT BY POINT.)

IF THERE WERE GENUINE SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENT ON PART OF YOUR GOVERNMENT WITH VIEWS OF MY GOVERNMENT CONCERNING VITAL IMPORTANCE OF NOT PERMITTING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US, INCLUDING THOSE IN TAIWAN AREA, TO LEAD TO WAR, I CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY MY DRAFT NOV. 10 SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ACCEPTABLE. HOWEVER, YOUR SIDE NOT ONLY REFUSED TO AGREE TO THIS DRAFT BUT TOOK EXTREME POSITION OF REJECTING IT EVEN AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION.

E. AFTER ANOTHER THREE WEEK INTERVAL, ON DEC. 1, YOU PRESENTED YOUR COUNTERDRAFT. AS I INDICATED AT THE TIME, I FELT THIS COUNTERDRAFT REPRESENTED SOME IMPROVEMENT OVER FIRST PROPOSAL OF YOUR SIDE. HOWEVER, AS I ALSO POINTED OUT AT THE TIME, YOUR COUNTERPROPOSAL FAILED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT ANNOUNCEMENT APPLIED TO TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE.

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1 6 1/12/56, 10:30 PM
CORRECTED PAGE 3

CONFIDENTIAL

32-H
ACTION
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INFO
RMR

SS

-3- 1362, JANUARY 12, 4 PM FROM GENEVA CONTROL 5371

IN LIGHT OF STATEMENTS YOU HAD MADE HERE, AS WELL AS PUBLIC POSITION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT, IT THUS APPEARED YOUR COUNTERDRAFT MIGHT CARRY CONCEALED RESERVATION WITH RESPECT TO TAIWAN AREA UNDER WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT COULD, IT IT LATER SO CHOSE TO DO, INITIATE HOSTILITIES IN TAIWAN AREA ON GROUNDS SITUATION THERE WAS PURELY DOMESTIC MATTER. YOUR DRAFT ALSO FAILED TO PROVIDE FOR LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE.

F. HOWEVER, IN FURTHER EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS FUNDAMENTAL SUBJECT, SEE ATTACHED AGREEMENT WE ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT YOUR COUNTERPROPOSAL DECEMBER 1 AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. SUBJECT TO SLIGHT AMENDMENT TO BRING ENGLISH TEXT OF SECOND PARAGRAPH MORE FULLY INTO CONFORMITY WITH OUR UNDERSTANDING OF CHINESE TEXT AND AN ADDITION TO COVER QUESTION OF SELF-DEFENSE, AS WELL AS QUESTION OF WHETHER DECLARATION IS CONSIDERED TO BE APPLICABLE TO TAIWAN AREA, WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO ACCEPT ALL OF LANGUAGE AS WELL AS FORM YOUR DECEMBER 1 COUNTERDRAFT. IN ORDER MAKE OUR SUGGESTIONS CLEAR I HAVE PREPARED DRAFT INCORPORATING OUR AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS TO SECOND PARAGRAPH. YOU WILL NOTE THAT FIRST AND THIRD PARAGRAPHS ARE IDENTICAL WITH YOUR DECEMBER 1 COUNTERDRAFT.

G. IN MAKING THESE SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS I HAVE TAKEN FULL ACCOUNT OF OUR DISCUSSION AND BELIEVE I HAVE ENTIRELY MET YOUR OBJECTIONS TO MY NOVEMBER 10 DRAFT. (I THEN HANDED DRAFT DEPTEL 1466 TO WANG.)

H. AS SOON AS YOU HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO STUDY IT, I WILL BE GLAD TO EXPLAIN ANY POINTS THAT MAY NOT BE CLEAR OR DISCUSS WITH YOU IN GREATER DETAIL CHANGES WE HAVE SUGGESTED.

I. I DESIRE SUBSEQUENTLY TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY QUESTIONS RAISED IN YOUR LETTERS DECEMBER 28 AND JANUARY 5, AS WELL AS OTHER MATTERS RELATED TO SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT.

GOWEN

JJ

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Action Assigned to CA

Control: 5370 Action Taken

Rec'd: JANUARY 12, 1956 11:52 AM

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1363, JANUARY 12, 4 PM

NIACT

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. THREE HOUR TWENTY-FIVE MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING.

2. I OPENED WITH LONG STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE CLOSELY FOLLOWING OUTLINE DEPTEL 1465. AFTER RELATIVELY CURSORY STUDY MY DRAFT WANG REJECTED IT, RENEWED CHARGES US OCCUPATION TAIWAN, AND PARTICULARLY CENTERED ATTACKS MY AMENDMENTS AS RENEWED EFFORT BY US OBTAIN PRC RECOGNITION VALIDITY US COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS TAIWAN AREA. HE ENDED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT RENEWING CHARGES US STALLING AND PROPOSING THIS AND SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS BE "OPEN". (LATER IN RESPONSE QUESTIONS HE INDICATED THAT BY "OPEN" HE MEANT RELEASE OF COMMUNIQUE GIVING FULL SUBSTANCE FOLLOWING EACH MEETING).

THERE FOLLOWED LONG GIVE AND TAKE DURING WHICH I STRESSED APPARENT SIGNIFICANCE FAILURE THEIR SIDE DURING THREE MONTHS SINCE MY OCT. 8 PROPOSAL TO AGREE TO SPECIFIC INCLUSION TAIWAN IN ANY STATEMENT, AS WELL AS PRESSED HIM ON WILLINGNESS INCLUDE IN STATEMENT RECOGNITION AS GENERAL PRINCIPLE RIGHT INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE DEFENSE. THERE WAS LONG GIVE AND TAKE TOWARD END OF WHICH APPARENTLY RECOGNIZING WEAKNESS THEIR PUBLIC POSITION ON INCLUSION SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN, HE STATED WOULD CONSIDER OUR AMENDED DRAFT IF REFERENCE INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE REMOVED. I EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS CONSIDER ANY ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION FOR INCLUSION

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THIS PRINCIPLE AND EMPHASIZED WEAKNESS THEIR POSITION IN REFUSING INCLUDE IT IN PUBLIC STATEMENT WHILE ADMITTING TO VALIDITY DURING OUR DISCUSSION. HOWEVER, WAS UNABLE TO SHAKE HIM ON THIS.

I THEN MADE STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION ACCORDANCE PARA 6 DEPTEL 1465, BRIEF STATEMENT ON LIU, AND STATEMENT ACCORDANCE DEPTEL 1468.

AT CLOSE OF MEETING AFTER I REPEATED MY REFUSAL TO AGREE TO OPEN MEETINGS HE SAID "WOULD LEAVE THIS QUESTION OPEN FOR TIME BEING" AND REFERRED TO HIS STATEMENT AT LAST MEETING ON ISSUANCE UNILATERAL PUBLIC STATEMENT ON DISCUSSION AGENDA ITEM 2, INDICATING THAT WOULD PROBABLY MAKE SUCH A STATEMENT. IN REPLY MY QUESTIONS AS TO WHERE, WHEN AND TEXT, HE SAID "THIS MATTER HAS NOT BEEN DECIDED SO FAR". I, OF COURSE, INDICATED THAT IF THEY ISSUED STATEMENT WE WOULD FEEL FREE MAKE REPLY.

SUGGEST THAT IF THEY DO ISSUE STATEMENT, TEXT MY OPENING STATEMENT AT TODAY'S MEETING WOULD BE GOOD REPLY AND AM TELEGRAPHING FULL TEXT SEPERATELY "NIACT".

NEXT MEETING JAN. 19.

GOWEN

MEJ

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

JAN 12

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(443)

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

529

53-D
Action
FE
to
RMR
SS

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 5667
Rec'd: JANUARY 12, 1956
8:57 PM

Action assigned to OA/DIR 1

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1364, JANUARY 12, 8 PM (SECTION 1 OF 5)

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG RESPONDED MY PREPARED STATEMENT (MYTEL 1362) AT OPENING 32D MEETING JANUARY 12 BY SAYING HE HAD LISTENED MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING IN WHICH I HAD REVIEWED COURSE DISCUSSION ON ITEM TWO. HE HAD LISTENED VERY CAREFULLY BUT COULD NOT HEAR ANYTHING NEW OR CONSTRUCTIVE IN STATEMENT.

2. WANG SAID THIS APPLIES IN PARTICULAR TO MY REMARKS WHICH DISCUSSED HIS DRAFT OF DECEMBER 1. HE RECALLED THAT WHEN HE INTRODUCED DECEMBER 1 DRAFT, I HAD EXPRESSED WELCOME AND HAD SAID IT REPRESENTED CONSIDERABLE ADVANCE IN DISCUSSIONS. WE HAVE HAD PROLONGED DISCUSSION THIS MATTER OF ISSUING ANNOUNCEMENT ON THIS QUESTION.

3. WANG SAID HE HAD GLANCED OVER AMENDED DRAFT I HAD PRESENTED THIS MORNING AND WHILE LEAVING ASIDE DETAILS OF WORDING AND LANGUAGE, HE NOTED THAT QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE STILL REMAINS. HE NOTED I WAS AGAIN CLAIMING ALLEGED RIGHT OF SO-CALLED INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA.

4. WANG SAID US IS TODAY OCCUPYING ISLAND OF TAIWAN WHICH CHINESE TERRITORY. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES US HAS ABSOLUTEL NO RIGHT SPEAK OF ANY SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA.

5. WANG SAID IN MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING I HAD MADE REFERENCE TO FACT US IS MEMBER OF UN AND ALSO MADE REFERENCE TO NUMBER

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INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND PACTS, BUT ALL THIS COULD NOT DEFEND POSITION OF US IN OCCUPYING TERRITORY OF OTHER COUNTRIES. IF US COULD CLAIM RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, WANG COULD SAY THERE IS NO MORE JUSTICE IN WORLD.

6. WANG SAID HIS SIDE HAS LONG EXPRESSED ITSELF UNMISTAKEABLY ON THIS MATTER, THAT IT WOULD NEVER ACCEPT THIS POSITION. THEREFORE HE SAID THAT AMENDMENTS PRESENTED BY ME AT TODAYS MEETING UNREASONABLE AND UNACCEPTABLE TO HIS SIDE. SUCH AMENDMENTS AS HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD THIS MORNING WOULD NOT HELP IN ANY WAY IN SETTLEMENT OF MATTER BEFORE US. NOR WOULD THEY HELP BRING CLOSER VIEWS OF TWO SIDES.

7. WANG SAID I MIGHT RECALL THAT DURING DISCUSSION OF SECOND ITEM IT WAS US WHICH INITIATED PROPOSAL OF MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION SOURCE. PRC SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY MET VIEWS OF US SIDE AND PUT FORWARD NEW DRAFT OF DECEMBER 1. THUS IT COULD BE SAID PRC SIDE HAS MOVED SEVERAL STEPS FORWARD ON THIS MATTER.

8. WANG SAID IN THIS DRAFT OF PRC SIDE IT CLEARLY STATED THAT ON BASIS OF UN CHARTER, BOTH SIDES SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT RESORTING TO THREAT OR USE FORCE. THIS NOT ONLY CONFORMS WITH DESIRE OF PEOPLE OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES BUT ALSO CONFORMS WITH THE DESIRES OF PEACELOVING PEOPLES OF WORLD.

9. WANG SAID HOWEVER FOR THREE MEETINGS IN SUCCESSION US SIDE HAS FAILED MAKE ANY COMMENTS ON HIS DRAFT AND FACT THAT AFTER LONG RECESS US SIDE SHOULD SUGGEST SUCH TERMS AND WORDING AS HAD LONG BEEN CATEGORICALLY REJECTED BY PRC SIDE COULD NOT BUT CAUSE DOUBT AS TO WHETHER US SIDE HAS SINCERE DESIRE ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT.

10. WANG SAID AT SAME TIME HE WANTED POINT OUT THAT RECENTLY

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AMERICAN MILITARY AIRCRAFT HAVE BEEN MAKING ENCROACHMENT ON THEIR TERRITORIAL AIR AND AMERICAN "TOP BRASS" HAVE GONE TO TAIWAN TO STEP UP MILITARY PREPARATIONS. ALL THIS CONCLUSIVELY PROVES THAT US BENT ON INCREASING TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA.

11. WANG SAID FURTHER, ACCORDING PRESS REPORTS, US AIR FORCE SECRETARY QUARLES HAS GONE SO FAR AS TO INDICATE THAT OUTLYING ISLANDS AROUND TAIWAN ARE AMERICAN BASES IN FAR EAST. THUS IT APPARENT THAT IT INTENTION OF US SIDE TO REQUIRE PRC SIDE TO RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO OF AMERICAN OCCUPATION TAIWAN AS WELL AS COASTAL ISLANDS CONTROLLED BY CHIANG KAI-SHEK CLIQUE. THIS POSITION OF US SIDE CAN NEVER BE TOLERATED BY PRC SIDE.

12. WANG SAID ALL THESE EVENTS CANNOT BUT ALARM PRC SIDE AND CREATE DOUBTS AMONG CHINESE AS TO WHETHER US SIDE IS GENUINELY SINCERE IN STATED DESIRE SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

13. WANG SAID, IN VIEW OF FACT THAT US IS CREATING TENSION AND IN VIEW OF ATTITUDE OF US SIDE IN DELIBERATELY STALLING TALKS, ALL OF WHICH NOT IN CONFORMITY WITH PURPOSE AND AIMS THESE TALKS, THEREFORE PRC SIDE DEMANDS THAT THESE MEETINGS BE PUBLIC SO THAT ISSUES MAY BE JUDGED BY WORLD OPINION. ALSO PRC SIDE IS OBLIGED GIVE ACCOUNT TO CHINESE PEOPLE OF PROCEEDINGS THESE TALKS. THAT WAS PRC SIDE'S OPINION ON QUESTION WE HAD JUST DISCUSSED.

14. I SAID IN REPLY THAT FIRST I DIDN'T BELIEVE THEY'D HAD SUFFICIENT TIME FULLY CONSIDER MY SUGGESTED CHANGES AND THAT I HOPED THEY WOULD DO SO. I THOUGHT PROBABLY FIRST QUESTION BETWEEN US, OFTEN DISCUSSED HERE, IS QUESTION OF WHETHER WE CONSIDERED STATEMENT APPLIED TO TAIWAN AREA. MY SUGGESTION FROM BEGINNING ON OCTOBER 8 WAS THAT WE MAKE THIS SPECIFICALLY CLEAR.

15. I SAID MY UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR POSITION HAD ALWAYS

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BEEN THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER SUCH STATEMENT AS APPLICABLE TO TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER, THEY HAD OBJECTED TO FORM IN WHICH IT WAS PREVIOUSLY MADE ON GROUNDS THIS WOULD PREJUDICE THEIR POSITION ON TAIWAN AREA.

16. I SAID THAT I HAD STATED IN AS MANY WAYS AS I POSSIBLY COULD THAT OUR INTENTION WAS NOT TO GET THEM TO SAY ANYTHING THAT WOULD PREJUDICE PURSUIT OF THEIR POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS, THAT THIS WAS MADE CLEAR IN OUR OCTOBER EIGHT STATEMENT AND OUR NOVEMBER 10 DRAFT, BUT THAT THEY HAD OBJECTED TO FORM IN WHICH IT WAS SET FORTH IN THAT DRAFT.

17. I SAID WE WERE BOTH AGREED THAT MOST SERIOUS PROBLEM FACING OUR TWO SIDES WAS PRECISELY IN TAIWAN AREA, AND THAT QUESTION THEREFORE APPEARED TO ME TO BE NOT WHETHER ANY AGREEMENT APPLIED TO TAIWAN AREA BUT WHETHER IT CLEARLY STATED THIS.

18. I SAID THAT THEY HAD TALKED PREVIOUSLY, AND AT GREAT LENGTH THIS MORNING, OF SINCERITY, I SAID MY GOVERNMENT HAD OVER AND OVER PROPOSED AND I AGAIN PROPOSED THIS MORNING THAT BOTH SIDES SINCERITY BE DEMONSTRATED BY SPECIFICALLY RELATING OUR AGREEMENT TO TAIWAN AREA. THIS WOULD ASSURE WORLD WHICH AS HE HAD RIGHTLY SAID HAD LONGED FOR PEACE, THAT NEITHER SIDE HAD ANY CONCEALED RESERVATIONS IN THIS REGARD.

19. I SAID I HAD OVER AND OVER POINTED OUT PROBLEM WASN'T ONE OF FORM OF WORDS WHICH EITHER SIDE VARIOUSLY INTERPRETS, BUT LAY IN REACHING GENUINE AGREEMENT WHICH COULD BE PUT INTO WORDS. TO DO OTHERWISE CERTAINLY COULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE. I WAS RELUCTANT TO PLACE INTERPRETATION THAT MIGHT WELL BE PLACED ON THEIR ADAMANT REFUSAL TO PERMIT ANY MENTION OF TAIWAN AREA.

20. I THEN SAID IN REGARD TO SECOND POINT -- MENTION OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE -- I WOULD HAVE

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CONSIDERED THEY WOULD HAVE REGARDED IT AS IMPORTANT AS WE DID. IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING THEIR GOVERNMENT DID NOT DENY RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE TO ITSELF OR TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY. MY UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN THAT THEIR SIDE OBJECTED TO FORM OF OUR NOVEMBER 10 DRAFT BECAUSE THEY FELT IT PREJUDICED THEIR POSITION ON TAIWAN AREA. AGAIN, IN HONEST EFFORT TO MEET THEIR POINT ON THIS, IN THIS DRAFT WE HAD TRIED TO INTRODUCE THIS IDEA IN FORM THAT WOULD NOT DO SO.

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Control: 5671
Rec'd: JANUARY 12, 1956
9:15 PM

Action Assigned to 1/6

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1364, JANUARY 12, 8 PM (SECTION 2 OF 5)

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

21. I SUGGESTED THAT WE GO OVER EXACTLY WHAT THAT SECOND PARA SAID. WHAT IT SAID WAS WE WERE DETERMINED TO SETTLE OUR DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND THAT CERTAINLY NEITHER OF US OBJECTED TO THAT. THEN IT SAID WE WOULD MOT RESORT TO FORCE IN TAIWAN AREANOR ELSEWHERE. THIS WAS CERTAINLY CLEAR AND SPECIFIC AND I COULD NOT SEE WHY THERE COULD BE ANY OBJECTION TO THAT LANGUAGE. IT THEN SAID THAT IN STATING THIS PRINCIPLE BOTH SIDES WISHED TO MAKE IT CLEAR IT WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. THIS WAS STATED AS GENERAL PRINCIPLE AND I COULD NOT SEE WHAT POSSIBLE OBJECTION THERE COULD BE TO ITS INCLUSION IN DRAFT.

22. I SAID THIS SECOND PARA AS PRESENTLY DRAFTED WOULD GO AS FAR AS WORDS COULD TO SHOW THERE WAS UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US. THAT IF THERE WAS OBJECTION AS TO WORDING THAT REVEALED UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US WAS NOT AS CLEAR AS I HAD THOUGHT.

23. I SAID THEY AGAIN THIS MORNING HAD DISCUSSED OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA AND CERTAINLY OUR FIRST TASK WAS TO MAKE CERTAIN THIS DISPUTE DID NOT LEAD TO HOSTILITIES. IF THREAT OF FORCE WAS CLEARLY REMOVED FROM THAT DISPUTE, THERE WAS HOPE QUESTIONS BETWEEN US COULD, IN THAT ATMOSPHERE, BE DISCUSSED AND RESOLVED. I SAID DRAFT I HAD PROPOSED THIS MORNING SHOULD ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE AND I HAD HOPED THEY WOULD GIVE IT FURTHER STUDY IN LIGHT OF MY REMARKS.

24. I SAID I WAS NOT EXACTLY CLEAR ABOUT WHAT THEY MEANT BY THEIR PROPOSAL TO MAKE OUR MEETINGS OPEN. I UNDERSTOOD THAT IN NORMAL INTERNATIONAL USAGE, "OPEN" MEANT PUBLIC N WOULD ATTEND OUR MEETINGS. OR WAS THEIR PROPOSAL THAT AT

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CLOSE OF EACH MEETING PRESS WOULD BE GIVEN FULL ACCOUNT OF MEETING BY EACH OF US.

25. I SAID IN EITHER EVENT IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO SEE HOW THIS COULD CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS. IT SEEMED TO ME IN EITHER OF THESE EVENTS, IT WOULD TEND TO MAKE OUR MEETINGS PLATFORMS FROM WHICH EACH WOULD SPEAK TO HIS PUBLIC, RATHER THAN PLACE FOR OUR NEGOTIATING AND REACHING UNDERSTANDING.

26. I SAID I WAS CERTAINLY WILLING THAT OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS BE LAID BEFORE PUBLIC. I WAS CERTAINLY WILLING THAT PUBLIC BE INFORMED OF THEIR CATEGORICAL AND SWEEPING REJECTION OF ANY MENTION OF TAIWAN AREA IN ANY STATEMENT OF AGREEMERT GROWING OUT OF OUR DISCUSSIONS. I WAS SURE PUBLIC WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY IN UNDERSTANDING THAT IN THREE MONTHS WHICH HAD PASSED SINCE WE HAD MADE OUR PROPOSAL, THEIR GOVERNMENT WAS STILL UNWILLING TO MAKE IT CLEAR IT DID NOT HAVE CONCEALED RESERVATIONS ON TAIWAN AREA IN ANY STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE.

27. I SAID THAT HOWEVER, I DIDN'T SEE HOW ALL OF THIS WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR MAKING FURTHER PROGRESS IN OUR DISCUSSION AND IF THIS WAS ATTITUDE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT, I WONDERED WHETHER IT REALLY DESIRED THAT WE MAKE PROGRESS. AS I AS WELL AS MY GOVERNMENT WAS INTERESTED IN MAKING PROGRESS, I WAS UNABLE TO AGREE THAT WE ABROGATE OUR AGREEMENT THAT NATURE OF THESE MEETINGS BE PRIVATE, AND I WAS UNABLE TO AGREE EITHER THAT MEETINGS BE OPEN TO PUBLIC OR PRESS BE INFORMED SUBSTANCE EACH MEETING.

28. I SAID I STILL FELT INTERESTS AND RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO OF US AND CAUSE OF PEACE COULD BEST BE SERVED BY KEEPING OUR DISCUSSIONS ON FRANK OPEN LEVEL THAT WAS POSSIBLE UNDER PRESENT ARRANGEMENT AND BY INFORMING GENERAL PUBLIC OF OUR AGREEMENTS WHEN WE HAD REACHED THEM, RATHER THAN BY INFORMING THE WORLD OF OUR DISAGREEMENTS AS THEY CAME UP HERE.

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29. WANG SAID THAT OTHER SIDE HAD JUST ASSERTED THAT CHINESE SIDE HAD NOT HAD SUFFICIENT TIME TO STUDY DRAFT PRESENTED BY US SIDE. AS TO IDEAS US SIDE HAS BROUGHT UP, CHINESE SIDE HAD ALWAYS BEEN WILLING TO GIVE FULL CONSIDERATION TO THOSE WHICH WERE CONSTRUCTIVE, BUT HE HAD TO SAY THAT DRAFT PRESENTED TODAY DID NOT CONTAIN ANYTHING NEW OR CONSTRUCTIVE. ALL THOSE AMENDMENTS AS SIDE HAD PRESENTED THAT MORNING HAD BEEN SUBJECT TO LONG AND TEDIOUS DISCUSSIONS, AND DURING COURSE OF THESE CHINESE SIDE HAD ON MANY OCCASIONS EXPRESSED ITS FIRM OPPOSITION.

30. WANG SAID HE WAS SURE US AMBASSADOR WAS FULLY ACQUAINTED WITH COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS, IN WHICH IT COULD BE SEEN CLEARLY HOW FAR CHINESE SIDE HAD MOVED AND HOW THE US SIDE STILL STUCK TO ITS ORIGINAL POSITION WITHOUT MAKING ANY PROGRESS. VIEWS PRESENTED BY US SIDE HAD REPEATEDLY BEEN REJECTED BY CHINESE SIDE, YET THEY HAVE AGAIN BEEN ADVANCED, AND CHINESE SIDE COULD NOT GIVE CONSIDERATION TO THEM.

31. WANG SAID THAT IN PARTICULAR, HE NOTED THAT US SIDE HAD AGAIN ADVANCED POINT CONCERNING INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. NATURALLY, IT WAS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE THAT EVERY STATE WAS ENTITLED TO RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE AND CHINESE WERE PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THIS. HOWEVER, QUESTION WAS AS TO WHERE IT WAS TO BE APPLIED, BECAUSE THERE CAN BE NO OBJECTION IF US EXERCISES THIS RIGHT ON ITS OWN TERRITORY.

32. WANG SAID THAT IF, ON OTHER HAND, IT WERE ON TERRITORY OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, THEN CERTAINLY IT COULD LAY NO CLAIMS TO SELF-DEFENSE. WHEN JAPAN IN 1937 BEGAN ITS AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA, SHE ALSO CLAIMED THIS ACTION WAS IN SELF-DEFENSE. HOWEVER, NO PEOPLE IN WORLD THEN RECOGNIZED THAT AS SUCH AND NONE COULD BE PERSUADED THAT JAPAN'S ACTION WAS TAKEN IN SELF DEFENSE. THEREFORE, THERE SHOULD BE A CLEAR DEFINITION AND UNDERSTANDING AS TO THIS WORD SELF-DEFENSE AND THIS WORD MUST NOT BE ARBITRARILY ABUSED.

33. WANG SAID THAT AS TO QUESTION US SIDE HAD RAISED REGARDING WHETHER PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR TWO

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COUNTRIES APPLIED TO TAIWAN AREA, AS HE HAD REPEATEDLY DECLARED THIS DID CONCERN TAIWAN AREA. THE PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES ALSO APPLIED TO TAIWAN AREA.

34. WANG SAID AS TO OPENNESS OF MEETINGS: IT WAS NOT MEANT THAT PUBLIC WOULD BE ADMITTED TO THIS CONFERENCE ROOM. BUT HE MEANT THE CONTENT OF OUR DISCUSSION BE RELEASED TO PRESS. HENCE, AS US SIDE CLEARLY RECALLED, AT OUTSET OF TALKS HE HAD FOLLOWED US SUGGESTION THAT THESE TALKS SHOULD BE HELD PRIVATE AND THIS ARRANGEMENT HAVE NO SET TIME LIMIT. THE CHINESE SIDE THROUGHOUT HAS OBSERVED THESE TWO RULES IN HOPE THAT IT WOULD PERMIT FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, FRANKLY, AND WOULD SETTLE ISSUES BETWEEN US, AND FINALLY REACH AGREEMENTS.

35. WANG SAID CHINESE SIDE FELT THESE RULES HAD BEEN USEFUL TO OUR DISCUSSION IN INITIAL STAGES. AND FACTS SHOWED THAT AFTER FORTY DAYS DISCUSSION WE DID REACH OUR FIRST AGREEMENT ON THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS. THAT ALSO SHOWED THERE WAS COMMON DESIRE BETWEEN TWO SIDES TO ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT AND CHINESE HAD EXPRESSED THEIR WELCOME TO SUCH A SPIRIT. THUS IT SHOWED THAT PROVIDED BOTH SIDES SHARED A COMMON DESIRE TO SOLVE THEIR COMMON ISSUES, THESE ISSUES WOULD BE CAPABLE OF RESOLUTION. FOR EXAMPLE, LAST SEPTEMBER BETWEEN SOVIET UNION AND GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC. AS WE KNEW, RELATIONS WERE RATHER TENSE; HOWEVER, AFTER ONE WEEK'S DISCUSSION THEY DID ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THEIR COMMON DESIRE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT, AND HENCE THERE WERE FAVORABLE RESULTS.

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Info RMR SS

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1364, JANUARY 12, 8 PM (SECTION 3 OF 5)

Control: 5672
Rec'd: JANUARY 12, 1956 9:27 PM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

1/6

PRIORITY

36. WANG SAID THAT SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER 14 WE HAD BEGUN TO DISCUSS ITEM TWO. IT WAS NOW FOUR MONTHS. THIS WAS NOT A SHORT TIME. IF THERE DID EXIST COMMON DESIRE BETWEEN TWO SIDES TO SETTLE ISSUES BETWEEN THEM, HE SHOULD SAY THAT THE TWO WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REACH MANY AGREEMENTS INSTEAD OF ONLY ONE AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, AFTER FOUR MONTHS BOTH STILL FOUND THEMSELVES DEADLOCKED IN THE SAME PLACE, AND FOUND THEMSELVES INCAPABLE OF AGREEING ON SIMPLE ANNOUNCEMENT AFTER ALL THIS TIME.

37. WANG SAID QUESTIONS BETWEEN US NOT ONLY CONCERN PEOPLES OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES BUT ALSO CONCERN PEOPLE OF WHOLE WORLD. THEY, HOWEVER, ARE NOT INFORMED ABOUT OUR TALKS AND OF WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE. NOW PEOPLE ASK WHY AFTER SUCH LONG TIME DISCUSSION, YOU PEOPLE HAVE OBTAINED NO RESULT. AS TO CHINESE SIDE, THEY HAVE ALWAYS WANTED AN AGREEMENT TO BE REACHED BETWEEN TWO SO THAT CHINESE GOVERNMENT COULD MAKE ACCOUNT TO ITS PEOPLE AS TO WHAT HAD HAPPENED. WE HAVE WASTED LOTS OF TIME. CHINESE SIDE CONSIDERS THERE HAS BEEN DELIBERATE STALLING IN TALKS. THIS IS WHY CHINESE SIDE SUGGESTED WE MAKE MEETINGS OPEN: SO THAT PEOPLE WILL REALIZE WHAT ISSUES BETWEEN US ARE. THAT IS WHAT CHINESE SIDE CONSIDERS RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE TOWARD PEOPLE.

38. I SAID HE HAD SAID THAT IF WE SHARED COMMON DESIRE TO REACH AGREEMENT WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO DO SO. I MOST THOROUGHLY AGREED. THAT IS WHAT I HAD BEEN TRYING TO FIND OUT.

39. I SAID CLEAR BACK ON OCTOBER EIGHT I HAD SAID THAT US WAS WILLING TO MAKE DECLARATION THAT WE WERE DETERMINED OUR DIFFERENCES SHOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR. I MADE IT CLEAR THAT

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US WAS DESIROUS AND WILLING, IN ORDER THAT THERE BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US OR IN WORLD, THAT THIS WOULD SPECIFICALLY APPLY TO AREA IN WHICH OUR MOST SERIOUS DISPUTE EXISTED, THAT IS AREA OF TAIWAN. I MADE IT CLEAR THIS DID NOT INVOLVE IN ANY WAY AND IT WAS NOT INTENTION US IN THESE TALKS INVOLVE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS THIRD PARTIES. NOR WAS THERE ANY INTENTION TO PREJUDICE PEACEFUL PURSUIT OF OUR SEVERAL NATIONAL POLICIES. YET AFTER THREE MONTHS THEIR GOVERNMENT STILL UNWILLING PUBLICLY TO MAKE SUCH STATEMENT. IT WAE DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY, IF CHINESE CONSIDERED THAT SUCH STATEMENT APPLIED TO TAIWAN AREA, AS HE HAD STATED, WHY HE WOULD BE UNWILLING TO DO SO.

40. I SAID I DID NOT AGREE THAT WE HAD NOT MADE PROGRESS -- I BELIEVED WE HAD MADESOME. I BELIEVED DISCUSSIONS HAD BEEN USEFUL. INSOFAR AS RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE THUS FAR TO AGREE ON TEXT OF ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE -- IT IS VERY CLEAR.

41. WANG SAID US SIDE HAD REMARKED THAT OUR EXCHANGE VIEWS HAD BEEN USEFUL, BUT HE DID NOT SEE HOW IT HAD BEEN USEFUL. IF IT WERE REALLY USEFUL, IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN DEMONSTRATED IN PROGRESS TOWARD SOLUTION OF ISSUES BETWEEN US.

42. WANG SAID AS TO WORDING OF TEXT, IF PHRASE CONCERNING RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE COULD BE REMOVED, THEN CHINESE SIDE COULD GIVE CONSIDERATION TO MENMON OF TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER, IF WE FAIL REACH AGREEMENT ON TEXT OF DECLARATION, RESPONSIBILITY SQUARELY ON US SIDE.

43. I ASKED IF HE OBJECTED TO PRINCIPLE OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE.

44. WANG SAID THAT PRINCIPLE WAS ALL RIGHT BUT COULD NOT APPLY TO TAIWAN AREA. US ATTEMPTING TO EXERCISE THIS RIGHT IN TAIWAN AREA WOULD BE ABUSE.

45. I ASKED IF HE INTENDED TO TELL UNITED STATES IN WHAT COUNTRIES IT COULD HAVE ARRANGEMENTS FOR INDIVIDUAL AND

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COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, THEIR COUNTRY HAD INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES BUT I HAD NEVER RAISED QUESTION HERE.

46. WANG SAID THEY HAD SUCH ARRANGEMENTS BUT THEY HAD THEM ON THEIR OWN TERRITORY AND THEY HAD NEVER GONE THOUSANDS OF MILES ACROSS SEA TO US. SUPPOSE CHINESE HAD MILITARY STRENGTH TO OCCUPY SAN FRANCISCO AND THEN CLAMORED ABOUT SELF-DEFENSE. COULD US CONSENT TO THIS?

47. I ASKED WHETHER I COULD UNDERSTAND THAT THEY HAD NO OBJECTION TO PRINCIPLE BUT FELT ITS MENTION IN THIS CONTEXT PREJUDICED THEIR POSITION IN DISPUTE BETWEEN US IN TAIWAN AREA.

48. WANG SAID IT WAS NOT THUS. CHINESE AGREE THAT EVERY COUNTRY HAS THIS RIGHT OF SELF DEFENSE, BUT QUESTION IS NOTR THAT THIS PREJUDICES THEIR POSITION BUT THAT US HAS NO RIGHT TO CLAIM SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. AND IN EXACTLY SAME MANNER CHINA HAS NO RIGHT TO SET FOOT ON SAN FRANCISCO AND CLAIM SELF-DEFENSE.

49. I SAID THAT I DID NOT BELIEVE HE HAD GOTTEN POINT OF MY QUESTION. QUESTION OF VALIDITY OF OUR DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS IN TAIWAN AREA WAS MATTER OF DISPUTE BETWEEN US. CHINESE GOVT HAD ONE VIEW, MY GOVERNMENT HAD ANOTHER. I DID NOT PURPOSE TO DISCUSS OR TRY TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM WITH HIM. THAT WAS ELEMENT IN DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS WE HAD RESPECTING TAIWAN AREA. AS I HAD TOLD HIM, I HAD NO INTENTION DEMANDING ANY STATEMENT FROM THEM THAT WOULD PREJUDICE THEIR VIEW IN THAT REGARD. WHAT I WAS SAYING WAS IT WAS DESIRABLE WE BOTH MAKE IT CLEAR WE WEREN'T THEREBY RENOUNCING OUR RESPECTIVE RIGHTS OF SELF-DEFENSE. I HAD TRIED TO ACCOMPLISH BOTH PURPOSES IN THIS DRADT. IF CHINESE HAVE SUGGESTIONS AS TO ANOTHER METHOD OF REACHING THIS! I WAS WILLING LISTEN.

50. WANG SAID IN WHATEVER WAY I MIGHT PUT THIS MATTER, PRESENT US OCCUPATION TAIWAN WAS FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. NO MATTER HOW US WAS TRYING TO DEFEND

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ITSELF, HISTORY WOULD PASS FINAL JUDGEMENT. US HAD ASKED WHETHER CHINESE SIDE HAD ANY OTHER VIEWS ON DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT. HE SAID HIS SIDE HAD MADE ITS GREATEST EFFORT AND COULD NOT GO FURTHER. AS WANG HAD SAID, IF US WOULD ACCEPT THEIR PROPOSAL TO REMOVE INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE FROM TEXT, THEN CHINESE WOULD GIVE CONSIDERATION TO DRAFT. OTHERWISE, THEY COULD ONLY CONSIDER THAT US WAS DELIBERATELY OBSTRUCTING ISSUANCE OF SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT.

51. I SAID HOW HE COULD CALL INCLUSION OF STATEMENT OF WHAT I THOUGHT WAS UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLE OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE OBSTRUCTION, I COULD NOT UNDERSTAND. I HAD THOUGHT THEY WOULD HAVE CONSIDERED IT OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE. AS I HAD MADE CLEAR, I WOULD BE GLAD TO CONSIDER ANY OTHER FORMULA THEY WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE. I WANTED TO BE CLEAR: WAS IT THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WHATEVER AND UNDER NO CONDITIONS THAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER INCLUSION OF ANY SUCH PHRASES IN ANY STATEMENT WE MIGHT MAKE?

52. WANG SAID THAT DISPUTE BETWEEN US IN TAIWAN AREA WAS WHAT WAS UNDER DISCUSSION AND IN THIS RESPECT THEY COULD NOT ACKNOWLEDGE US RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEEFENSE. IT WAS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE. THIS WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE. QUESTION WAS NOT THAT THERE SHOULD BE ANY FURTHER SUGGESTIONS FROM CHINESE SIDE BUT FROM THE US SIDE. AND NEW SUGGESTIONS SHOULD COME FROM US SIDE.

53. I SAID THAT I ENTIRELY DISAGREED AND THAT UNLESS WE BOTH HERE WERE WILLING TOGETHER TO WORK THINGS OUT, I DID NOT SEE HOW IT WAS POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT. NEGOTIATION WAS NOT A MATTER OF UNILATERAL CONCESSIONS, IT WAS A MATTER OF ATTEMPTS TO REACH COMMON AGREEMENTS. I HAD, WITH THESE FEW MINOR CHANGES, ACCEPTED FORM AND WORDS OF THEIR DRAFT. THIS CONTRASTED STRONGLY WITH THEIR REFUSAL TO ACCEPT MY NOVEMBER 10 DRAFT EVEN AS BASIS OF DISCUSSION. AS I SAW IT, PRINCIPLE QUESTION BETWEEN US WAS WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE ANY MENTION OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE IN ANY AGREEMENT. I HAD TRIED TO DO SO IN MANNER

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AGREEABLE TO THEM. I HAD EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ANY OTHER FORMULA THAT THEY CONSIDERED WOULD BETTER FIT THEIR POSITION. IT WAS HARD FOR ME TO SEE HOW I COULD GO FURTHER.

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Action Assigned to ——

Action Symbol ——

Control: 5676

Rec'd: JANUARY 12, 1956 9:41 PM

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Action FE

Info RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Date of Dispatch ——

Dispatch Symbol ——

NO: 1364, JANUARY 12, 8 PM (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

Name of Officer ——

Direction to DC/R ——

PRIORITY

54. WANG SAID HIS POINTS HAD ALSO BEEN MADE CLEAR. HE COULD GO NO FURTHER THAN THAT.

55. I SAID THAT IT DID NOT SEEM THAT ANY FURTHER DISCUSSION TODAY WAS USEFUL. I HAD NOTHING FURTHER ON THIS IF HE HAD NOT.

56. WANG SAID HE HAD MADE HIS POSITION VERY CLEAR ON THIS MATTER.

57. I THEN SAID IF AGREEABLE TO WANG I WOULD TURN TO OTHER SUBJECT. I READ PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION AS FOLS:

IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS, I HAVE FREQUENTLY STATED MY BELIEF THAT TWO OF US HERE OUGHT TO BE PREPARED TO BRING UP AND DISCUSS FRANKLY ANY QUESTIONS WHICH MAY ARISE AS TO IMPLEMENTATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPTEMBER 10. I HELD THIS OPINION BECAUSE OF MY CONVICTION THAT BY SO DOING WE COULD BEST IRON OUT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, AND CONTRIBUTE TO SPEEDY AND FAITHFUL IMPLEMENTATION OUR AGREEMENT. THIS, I FELT, WOULD AID PROGRESS TALKS WITH RESPECT OTHER ITEMS AS WELL.

A. IT WAS, OF COURSE, NOT MY INTENTION THAT TWO OF US SHOULD ATTEMPT TO GO BEYOND PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, NOR TO REOPEN ISSUES WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AND SETTLED BEFORE ISSUANCE SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAVE, FOR EXAMPLE, AVOIDED BRINGING UP FOR DISCUSSION HERE CASES OF AMERICANS IN YOUR COUNTRY WHERE THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE DESIRE RETURN. I HAVE CAREFULLY CONFINED MY REMARKS TO THOSE CASES COVERED

BY

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BY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, THAT IS, AMERICANS WHO CLEARLY DESIRE RETURN AND WHO HAVE NOT YET BEEN PERMITTED TO DO SO IN ACCORDANCE WITH TERMS SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT, AND TO THOSE CASES WHERE UK REPEAT UK CHARGE HAS ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTY OR OBSTRUCTION IN CARRYING OUT HIS CLEARLY DEFINED FUNCTIONS.

B. RECENTLY I HAVE NOTED YOUR OFFICIAL ORGANS AGAIN APPEAR PUBLICLY AND OTHERWISE TO BE ATTEMPTING THROUGH AN INVOLVED PROCESS OF REASONING TO CREATE FALSE IMPRESSION AMERICANS REMAINING IN PRISON YOUR COUNTRY ARE NOT COVERED BY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. WE HAVE HERE DISCUSSED THIS SUBJECT AT GREAT LENGTH AND I HAD HOPED HAD ARRIVED AT UNDERSTANDING IN THIS REGARD. I SIMPLY WANT AGAIN TO REPEAT MY GOVERNMENT MOST EMPHATICALLY CANNOT AGREE WITH STATEMENTS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT IN THIS REGARD. OUR SEPTEMBER 10 AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DRAWS NO DISTINCTION WHATEVER BETWEEN THOSE AMERICANS IN PRISON AND THOSE DENIED EXIT PERMITS FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER. WE BOTH WELL KNOW THAT AT TIME WE ISSUED SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT ONLY AMERICANS IN YOUR COUNTRY OF WHOM WE HAD KNOWLEDGE DESIRING RETURN AND BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO WERE THOSE IN PRISON. IT WAS IN THIS CONTEXT OUR STATEMENT DRAFTED, AGREED UPON AND RELEASED. UNLESS UNEQUIVOCAL WORDS OF THAT STATEMENT AND OUR DISCUSSIONS LEADING UP TO IT ARE ENTIRELY WITHOUT MEANING WITH RESPECT TO THIS GROUP AMERICANS, THEY MOST DEFINITELY ARE COVERED BY SEPTEMBER 10 AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, AND MY GOVERNMENT ABSOLUTELY REJECTS ANY EFFORTS NOW TO ALLEGE THIS IS NOT CASE.

C. I AGAIN MUST MOST SERIOUSLY CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION FACT THAT BY NO STRETCH OF IMAGINATION OR INTERPRETATION OF PLAIN MEANING OF WORDS CAN IT BE CONSIDERED AMERICANS IMPRISONED YOUR COUNTRY ARE BEING PERMITTED EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT EXPEDITIOUS RETURN US IN ACCORDANCE TERMS THAT ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAVE REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT FAILURE FULLY IMPLEMENT THIS AGREEMENT DURING INCREASING PASSAGE OF TIME CANNOT BUT HAVE INCREASINGLY SERIOUS EFFECT ON SUCCESS OUR DISCUSSIONS OF OTHER SUBJECTS HERE.

D. I

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D. I NOW REFER TO QUESTIONS RAISED YOUR LETTERS DECEMBER 28 AND JANUARY 5 CONCERNING IMPLEMENTATION BY MY GOVERNMENT OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

E. IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT YOUR DECEMBER 28 LETTER MY AUTHORITIES LOOKED INTO SITUATION OF LIU YUNG-MING. LIU HAS BEEN HOSPITALIZED AT PUBLIC EXPENSE SINCE 1949 WITH SERIOUS CASE CHRONIC SCHIZOPHRENIA. ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT YET COMPLETELY RECOVERED, IT WAS DETERMINED HE WAS ABLE TO TRAVEL AND ARRANGEMENTS WERE MADE BY MY AUTHORITIES FOR HIM DEPART JANUARY 8 FOR HONG KONG BY STEAMER PRESIDENT WILSON.

F. WITH RESPECT TO PERSONS MENTIONED YOUR LETTER JANUARY 5, I CAN ASSURE YOU NONE OF THEM ARE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING US. IN ADDITION, I AGAIN ASSURE YOU THERE ARE NO OBSTRUCTIONS TO CHINESE LEAVING US. FURTHERMORE, ANY CHINESE WHO FEELS HE IS BEING OBSTRUCTED IN PROCEEDING YOUR COUNTRY IS ENTIRELY FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. THUS FAR INDIAN EMBASSY HAS NOT BROUGHT TO ATTENTION OF MY GOVERNMENT ANY SUCH CASE.

58. WANG REPLIED IN EXTEMPORANEOUS STATEMENT THAT HE GLAD LEARN LIU YUNG-MING ON WAY HOME. HOWEVER HE MUST NOTE THAT FROM THIS CASE IT COULD BE SEEN US HAS NOT BEEN CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT VERY WELL.

59. WANG SAID NEXT AS TO QUESTION OF AMERICAN NATIONALS RESIDING IN CHINA AND AMERICANS IN PRISON FOR OFFENSES IN CHINA, PRC SIDE EXPRESSED ITS POSITION DEFINITELY AND CLEARLY IN COURSE OUR DISCUSSIONS. ANY ORDINARY AMERICAN RESIDENT IN CHINA FREE LEAVE COUNTRY ANY TIME UPON APPLICATION. EVEN IN CASES AMERICANS WHO HAVE VIOLATED LAW IN CHINA, HE NOTED THAT TWO-THIRDS OF TOTAL HAVE ALREADY BEEN PERMITTED LEAVE.

60. WANG SAID IF WE VIEW THIS MATTER IN LIGHT OF TERMS OF AMERICAN OFFENDERS IN CHINA HE MIGHT WELL CITE CASE OF FATHER RIGNEY WHO HAD BEEN SENTENCED TO TEN YEARS. HOWEVER,

HE

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HE ONLY SERVED FIVE YEARS AND WAS GRANTED RELEASE. RIGNEY WAS RELEASED FIVE YEARS IN ADVANCE EXPIRATION OF TERM. WAS THIS NOT CASE OF EXPEDITIOUS RETURN? WANG WOULD SAY IT WAS VERY EXPEDITIOUS INDEED.

61. WANG SAID HOWEVER, PRC NATIONALS RESIDING IN US FIND SELVES IN VERY DIFFERENT SITUATION. US GOVERNMENT HAS THUS FAR NOT FURNISHED PRC SIDE WITH NAME LIST OF ALL CHINESE NATIONALS IN US NOR HAS IT GIVEN ASSISTANCE INDIAN EMBASSY TO CARRY OUT ITS FUNCTIONS. NOR HAS US GOVERNMENT GIVEN ANY ACCOUNT OF CHINESE IMPRISONED IN US. YET US GOVERNMENT BEEN COERCING CHINESE STUDENTS IN US TO SECURE ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN.

62. WANG SAID RECENTLY MANY EXPOSURES BEEN MADE IN CASES OF CHINESE STUDENTS IN US WHO BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM RETURNING CHINA. CHINESE COULD NOT FEEL SATISFIED WITH THIS STATE AFFAIRS. ALL THIS VIOLATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THEY DEMANDED THAT US FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENT PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND WITHDRAW ANY REQUIREMENTS THAT RUN COUNTER TO AGREEMENT.

63. IN REPLY I SAID I NOT CLEAR WHAT WANG'S ALLEGATION WAS. AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SAYS NO OBSTRUCTION WILL BE OFFERED TO DEPARTURE CIVILIANS. I HAD TOLD WANG IN DETAIL OF STEPS WE HAD TAKEN IMPLEMENT THAT. AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SAYS ANYONE WHO DESIRES RETURN BUT FEELS HE ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION WILL BE FREE COMMUNICATE INDIAN EMBASSY. I HAD ASSURED WANG THAT ANY CHINESE IN US FREE DO SO. I KNEW OF NO ALLEGATION OR EVIDENCE THAT ANYONE BEEN PREVENTED FROM COMMUNICATING WITH INDIAN EMBASSY.

64. I SAID I NOT CLEAR THEREFORE AS TO WHETHER HIS STATEMENT REFERRED TO FREEDOM COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. INDIAN EMBASSY ENTIRELY FREE INVESTIGATE ANY SUCH CASE. I KNEW OF NO CASE IN WHICH INDIAN EMBASSY HAS STATED IT BEING OBSTRUCTED IN CARRYING OUT THIS FUNCTION. AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SAYS THAT US WILL ACCEPT REPRESENTATIONS FROM INDIAN EMBASSY WHEN IT FEELS THERE HAS BEEN ANY OBSTRUCTION CONTRARY TO

AGREED

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-5- 1364, JANUARY 12, 8 PM (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE) FROM GENEVA.

AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AS I HAD ALREADY STATED THIS MORNING, THUS FAR US HAD NOT RECEIVED ANY COMMUNICATION FROM INDIAN EMBASSY WITH RESPECT ANY SUCH CASE. IF WE DID, WANG COULD BE SURE IT WOULD BE PROMPTLY ACTED UPON.

GOWEN

HER

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Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Control: 5683
Rec'd: JANUARY 12, 1956
10:02 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1364, JANUARY 12, 8 PM (SECTION 5 OF 5)

PRIORITY

65. WANG SAID AS FAR AS CHINESE IN US CONCERNED THEY HAD LEARNED THAT SOME OF THEM HAVE NOT BEEN INFORMED OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, OTHERS FIND THEIR FREEDOM COMMUNICATE OBSTRUCTED. THIS STATE AFFAIRS MUST BE IMPROVED BY US. COMPULSION OF CHINESE STUDENTS IN US TO SECURE ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN WAS MATTER OF MENTAL TORTURE TOWARDS THESE CHINESE STUDENTS.

66. WANG SAID HE HAD LIST OF THREE PERSONS IN US AND HE WAS REQUESTING ME MAKE INVESTIGATION ABOUT THEM. (HE THEN HANDED ME LIST, TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY, CONTAINING NAMES TAN YU-MIN, TENG HSIEN-JUNG, YUAN JUI-HSIANG). IN THIS LIST THEY HAD DETAILED INFORMATION KNOWN TO PRC FIDE INCLUDING PLACE RESIDENCE, PROFESSION, AS WELL AS TIME SINCE THEY LAST HEARD OF.

67. I SAID, OF COURSE I HAD NO WAY OF FORCING CHINESE IN US TO WRITE TO PEOPLE IN CHINA. THEY FREE DO SO IF THEY WANTED TO. HOWEVER, IN SPEAKING OF OBSTRUCTION, I WANTED BE CLEAR, WAS ALLEGATION THAT CHINESE IN US NOT FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY?

68. WANG SAID HIS STATEMENT INCLUDED CASES IN WHICH FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION WITH INDIAN EMBASSY BEEN OBSTRUCTED.

69. I ASKED WHETHER THAT APPLIED THESE THREE ON LIST.

70. WANG SAID THAT WAS DIFFERENT MATTER. THESE THREE WERE MISSING, NO INFORMATION FROM THEM. THEIR FAMILIES HAVE LOST CONTACT WITH THEM.

71. I SAID, TO GET BACK TO MY QUESTION, IS THE ALLEGATION THAT PEOPLE BEING PREVENTED FROM COMMUNICATING WITH INDIAN EMBASSY?

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72. WANG SAID THERE HAD BEEN CASES IN WHICH FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION BEEN OBSTRUCTED.

73. I ASKED IF WANG COULD GIVE ME ANY DETAILS ON THESE CASES.

74. WANG SAID THEY WOULD GIVE ME SUCH DETAILS WHENEVER HE FOUND IT NECESSARY.

75. I SAID IT IS ALL VERY SIMPLE. IF CHINESE WANT TO RETURN, THEY FREE DO SO. I KNEW OF NO SUCH CASE IN WHICH ANY PERSON HAS BEEN IN ANY WAY PREVENTED FROM COMMUNICATING WITH INDIAN EMBASSY.

76. I SAID THEN OUR NEXT MEETING WOULD BE NEXT THURSDAY.

77. WANG SAID HE HAD SUGGESTED THAT AS FROM TODAY OUR MEETINGS BE MADE OPEN AND HE HAD GIVEN HIS REASONS. HE DIDN'T KNOW HOW I FELT ON THIS.

78. I SAID I HAD TOLD HIM I DID NOT AGREE.

79. WANG SAID IF I UNABLE AGREE, THEN SHOULD WE LEAVE QUESTION OPEN FOR TIME BEING. HOWEVER I WOULD RECALL THAT AT LAST MEETING DURING DISCUSSION SECOND ITEM OF AGENDA, HE HAD TOLD ME HIS SIDE GOING TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THAT MATTER WHICH WAS DISCUSSED BETWEEN US.

80. I ASKED HIM IF HE WAS GOING TO DO THAT.

81. WANG SAID THEY WERE GOING TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT.

82. I SAID THAT WAS ENTIRELY MATTER THEIR CHOICE, BUT US WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER MAKING REPLY.

83. WANG SAID THAT WAS MATTER OF OUR FREEDOM.

84. I ASKED IF I COULD GET COPY OF TEXT.

85. WANG SAID WHEN TEXT BEEN RECEIVED HE WOULD SEND IT TO ME.

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86. I ASKED WHEN AND WHERE WOULD BE RELEASED. HERE FOR PEIPING?

87. WANG SAID THIS MATTER NOT BEEN DECIDED SO FAR.

88. WE THEN AGREED NEXT MEETING WOULD BE THURSDAY JANUARY 19.

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1-6

Control: 5916
Rec'd: JANUARY 13, 1956
8:48 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1365, JANUARY 13, 10 A.M.

Action Assigned 1A/D/R

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Officer Symbol

Date of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

FOL LIST HANDED ME BY WANG JANUARY 12 MEETING (PARA 66 MYTEL 1364):

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Control: 5939
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9:10 A.M.
Date of Action
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Name of Officer
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1366, JANUARY 13, NOON

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS ON YESTERDAY'S MEETING:

BELIEVE WANG WAS UNDER FIRM INSTRUCTIONS MAKE PROPOSAL ON OPEN MEETINGS AS WELL AS, IN EVENT WE DID NOT SUBSTANTIALLY ACCEPT THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT, TO IMPLEMENT DECEMBER 22 THREAT ON UNILATERAL STATEMENT.

BELIEVE OUR STRONG REVIEW HISTORY NEGOTIATIONS ON RE-UNIFICATION FORCE, AND FORM IN WHICH WE INTRODUCED OUR AMENDMENTS THEIR DRAFT, WELL ANTICIPATED THEIR TACTIC AND CREATED SOME CONFUSION AND DOUBT AS TO STRENGTH THEIR PUBLIC POSITION EVEN ON AGENDA ITEM TWO. UNTIL VERY CLOSE OF MEETING WAS HOPEFUL I HAD SUCCEEDED IN DISSUADING THEM FROM PERSISTING IN THREAT TO OPEN MEETINGS OR GOING TO PUBLIC.

HOWEVER, BELIEVE SUBSTANTIAL GAIN ACCOMPLISHED IN THEIR TENTATIVE ACCEPTANCE INCLUSION SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN IN A STATEMENT WHICH REGARDLESS OF ITS EXACT WORDING WOULD AS POLITICAL DOCUMENT COMMIT CHICOMS IN PUBLIC MIND TO RENUNCIATION OF USE FORCE IN ATTEMPTING UPSET STATUS QUO.

NEGOTIATING POSITION WITH RESPECT NEXT MEETING WAS LEFT SOMEWHAT CONFUSED, THIS PORTION JANUARY 12 MEETING CLOSING ON NOTE WANG'S ADAMANT REFUSAL CONSIDER ANY MENTION INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE AND I NOT GIVING ANY INDICATION

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WILLINGNESS CONSIDER ANY FORMULA WHICH DID NOT INCLUDE THIS PRINCIPLE.

POSSIBLE IMPLICATION WANG'S POSITION COULD BE WILLINGNESS CARRY HIS POSITION AT CLOSE JAN 12 MEETING TO POINT OF THREATENING ACTUAL OR VIRTUAL BREAK AT NEXT MEETING UNLESS WE YIELD ON SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE. IT POSSIBLE THIS COULD BE DONE AS NEGOTIATING TACTIC, WITH INTENTION YIELDING AT MEETING AFTER NEXT, OR THAT BY NEXT MEETING CHICOMS WILL PERCEIVE WEAKNESS THEIR POSITION ON THIS AND SHIFT GROUND. HOWEVER, I SHOULD ALSO BE PREPARED FOR CONTINGENCY THREAT WOULD BE GENUINE.

THEREFORE, WOULD APPRECIATE MY INSTRUCTIONS FOR NEXT MEETING COVERING WHETHER IF NECESSARY IT IS DESIRED MAINTAIN MY PRESENT POSITION ON INCLUSION SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE UP TO POINT OF ACTUAL OR VIRTUAL BREAK. ONLY BY DOING SO COULD I COMPLETELY TEST STRENGTH POSITION HE MAY ADOPT THIS REGARD. AT SAME TIME WOULD NOT WANT TO BE PLACED IN POSITION OF APPEARING YIELD ON THIS POINT IN RESPONSE THREAT OF BREAD BY WANG.

WITH RESPECT IMPLEMENTATION WANG SHOWED NO ENTHUSIASM FOR DISCUSSION (IT WAS ALMOST 1 P. M. WHEN THIS INTRODUCED) AND HIS REPLIES WERE PERFUNCTORY AND ALONG FAMILIAR LINES. WITH RESPECT FIRST SENTENCE PARA 6 DEPTEL 1465 BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT, PARTICULARLY IN ANY PUBLIC OUTPUT, TO NOTE THEIR POSITION AND PARTICULARLY WANG'S POSITION WITH ME SINCE OUR EARLY EXCHANGES ON SUBJECT IS MORE SUBTLE THAN JUST ASSERTING THAT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DOES NOT APPLY TO IMPRISONED AMERICANS. POSITION IS THAT THERE IS "DISTINCTION" BETWEEN THOSE "WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES" AND THOSE WHO HAVE NOT. WITH REGARD TO THOSE "WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES" PRC IS TAKING "FURTHER MEASURES" ACCORDANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND "EXPEDITIOUS" MUST BE READ IN RELATION TO "SERIOUSNESS THEIR CRIMES" ETC. THIS ALSO BROUGHT OUT IN JAN 6 PEIPING FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKES-

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MAN STATEMENT AND AGAIN IN MY EXCHANGE WITH WANG JAN 12.

SEEMS TO ME OUR BEST NEGOTIATING AND PUBLIC POSITION IS TO REITERATE SIMPLE AND PUBLICLY UNDERSTANDABLE CHARGE OF FAILURE RELEASE "EXPEDITIOUSLY" ACCORDANCE CLEAR SEPT 10 COMMENT RATHER THAN GIVE CURRENCY ANY DOUBT IMPRISONED AMERICANS COVERED BY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

AS SIDELIGHT WANG INTRODUCED TWO NEW ASSISTANTS YESTERDAY, LAI YA-LI AND WANG PAO-LIU, REPLACING LIN AND LI. (AM TRANSMITTING SEPARATE TEL ASKING FOR AVAILABLE BI). ON TUESDAY MET WANG TOGETHER WITH WANG PAO-LIU IN PRAGUE AIRPORT THEY APPARENTLY HAVING COME FROM WARSAW. PRAGUE WE TRAVELED BY SAME PLANE TO ZURICH. WANG USED ALL OF HIS VERY LIMITED ENGLISH IN TAKING INITIATIVE CONGENIALLY GREET ME, INTRODUCE WANG PAO-LIU AND SOME INNOCUOUS CONVERSATION WHILE WE WERE WAITING BOARD PLANE.

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Control: 5965
Rec'd: January 13, 1956
9:58 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1369, January 13, 2 p.m. Transfer to BI

FROM JOHNSON

Lai Ya-Li (Matthews 3776, 7225, 3920) and Wang Pao-Liu (7037, 4946, 4080) respectively, replaced Li and Lin on CHICOM Ambassadorial delegation yesterday. Request biographic information.

GOWEN

MDG-6

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FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for January 19 meeting.

1. Point out that at last meeting in attempt to meet all legitimate Communist points, you had introduced amendment to their counter proposal of December 1. This amendment did not change essential features of Communist proposal, but for purpose of preventing future misunderstanding of scope and meaning, had introduced two clarifying insertions a) making clear it applied to Taiwan area, and b) that it was not intended to deny inherent right of two sides to individual and collective self-defense.

2. Refer to Wang's statement last meeting that Communists would be willing consider inclusion specific mention Taiwan area in renunciation of force declaration. This represents step forward and leaves only self-defense issue standing in way of agreement.

3. Insist on necessity to include provision for individual and collective self-defense for protection of rights of both sides. This cannot possibly be objectionable to either side since it is right long recognized by international law. It is expressly provided for in Article 51 of UN Charter.

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11136

DC/S
Rcvd 55

Drafted by: L:HPhleger/RNClough:ek 1/16/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: The Secretary - in draft
~~FE - Mr. Robertson~~
FE - Mr. Sebald

CA - Mr. Buccanaghy

S/S-CR
JAN 16 1956 P.M.

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
JAN 16 1956
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Having raised point, if US were now to agree to remove this provision from declaration on renunciation of force, it could be construed as a waiver by both sides of this inherent right and US cannot agree to this. You should point out that this is not designed in any way to commit Communists to renounce pursuit of their policies by peaceful means with respect to Taiwan, as was stated in your November 10 draft.

4. FYI. You should hold firm on this point. Department considers Communists unlikely break over this, for they would find their position difficult to defend publicly. However, even if Communists should break on this, Department considers it impossible to yield to Communist demand since this could be claimed by Communists to be relinquishment US right to enter collective defense arrangements in Taiwan area, and indeed its right to defend its ships and forces, and to participate in defense of offshore islands, if it decides to do so should they be attacked by Communists. END FYI

5. You should repeat arguments used last meeting, again reviewing course of negotiations and emphasizing US initiative on renunciation of force issue, and its having met every legitimate Communist proposal.

6. Make strong statement on implementation, concentrating on Communist failure fulfill Agreed Announcement expeditiously. Expose absurdity of Communist allegations that US obstructing departure Chinese by citing Baltimore Sun article on Liu An-hua. Avoid implying that US has

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has obligation or intention to investigate individuals named by Wang in absence any evidence that individuals in question being obstructed from going to Communist China. Wang's inability produce such evidence proves hollowness his charges. Weakness of Wang's position provides you opportunity take offensive as you did last meeting.

7. If Wang should renew demand that substance of discussions be made public, you should state that progress to date made possible by private character of discussions and detailing them to public would only hinder success. US has nothing to hide but has no desire transform talks from serious/discussion into propaganda contest.

8. FYI British learned on good authority in Peiping that Wang was there December 31.

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= DULLES

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OUTGOING
~~TELEGRAM~~ INSTRUCTION

Department of State

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1188

1188

A-173 January 16, 1956

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA

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FOR JOHNSON.

Your 1369. No data on Wang Pao-liu.

Lai Ya-li has been Deputy Director of General Office of CHICOM ~~Fan~~ Fonmin since October 1949, office headed by Wang Ping-nan until 1955. Lai apparently ~~xxxxxx~~ social scientist, reportedly once was secretary to General Feng Yu-hsiang. CHICOMS publicly identify Lai as member Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, but intelligence reports he Communist. In February 1949, reportedly arrived in Peiping as member delegation "democratic personages" from Manchuria. Same year, participated in first All-China Youth Conference, elected to National Committee All-China Federation Democratic Youth. Apparently ~~xxxxxx~~ relinquished connection youth organizations before 1953. In 1949, joined preparatory committee Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, became Executive Committee member and Deputy Secretary General Association. Relieved of these assignments by late 1954.

As Fonmin official, accompanied Chou to Moscow January 1950 for Sino-Soviet negotiations. Only other known trip outside China: In 1952 headed Sino-Soviet Friendship Association delegation to Mongolian-Soviet cultural conference in Ulan Bator.

Was delegate from Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee to Chinese People's

Political

Drafted by: FE:CA:JPNagoski:apt 1/16/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

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JAN 16 1956 P.M.

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Political Consultative Conference and has been one of directors Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

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January 16, 1956

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☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 9/5/82

Letter No. 29

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

We are trying to be more forehanded in getting out the guidance for your meetings. We are now having our preliminary session on Saturday preceding the Thursday meeting. This enables us to get out the first draft of the telegram by Monday morning. If all goes well we can get the Secretary's approval on Monday and dispatch the telegram before the close of business on that day. I believe you will agree that the extra day's margin is a good thing. We met with the Secretary last Monday, the 9th for about 45 minutes. He personally approved your instructions after making slight changes. I believe you will be interested in knowing that he continues to follow the talks closely notwithstanding the ever-mounting pressures on him. He gave no indication at the last meeting that he felt any change of tack on our part was needed. So there is no reason to expect any new departure in your guidance in the absence of agreement on the renunciation of force item and satisfactory implementation of the agreed announcement, or some

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

other major move by the Chinese Communists.

I am enclosing a copy of the Shepley article on the Secretary from the January 16 issue of Life Magazine. In view of the flurry this article has caused here we are taking no chances of your not having it. It is possible that it will either by mentioned by Wang or will influence the Chinese Communist tactics in some way. In any event it would be well for you to know what it says. Judge Phleger remarked on Saturday undoubtedly the article would receive close study in Peiping. He felt that it would probably have an influence on Peiping moves although it could not be predicted what the influence would be. It might well have something of a restraining and sobering effect, although the possibility of a different reaction could not be ruled out.

Mr. Robertson, Judge Phleger, Bill Sebald and I all agree that we cannot agree to any deletion of the provision for individual and collective self defense from a renunciation of force declaration. Your instructions as now drafted reflect this position. It seems clear to us that Wang's strategy is to tie our hands in the Taiwan area by getting us to renounce the right of self defense there. Then, by Chinese Communist reasoning, there would be no occasion for them to exercise any right of self defense in an "international" dispute and they could deal with the Chinese Nationalists as a domestic insurrectionary element the same as they would with an insurrection in Fukien Province.

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SECRET

My reaction to Wang's request that the talks be opened up, is that it indicates something of a turning point. I take it as a major decision probably growing out of Wang's reported consultation in Peiping. While it may have been something of a bluff, they had to be prepared for the possibility that we would call the bluff. It could mean that despite our not calling them they are prepared to make a unilateral move, although it may be significant that today, four days after Wang made the threat, there is still no public statement out of Peiping. At the least, Wang's move would seem to indicate that the Chinese Communists no longer have any real hope of getting what they want out of these talks. They undoubtedly expect to get a relaxation of the trade controls but figure that it will fall in their laps without their having to negotiate for it at Geneva. I dislike ~~for~~ our being put in a position of seeming to want secret negotiations and seeming to fear publicity as to what is going on in the talks. It is the supposed secrecy that has led to the misunderstanding of the talks which has hurt us, especially in the Far East. Our public position at a later stage could be harmed by an insistance now on preserving the private nature of the talks. However I concede that no further progress would be possible if we abandon the private nature of the talks. The opposing positions would be instantly frozen. However, it is a question of whether any further progress will be made anyhow.

SECRET

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SECRET

The clincher argument for trying to continue the private character of the talks is that the chance of protracting the talks for a while longer is certainly better if neither side goes to the public.

I was sorry to be away on the day of your meeting. I was up at the Naval War College making a speech on "U. S. Security Arrangements in the Far East".

I hope Wang will not bring up anything on alleged Chinese prisoners in American penitentiaries. We are continuing to make preliminary investigation against that contingency.

Regards to all four of you, commendations from all of us here, and continued good luck to you,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Article from Life Magazine
2. Article from Baltimore Sun

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

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1/6

34-35
Action

FE
Info

RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1387, JANUARY 17, 5 PM

1956 JAN 17 PM 2:32

Control: 27830
Rec'd: JANUARY 17, 1956
11:22 AM

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Action Assigned to [illegible]

Action Taken Reply Drafted

Date of Action 1/17/56

Action Taken Copy CA

Date of Signature R N Clough

Direction to DS/[illegible]

PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1 APPRECIATE AND ENTIRELY CONCUR GUIDANCE DEPTEL 1496 RE RENUNCIATION FORCE.

2. BELIEVE CHICOM FAILURE THUS FAR MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT IN SPITE WANG'S STATEMENT LAST MEETING INDICATES THEY APPRECIATE WEAKNESS THEIR PUBLIC POSITION AND GREATLY STRENGTHENS MY HAND.

3. IN VIEW THEIR FAILURE MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT, BELIEVE I SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR UNLIKELY BUT POSSIBLE CONTINGENCY WANG MAY ATTEMPT FORCE MY HAND AT NEXT MEETING BY EVENTUALLY AGREEING TO OUR AMENDED DRAFT AND PRESSING FOR PROMPT ISSUANCE. I WOULD, OF COURSE, UTILIZE EVERY POSSIBILITY OF DELAYING ANY DECISION TO AT LEAST NEXT FOLLOWING MEETING INCLUDING NECESSITY REFERRING TO DEPT ANY CHANGES WHATEVER IN TEXT. HOWEVER, IF HE SHOULD FULLY ACCEPT MY TEXT WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING ISSUANCE STATEMENT. WOULD SUGGEST THAT SAME PATTERN BE FOLLOWED AS WITH SEPTEMBER 10 AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, THAT IS, WOULD AGREE WITH WANG ON RELEASE TIME BY BOTH US HERE, TEXT TO BE MADE AVAILABLE PRESS BY DEPARTMENT SHORTLY THEREAFTER, TOGETHER WITH SUCH FURTHER COMMENT AS DEPARTMENT CONSIDERED DESIRABLE.

4. FOR FOLLOWING REASONS QUESTION SUGGESTED REPLY ON LIU AN-HUA: (A) I HAVE IN PAST CONSISTENTLY DEPRECATED WANG'S

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FEB 27 1959

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ATTEMPTS USE US OR OTHER PRESS SOURCES AS RELIABLE FOUNDATION FOR DISCUSSION IN OUR TALKS. IF I CITE PRESS SOURCE AS OFFICIAL ANSWER HIS INQUIRY RE LIU AN-HUA I OPEN DOOR FOR HIM THROW BACK AT ME MY PREVIOUS STATEMENTS THIS REGARD AND CONFRONT ME WITH PRESS STORIES THAT MAY IN WHOLE OR PART BE FAVORABLE CHICOM POSITION. (B) IF I REPLY CONCERNING LIU AN-HUA EVEN BY REFERENCE NEWS STORY DIFFICULT AVOID IMPLICATION ACCEPTANCE OBLIGATION REPLY OTHER CASES. FAILURE DO SO MIGHT THEN CARRY IMPLICATION FACTS OTHER CASES NOT FAVORABLE TO US.

5. WANG HAY THUS FAR CAREFULLY AVOIDED SPECIFICALLY CHARGING ANY INDIVIDUALS NAMED ARE BEING DENIED RIGHTS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND IS CLEVERLY COUCHING REQUEST MORE ON WHEREABOUTS AND WELFARE GROUNDS. AS BY-PRODUCT TO MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF OFFSETTING WEAKNESS THEIR PUBLIC POSITION ARISING FROM FAILURE RELEASE IMPRISONED AMERICANS THEY HOPE THEREBY ALSO LAY "HUMANITARIAN" BASIS FOR JUSTIFYING ENLARGEMENT INDIAN EMBASSY FUNCTIONS INFO THIS FIELD. ANOTHER BY-PRODUCT WOULD BE UTILIZE OUR FAILURE REPLY IN MEETINGS TO EXPAND PRECEDENT OF RED CROSS CHANNEL ESTABLISHED LIUN YUNG-MING'S CASE.

6. THIS EXERCISE ALSO PARTIALLY FISHING EXPEDITION IN HOPE FINDING CASE SOME CHINESE WHO IS IMPRISONED WITH WHICH BELABOR US FOR ANOTHER LIU YUNG-MING CASE.

7. BELIEVE POSITION WE ADOPT SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH POSITION WE HAVE THUS FAR TAKEN WITH RESPECT O'NEIL TAKING INITIATIVE IN VISITING IMPRISONED AMERICANS AS WELL AS WHEREABOUTS AND WELFARE INQUIRIES CONCERNING AMERICANS WE MAY IN FUTURE DESIRE TO MAKE EITHER DIRECTLY HERE OR THROUGH UK REPEAT UK.

8. THEREFORE, WITH RESPECT THIS ASPECT FOR NEXT MEETING SUGGEST I AVOID DIRECT REPLY CONCERNING ANY INDIVIDUALS NAMED BY WANG KEEPING DISCUSSION AS AT LAST MEETING STRICTLY TO US PERFORMANCE UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND CHICOM FAILURE

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PRODUCE ANY SPECIFIC EVIDENCE OF FAILURE FULLY IMPLEMENT ANNOUNCEMENT. BELIEVE I CAN MAKE MORE EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION EXPOSING HOLLOWNESS WANG'S CHARGES AND CYNICAL NATURE CHICOM ATTEMPT THROW UP SMOKESCREEN WITHOUT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONING LIU AN-HUA CASE. WOULD, OF COURSE, CONTINUE AVOID ANY IMPLICATION US HAS OBLIGATION INVESTIGATE INDIVIDUAL CASES IN ABSENCE SUCH EVIDENCE.

9. IN MEANWHILE SUGGEST VOA MAKE FULL WORLD-WIDE USE EXCELLENT MATERIAL ON LIU AN-HUA CONTAINED BALTIMORE SUN ARTICLE AS REFUTATION PEIPING BROADCASES.

COWEN

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 451

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☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

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1956 JAN 17 PM 4 44

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SENT TO: AMCONSUL [redacted] GENEVA 1507

Origin

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FOR JOHNSON

According ~~to~~ Dutch Embassy, Dutch Mission ~~in~~ Peiping learned from diplomatic colleague who had spoken to Wang Ping-nan that latter was in Peiping January 1. Wang reportedly remarked to informant ~~that~~ Chinese Communists were concerned at lack ~~of~~ progress in Geneva talks.

Dutch Mission reports general view among diplomatic corps Peiping is that Communists do not desire break off talks but are seeking means exert greater pressure on U. S.

Dulles DULLES
(WPMc)

611.93/1-1756

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:jmd 1/17/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy

Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: WE - Mr. Lancaster

JAN 17 1956
S/S - CR

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00024 537

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Your 1387.

1. If Wang should accept our amended draft without change and press for immediate announcement, you should inform him question of timing announcement must be referred Washington and proposed special meeting mutually satisfactory date during week beginning January 23 to make final arrangements for release day following such meeting. Department would agree to release first in Geneva and by Department shortly thereafter.

2. You given full discretion as to whether to refer to newspaper article Liu An-hua. FYI VOA broadcasting Liu An-hua case worldwide and seeking similar stories on other individuals mentioned by Wang.

= DULLES

Dulles

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WR RNClough/jmd/ikb 1/17/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: FE- Mr. Sebald

L-Mr. Phleger (in draft)

CA- McConaughy

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Control: 8275
Rec'd: January 18, 1956
6:30 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1388, January 18, 11 a.m.

SENT DEPARTMENT 1388; REPEATED INFORMATION NEW DELHI 28

FROM JOHNSON

Wang met Krishna Menon at airport yesterday evening and they conferred in airport for one hour during stopover Menon's plane. In response correspondent's questions following meeting, Menon said they had discussed subjects of these talks, United Nations and China. Wang refused made any statement.

GOWEN

MAM:MEB/7

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- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 7/20/82

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1956 JAN 18 AM 9 03
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Rec'd: JANUARY 19, 1956
12:26 P.M.

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Action taken _____

Officer _____

Precedence to DG/R _____

1/19

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1398, JANUARY 19, 5 P.M.

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. THREE HOUR TEN MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING.

2. WANG OPENED MEETING WITH LONG PREPARED STATEMENT REITERATING POSITION OF OBJECTION TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY CLAUSE ON GROUNDS IT WOULD REQUIRE THEM RECOGNIZE "U.S. OCCUPATION TAIWAN", REFERRED MY PREVIOUS STATEMENTS DECLARATION DID NOT INVOLVE THIRD PARTIES BUT SAID ATTEMPT INCORPORATE INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IN TAIWAN AREA AUTOMATICALLY INVOLVES "CHIANG CLIQUE". THEN REFERRING MY STATEMENTS THESE TALKS MUST BE FREE FROM THREAT OF FORCE, LAUNCHED INTO LONG AND STRONG ATTACK ON ALLEGED STATEMENTS BY SECRETARY WHICH CONSTITUTED "CLAMOR FOR ATOMIC WAR AGAINST CHINA", "CHINESE CANNOT BE INTIMIDATED", "BLACKMAIL DOOMED TO FAILURE", "CONDEMNED BY PLACE-LOVING PEOPLE" ETC., "THIS CANNOT BENEFIT OUR TALKS", "CANNOT BUT RAISE QUESTION WHETHER U.S. HAD GENUINE SINCERITY PEACEFULLY SETTLE QUESTIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND U.S."

I REPLIED WITH LONG EXTEMPORANEOUS STATEMENT FIRST PICKING UP HIS STATEMENTS CONCERNING SECRETARY WHICH I CHARACTERIZED AS "ENTIRELY UNCALLED FOR AND GROSS LIBEL". RECORD OF U.S. HAD MORE THAN DEMONSTRATED LACK AGGRESSIVE INTENT TOWARD OTHER COUNTRIES INCLUDING CHINA, CITED UNPARALLELED U.S. RESTRAINT IN KOREA IN FACE PROVOCATION CHINESE ATTACK WHICH GAVE EVERY MORAL AND LEGAL JUSTIFICATION FOR DEFENDING U.N. FORCES ATTACK CHINESE BASES. CONSISTENT U.S. RECORD

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OF FOSTERING AND PROTECTING FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OTHER PEOPLES. PURELY DEFENSIVE NATURE ALL U.S. COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED OVERWHELMING SENTIMENT AMERICAN PEOPLE NEVER TO INITIATE ATTACK. THERE IS NOTHING SECRETARY HAS EVER SAID IN ANY WAY THAT COULD POSSIBLY BE INTERPRETED IN TERMS EMPLOYED BY WANG. DURING SUBSEQUENT GIVE AND TAKE THIS SUBJECT IN RESPONSE MY DIRECT QUESTION WANG CITED "LIFE" ARTICLE AS BASIS FOR HIS STATEMENTS. IF HAD BEEN SAID BY "KNOWLAND OR MCCARTHY" WOULD HAVE BEEN IGNORED BUT COULD NOT BE IGNORED WHEN MADE BY SECRETARY. I SAID I HAD READ ARTICLE AND FIND NO STATEMENT BY SECRETARY THEREIN WHICH COULD REMOTELY SUPPORT WANG'S ALLEGATIONS. SAID HE SHOULD NOT CONFUSE OFFICIAL AND AUTHORIZED STATEMENTS WITH EXPRESSIONS OF OPINION MADE ON OWN RESPONSIBILITY BY WRITER MAGAZINE ARTICLE. DURING COURSE DISCUSSION HE STATED "HARD TO UNDERSTAND WHY U.S. ON ONE HAND INVITES PRC MAKE DECLARATION RENOUNCING FORCE WHILE ON OTHER HAND SECRETARY STATE REVEALS THAT ON THREE OCCASIONS U.S. WAS ON VERGE UNLEASHING ATOMIC WAR AGAINST CHINA". I REPLIED THAT I KNEW OF NO SUCH REVELATION BY SECRETARY BUT DID KNOW OF STATEMENTS OF DETERMINATION BY U.S. TO RESIST BY WAR IF NECESSARY AGGRESSION UNLEASHED BY OTHERS.

LONG DISCUSSION INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE FOR MOST PART REITERATED FORMER POSITIONS. WE EACH TOOK INCREASINGLY ADAMANT LINES, I FOLLOWING LINE DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 1496. I STATED AND REITERATED "U.S. CANNOT AND WILL NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES AGREE" IN NEGOTIATING THIS DECLARATION TO PRC DEMAND THAT U.S. RENOUNCE ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. WANG AVOIDED MEETING ME DIRECTLY ON GENERAL PRINCIPLE, GAVE NO REPLY TO MY INTERPRETATION OF NEGOTIATIONS AND YESTERDAY'S PUBLIC STATEMENT AS DENOUNCING U.S. RENOUNCE INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE BUT CAREFULLY LIMITED PRESENTATION HIS ADAMANT POSITION TO PRC RECOGNITION U.S. CLAIM APPLICABILITY THIS PRINCIPLE TAIWAN AREA. ADAMANCY THIS POSITION BEST REFLECTED BY WANG'S STATEMENT "IF U.S. INSISTS ON INCLUDING CLAUSE INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, I DO NOT SEE HOW WE CAN REACH ANY AGREEMENT."

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WHILE HE DID NOT CHALLENGE NEITHER DID HE CONFIRM MY REFERENCE TO HIS STATEMENT LAST MEETING CONCERNING WILLINGNESS CONSIDER SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN IN DECLARATION.

HE THEN INITIATED DISCUSSION IMPLEMENTATION WITH RELATIVELY MILD STATEMENT GIVING ME ADDITIONAL LIST OF FOUR NAMES. DISCUSSION FOR MOST PART FOLLOWED GENERAL LINES LAST MEETING.

AT CLOSE OF MEETING I MADE STATEMENT REFERRING THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT, CONCERN OVER EFFECTS ON TALKS AND MADE SOMEWHAT DOUBLE BARRELED QUERY WHETHER THIS INDICATED THEY DID NOT DESIRE TO CONTINUE THESE TALKS UPON BASIS WHICH I HAD SUGGESTED AT BEGINNING OF TALKS AND WHICH I HAD TRIED VERY HARD TO MAINTAIN. IN REPLY WANG STRESSED THEIR STATEMENT ONLY "ONE TIME OPERATION" REASONS FOR WHICH HE HAD GIVEN IN TWO PRIOR MEETINGS. REAFFIRMED DESIRE CONTINUE TALKS WITHOUT SUGGESTING MODIFICATION PRESENT PROCEDURES ON PUBLICITY. HE SAID "IT MY HOPE AND DESIRE THAT TALKS WILL REACH POSITIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE, HONEST OUTCOME."

HE TOOK INITIATIVE SUGGESTING NEXT MEETING, ASKING AS SPECIAL ACCOMMODATION BE HELD WEDNESDAY JANUARY 25. WHEN I ASKED WHETHER THIS FOR JUST ONE MEETING HE REPLIED HOPE NEXT FOLLOWING MEETING COULD BE HELD FRIDAY FEBRUARY 3. BUT IN RESPONSE MY SUGGESTION FEBRUARY 2 INSTEAD OF FEBRUARY 3 NEXT FOLLOWING MEETING WE AGREED LEAVE QUESTION OPEN UNTIL NEXT MEETING. (FOR DEPARTMENT'S INFORMATION "PORGY AND BESS" COMPANY ARRIVING PRAGUE FEBRUARY 4 AND I PLANNING HOLD LARGE RECEPTION FOR THEM FEBRUARY 4 OR 5.

GOWEN

WDR

455

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Control: 9378
Rec'd: JANUARY 19, 1956
3:29 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1402, JANUARY 19, 8 PM (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED 33D MEETING TODAY WITH VISIBLY HASTILY DRAWN PREPARED STATEMENT SAYING THAT AT OUR LAST MEETING HE ALREADY MADE SOME REMARKS ON MY PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS MORNING HE GOING MAKE FURTHER COMMENTS.

2. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I STATED THAT CHINA AND US CONFRONT EACH OTHER WITH POLICIES THAT IN CONFLICT BUT IT NEED NOT LEAD TO HOSTILITIES. IF SO, SOLUTION TO DISPUTES SHOULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND THAT EXACTLY SPECIFIED IN THEIR DRAFT. IF HOWEVER IT INTENTION US SIDE IN MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT TO MAINTAIN STATUS QUO OF OCCUPATION TAIWAN THEN AS HE HAD LONG AGO POINTED OUT HIS SIDE WOULD ABSOLUTELY NOT AGREE.

3. HE SAID I HAD REPEATEDLY SLATED CHINA NOT REQUIRED TO RENOUNCE POLICIES SHE HAS LAID DOWN. HOWEVER, POLICY OF CHINA IS EXACTLY TO LIBERATE TAIWAN. MY DRAFT REQUIRES THEM TO RECOGNIZE RIGHT OF US TO INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. THAT AIMS TO REQUIRE HIS SIDE RECOGNIZE US-CHIANG TREATY AS WELL AS RECOGNIZE US OCCUPATION TAIWAN.

4. WANG SAID FURTHERMORE MY DRAFT ATTEMPTED CONFUSE EXCLUSIVELY INTERNAL ISSUE OF CHINA WITH INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA US. THIS WOULD REQUIRE HIS SIDE GIVE UP LEGAL SOVEREIGN RIGHT OVER TAIWAN. AS HE HAD LONG POINTED OUT THIS WHAT HIS SIDE ABSOLUTELY WILL NOT DO.

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5. WANG SAID I HAD STATED USE OF FORCE DOES NOT ACCORD WITH ACCEPTED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT. HOWEVER IT EXACTLY US WHICH USING FORCE AND THREAT AGAINST CHINA IN TAIWAN AREA.

6. WANG SIAD, IN SPITE THIS HIS SIDE STILL MAINTAINS THAT DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA US BE SETTLED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. AS TO QUESTION IN WHICH MANNER CHINA WILL SETTLE INTERNAL ISSUES, AS HE HAD POINTED OUT LONG AGO, THAT EXCLUSIVELY MATTER CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND PERMITS NO FOREIGN COUNTRY'S INTERFERENCE.

7. WANG SAID AGAIN I HAD STATED THAT ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DOES NOT INVOLVE ANY THIRD PARTIES. HOWEVER IN DRAFT PUT FORWARD BY ME I RAISED QUESTION OF SO-CALLED INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. THAT EXACTLY AN ATTEMPT TO BRING CHIANG CLIQUE INTO MATTER.

8. WANG SAID THUS IT EVIDENT THAT AMENDED DRAFT PUT FORWARD BY ME JAN 12 AND MY ORIGINAL DRAFT NOV 10 CONTAIN PRACTICALLY NO DIFFERENCE AND THEREFORE IT NOT ACCEPTABLE.

9. WANG SAID MY SIDE ON ONE HAND SUGGESTED INSIDE CONFERENCE ROOM THAT ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE BE ISSUED. HOWEVER ON OTHER HAND OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD US SIDE NOT WILLING ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT THIS QUESTION. THIS CANNOT BUT RAISE QUESTION AS TO SINCERITY OF PROFESSED DESIRE SETTLE ISSUES BETWEEN CHINA US.

10. WANG SAID FURTHERMORE HE WOULD LIKE POINT OUT IN OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS I STATED THAT TALKS BETWEEN US MUST NOT BE HELD UNDER THREAT OF FORCE. YET US SECRETARY STATE MR DULLES HAD BEEN CLAMORING RECENTLY FOR ATOMIC WAR AGAINST CHINA. WAS THIS NOT OUTRIGHT THREAT?

11. WANG SAID IF MR. DULLES THINKS CHINESE PEOPLE CAN BE INTIMIDATED BY THREATS AND THAT CHINESE PEOPLE CAN BE FORCED GIVE UP THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS THIS ENTIRELY WISHFUL THINKING.

12. WANG SAID IT IS WELL TO RECALL THAT KOREAN ARMISTICE, RESTORATION PEACE IN INDOCHINA AS WELL AS WITHDRAWAL FROM TACHEN ISLANDS, ALL THESE EVENTS HAVE SUFFICIENTLY DEMONSTRATED

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FACT THAT FORCES OF WORLD PEOPLE FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE CANNOT BE STOPPED, WHEREAS POLICY OF POSITION OF STRENGTH AND ATOMIC BLACKMAIL DOOMED FAILURE.

13. WANG SAID RECENT WARLIKE UTTERANCES OF SECRETARY NOT ONLY PROVOKED GREATEST INDIGNATION ON PART CHINESE PEOPLE BUT ALSO CONDEMNED BY PEOPLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES INCLUDING PEACE LOVING PEOPLE IN US. COULD THESE UTTERANCES BE RECONCILED WITH PURPOSES PRESENT TALKS? COULD THESE UTTERANCES BE RECONCILED WITH FURTHER DESIRE FOR PROGRESS?

14. WANG SAID ALL THESE EVENTS CANNOT BUT RAISE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER U.S. HAS GENUINE SINCERITY TO SETTLE PEACEFULLY ISSUES AND DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND U.S.

15. I REPLIED EXTEMPORANEOUSLY SAYING WANG HAD AGAIN THIS MORNING SPOKEN OF SINCERITY. HE HAD MADE REMARKS CONCERNING SECRETARY OF STATE WHICH ENTIRELY UNCALLED FOR. I BELIEVED THAT RECORD OF U.S. IN WORLD AFFAIRS AS WELL AS RECORD IN THESE TALKS SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

16. I SAID U.S. HAS DEMONSTRATED NOT JUST IN WORDS BUT IN ACTIONS ITS DEVOTION TO CAUSE OF PEACE. IT HAS ALSO DEMONSTRATED NOT JUST IN WORDS BUT IN ACTIONS ITS DEVOTION TO SUPPORTING FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF ALL PEOPLES.

17. I SAID U.S. HAS DEMONSTRATED NOT ONLY BY WORDS BUT BY ACTIONS ITS COMPLETE LACK ANY AGGRESSIVE INTENT WHATSOEVER NOT ONLY TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES BUT ALSO TOWARDS WANG'S COUNTRY.

18. I SAID WANG HAD MENTIONED KOREA. I WAS SURE THERE IS NOT IN HISTORY OF WORLD ANY GREATER EXAMPLE OF SELF-RESTRAINT AND LACK AGGRESSIVE INTENTION TOWARDS OTHER PEOPLE THAN THAT DEMONSTRATED BY U.S. IN KOREAN HOSTILITIES. ACTIONS OF FORCES UNDER CONTROL OF WANG'S GOVERNMENT CROSSING INTO KOREA AND ATTACKING U.S. AND OTHER FORCES THERE OPERATING UNDER AUTHORITY U.N. GAVE EVERY MORAL AND LEGAL JUSTIFICATION FOR

THOSE U.N. FORCES DEFEND THEMSELVES BY ATTACKING BASES IN HIS COUNTRY FROM WHICH CHINESE FORCES WERE SUPPORTED.

GOWEN

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Action Assigned to ——

Control: 9390

Action Rec'd: JANUARY 19, 1956 3:56 PM

Date of Action ——

Action Officer ——

Name of Officer ——

Direction to RM/R ——

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1402, JANUARY 19, 8 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

PRIORITY

19. I SAID U.N. FORCES RESTRAINED THEMSELVES FROM TAKING THAT ACTION BECAUSE OF GREAT DESIRE, IN SPITE ACTIONS WANG'S GOVERNMENT, NOT TO SPREAD WAR. FOR MONTH UPON WEARY MONTH CHINESE REPRESENTATIVES REFUSED AGREE ANY REASONABLE ARMISTICE THAT WOULD STOP HOSTILITIES. EVENTUALLY DURING PERIOD THAT MR. DULLES WAS SECRETARY STATE, ARMISTICE WAS FINALLY CONCLUDED.

20. I SAID EVERY AGREEMENT OR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT U.S. HAS ENTERED INTO AROUND WORLD INCLUDING FAR EAST VERY SPECIFICALLY AND CLEARLY LIMITED TO SELF DEFENSE, SELF DEFENSE NOT ONLY OF SELVES BUT COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE WITH OTHER LIKE-MINDED COUNTRIES WHICH FEAR AGGRESSION.

21. I SAID PRESIDENT OF U.S. AND SECRETARY STATE HAVE TIME AND AGAIN EXPRESSED OVERWHELMING SENTIMENT OF AMERICAN PEOPLE IN STATING U.S. WILL NEVER ATTACK ANYONE. TO STATE THAT SECRETARY IS "CLAMORING FOR ATOMIC WAR" IS GROSS LIBEL WHICH I MOST STRONGLY RESENTED.

22. I SAID I WELL AWARE OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF SECRETARY. THERE WAS NOTHING SECRETARY HAD EVER SAID IN ANY WAY THAT COULD POSSIBLY BE INTERPRETED IN THAT FASHION. TO DO SO WAS GROSSEST TYPE MISREPRESENTATION.

23. I SAID AS FAR AS DEVOTION TO PEACE AND DESIRE AVOID WAR IS CONCERNED AND WITH RESPECT THESE TALKS I WAS SATISFIED FACTS ARE EQUALLY CLEAR. AS I HAD REVIEWED WITH HIM AT LAST MEETING AND AS HE HAD AGAIN RECOGNIZED IN HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING, IT WAS U.S. WHICH PROPOSED WE MAKE IT CLEAR WE WERE

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DETERMINED SETTLE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS AND NOT RESORT WAR.

24. I SAID THERE IS VAST DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROPOSING NEGOTIATE WITH OVERHANGING THREAT OF ATTACK IN BACKGROUND AND PROPOSAL DEFINITIVELY TO REMOVE THREAT OF WAR AND THEN SEEK PEACEFUL MEANS RESOLVING OUR DISPUTES.

25. I SAID WANG HAD RONSISTENTLY IN THESE TALKS AND HIS GOVERNMENT HAD IN ITS PUBLIC STATEMENT ISSUED YESTERDAY IGNORED PLAIN STATEMENT I MADE IN MY ORIGINAL PROPOSAL OCTOBER 8. I HAD MADE IT CLEAR IN THAT STATEMENT, HAD MADE IT CLEAR IN ALL STATEMENTS I EVER MADE IN THESE MEETINGS, HAD MADE IT CLEAR IN DRAFT NOVEMBER 10, THAT IT WAS NOT SUGGESTED THAT WANG'S GOVERNMENT RENOUNCE IN ANY WAY PEACEFUL PURSUIT POLICY OBJECTIVES WHICH IT BELIEVED IT LEGITIMATELY ENTITLED ACHIEVE. THOSE NOT JUST IDLE WORDS. I HAD ATTEMPTED ALREADY CARRY OUT THAT INTENT. IT WAS STATED VERY SPECIFICALLY IN NOVEMBER 10 DRAFT, BUT IN ORDER MEET WANG'S OBJECTIONS TO THAT DRAFT, I TRIED ANOTHER FORMULA IN AMENDMENTS WHICH I SUGGESTED TO HIS DRAFT OF DECEMBER 1.

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26. I SAID AT OUR LAST MEETING I HAD OFDERED CONSIDER ANY ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION HE MIGHT HAVE IN MIND. I CERTAINLY DIDN'T SEE HOW IT POSSIBLE FOR ME BE ANY MORE REASONABLE THIS REGARD.

27. I SAID THERE ARE TWO THINGS THAT I HAD CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL. ONE IS THAT WE MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE NO CONCEALED RESERVATIONS WITH REGARD TAIWAN AREA. I HAD WELCOMED HIS STATEMENT LAST MEETING THAT HE WILLING CONSIDER INCLUSION OF WORDS THAT WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR TAIWAN AREA INCLUDED IN SCOPE ANY DECLARATION WE MADE. THIS SEEMED TO ME BE VERY ENCOURAGING STEP TOWARDS FINAL AGREEMENT.

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28. I SAID THAT SEEMED TO ME LEAVE ONLY ONE OBSTACLE. THAT OBSTACLE DID NOT SEEM BE MATTER OF SUBSTANCE BUT RATHER MATTER OF FINDING WORDS EXPRESS SUBSTANCE. I HAD REFERENCE TO MATTER OF INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE.

29. I SAID WE HAD BOTH IN THESE MEETINGS EXPRESSED CONCURRENRE WITH THIS AS PRINCIPLE. I HAD CLEARLY EXPRESSED TO WANG MY INTENT THAT IN STATING PRINCIPLE,. IT SHOULD NOT PREJUDICE HIS POSITION WITH RE NATURE OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. I HONESTLY FELT I HAD ACCOMPLISHED THAT PURPOSE IN SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS I PROPOSED AT LAST MEETING. HOWEVER I HAD SAID IF HE FELT DIFFERENTLY I WAS WILLING CONSIDER OTHER SUGGESTIONS HE MIGHT HAVE THAT REGARD.

30. I SAID HAVING AGREED ON SUBSTANCE IT CERTAINLY SEEMED TO ME NOT UNREASONABLE AND NOT BEYOND INGENUITY OF TWO OF US TO FIND WORDS EXPRESS THAT SUBSTANCE.

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ACTION COPY

Action Assigned to

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53
Action

Action Taken

Control: 9414

Rec'd: JANUARY 19, 1956
4:35 PM

FE
Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

Date of Action

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol

NO: 1402, JANUARY 19, 8 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

Name of Officer

SS
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Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

31. I SAID IT HAD NEVER OCCURED TO ME THAT THIS PRINCIPLE SO LONG RECOGNIZED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW, EMBODIED IN U.N. CHARTER AND GENERALLY ACCEPTED THROUGHOUT WORLD COULD BE OBJECTIONABLE ANYONE. IT NEVER OCCURRED ME THAT ANY COUNTRY WHICH GENUINELY CONCERNED WITH OWN SOVEREIGNTY AND WILLING RESPECT THAT OF OTHER COUNTRIES WOULD BE OPPOSED TO IT.

32. I SAID IT HARD TO SEE HOW ANY COUNTRY WOULD DESIRE GO ON PUBLIC RECORD AS ADMITTING ITS POLICIES WERE INCONSISTENT WITH LEGITIMATE EXERCISE BY OTHER COUNTRIES OF RIGHT SELF DEFENSE.

33. I SAID I REPEATED THAT IN STATING THIS IT NEVER HAD BEEN AND STILL WAS NOT MY INTENTION DEMAND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT ABANDON ANY OF ITS CLAIMS OR ITS VIEWS OR ITS RIGHT TO PEACEFUL PURSUIT ITS POLICIES, NO MATTER HOW STRONGLY I MIGHT DISAGREE WITH SOME OF THOSE POLICIES.

34. I SAID HOWEVER AS OUR NEGOTIATIONS UPON THIS SUBJECT HAD DEVELOPED, AND PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF PUBLIC STATEMENT MADE BY WANG'S GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY, IT APPEARED THAT INTENT OF HIS GOVERNMENT WAS TO DEMAND THAT IN NEGOTIATING THIS STATEMENT MY GOVERNMENT RENOUNCE ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE. I WANTED MAKE IT PERFECTLY PLAIN THAT MY GOVERNMENT CANNOT AND WILL NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES AGREE TO DO THIS.

35. AT THIS POINT, 11 A.M., WANG CONSULTED AT SOME LENGTH WITH HIS INTERPRETER. ALSO MESSENGER BROUGHT IN THREE-PAGE CHINESE LETTER WHICH WANG GLANCED AT BRIEFLY BEFORE PROCEEDING.

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36. WANG SAID THIS MORNING HE HAD SPECIFICALLY POINTED OUT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN US SHOULD BE AIMED AT BRINGING ABOUT PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF DISPUTE BETWEEN US IN TAIWAN AREA AND RELAXATION TENSION IN FAR EAST. THEREFORE, HE HELD NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE HELD UNDER OVERHANGING THREAT OF FORCE. AS HE HAD POINTED OUT THIS MORNING, STATEMENT BY SECRETARY CONTAINED FLAGRANT THREATS AGAINST HIS SIDE, AND IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT SUCH THREATENING UTTERANCES ON PART OF SECRETARY OF STATE OF US WOULD NOT RPT NOT BRING PEOPLE OF US ANY GOOD. NOR WOULD THESE STATEMENTS RAISE PRESTIGE OF AMERICAN PEOPLE.

37. WANG SAID I HAD SPOKEN MUCH ABOUT US PEACEFUL INTENTIONS IN WORLD. HOWEVER, IF US GENUINELY WILLING, NOT BY WORDS BUT BUT ACTION, TO DEMONSTRATE ITS PEACEFUL INTENT, IT WAS CAPABLE MAKING GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD PEACE. TODAY, PEOPLE OF WORLD CAPABLE MAKING OWN JUDGEMENTS, WHICH MADE NOT ON BASIS WORDS BUT ACTIONS DEMONSTRATED. FROM DEVELOPMENT OF EVENTS IN FIELD OF DISARMAMENT, FROM ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY BASES AROUND WORLD, FROM OPEN INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS KOREA, AND ARMED INTERVENTION IN TAIWAN, PEOPLE OF WORLD ABLE JUDGE BY WHOM PEACE BEING BREACHED, AND THAT ALL THESE EVENTS RUN AGAINST INTERNATIONAL LAW AND JUSTICE.

38. WANG SAID, IN MENTIONING THESE PAST EVENTS HE HAD NO INTEREST GO INTO DEBATE WITH ME, FOR I WELL KNEW WE COULD HOLD LONG DEBATES WITHOUT COMING TO ANY USEFUL CONCLUSION. HE WISED ONLY MAKE SPECIFIC MENTION EVENTS IN KOREA AND TAIWAN. HE CONVINCED HISTORY WOULD PASS JUDGEMENT AS TO WHICH SIDE HAD ENGAGED IN INTERVENTION IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF OTHERS, AS WELL AS WHICH ENGAGED IN ARMED AGGRESSION. PEOPLE OF WORLD WILL MAKE OWN JUDGEMENTS.

39. WANG SAID THAT I HAD REFERRED TO DRAFTING OF ANNOUNCEENT RENOUNCING USE FORCE AND SETTING FORTH PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. HE WAS SURE I WELL AWARE THEIR EFFORTS THIS DIRECTION, THAT IS, THAT THEY WERE STRIVING IN THIS DIRECTION TO BRING ABOUT AGREEMENT. ON QUESTION OF AN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE, THEIR SIDE HAD REPEATEDLY MADE CONCESSIONS. IF BOTH SIDES FOLLOWED PRINCIPLES INTERNATIONAL LAW AND BOTH SHARED SAME DESIRE FOR PEACE,

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PEACE, HARD FOR HIM SEE WHY LATEST DRAFT CHINESE SIDE UNACCEPTABLE.

40. WANG SAID THIS MORNING I HAD AGAIN STATED US HAD NO INTENT DEMAND CHINESE SIDE RENOUNCE ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHTS, OR ABANDON ITS VIEWS, OR RENOUNCE PURSUIT ITS POLICIES. HOWEVER, IN NEXT INSTANT I HAD AGAIN RAISED QUESTION OF US RIGHT OF SELF DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA AND HAD STATED US WOULD NOT RENOUNCE ITS CLAIMS TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. THIS LATEST STATEMENT PRACTICALLY REFUTES ALL MY OTHER STATEMENTS AND RENDERS THEM MEANINGLESS.

41. WANG SAID IT WAS THEIR VIEW THAT BOTH SIDES MUST MAKE EQUAL EFFORTS COME TO AGREEMENT. CHINESE SIDE HAS MADE SUCH EFFORTS BUT US HAS NOT. THEREFORE, DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TWO OF US NOT ONE OF SPECIFIC FORMULATION OR OF CHOICE OF WORDS, BUT ONE OF SUBSTANCE. IF US INSISTED ON INCLUDING PHRASE CONCERNING INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE IN DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, HE DID NOT SEE HOW WE COULD REACH ANY AGREEMENT. THIS OUTCOME WAS NOT CHINESE DESIRE OR HOPE.

42. I RESPONDED THAT, FIRST, WANG INSISTING ON BELABORING SUPPOSED QUESTION OF STATEMENTS BY SECRETARY OF STATE. I WOULD LIKE SPECIFICALLY ASK WHAT STATEMENT OR STATEMENTS?

43. WANG SAID THIS WAS STATEMENT NOW KNOWN EVERYWHERE AND HE REFERRING TO STATEMENT APPEARED LIFE MAGAZINE.

44. I SAID I WONDERED WHETHER OR NOT WANG ALONG WITH MANY OTHERS MIGHT NOT BE CONFUSING OFFICIAL AND AUTHORIZED STATEMENTS OF SECRETARY OF STATE WITH OPINIONS AND VIEWS ISSUED ON OWN RESPONSIBILITY BY WRITER OF MAGAZINE ARTICLES. I MIGHT ADD THAT I HAD READ ARTICLE IN ENTIRETY AND COULD FIND NO STATEMENT THEREIN BY SECRETARY OF STATE THAT COULD REMOTELY SUPPORT STATEMENTS WANG MADE HERE THIS MORNING.

45. WANG SAID TALKS BETWEEN TWO OF US SHOULD BE AIMED AT SETTLING PEACEFULLY DISPUTE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES INSTEAD OF AT CREATING TENSIONS. PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WOULD NOT ONLY BRING ABOUT RELAXATION TENSIONS IN WORLD

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WORLD BUT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO CAUSE OF PEACE IN WORLD. HARD FOR THEM UNDERSTAND WHY US ON ONE HAND INVITED THEM DISCUSS MAKING JOINT ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE, WHILE ON OTHER HAND US SECSTATE REVEALED THAT ON THREE OCCASIONS US HAD BEEN ON VERGE OF UNLEASHING ATOMIC WAR AGAINST CHINA. SUPPOSE THESE DISCLOSURES HAD BEEN MADE BY SOMEONE ELSE--- SENATOR KNOWLAND OR MR. MCCARTHY---CHINESE COULD OMIT REF TO THEM IN THESE TALKS. HOWEVER, THEY NOTED THESE STATEMENTS BEING MADE BY PERSONALITY IN CHARGE AND GUIDANCE OF US FOREIGN POLICY, AND THOSE STATEMENTS CERTAINLY CAUSED ALARM ON PART OF CHINESE. THEY COULD NOT HELP RAISING QUESTION AS TO WHETHER US FOREIGN POLICY, UNDER GUIDANCE MR DULLES, ADVOCATED NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TWO SIDES OR ADVOCATED USE OF ATOMIC BOMBS AGAINST CHINA. HE ONLY WANTED MAKE IT PLAIN AND CLEAR CHINESE PEOPLE WERE NOT TO BE FRIGHTENED BY THIS SORT OF TALK.

46. WANG SAID, IN PARTICULAR THEY THOUGHT THAT AT TIME WHILE SINO-AMERICAN TALKS WERE IN PROGRESS, THESE UTTERANCES WOULD SERVE NO USEFUL PURPOSE. AND HE WANTED TO POINT OUT ALSO THAT HE WHO PLAYS WITH FIRE IS ONE WHO GETS BURNT IN THE END.

47. I SAID I HAD SEEN NO STATEMENT BY SECRETARY IN LIFE ARTICLE OR ELSEWHERE, OR EVER UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES ANYWHERE, SPEAKING OF UNLEASHING AN ATOMIC WAR ON CHINA OR ON ANY OTHER COUNTRY. I HAD HOWEVER SEEN STATEMENTS REFERRING TO DETERMINATION OF US TO RESIST, BY WAR IF NECESSARY, AGRESSION UNLEASHED BY OTHERS.

48. WANG SAID HE HAD MADE CLEAR HIS VIEWS ON THIS SITUATION AND HAD NOTHING FURTHER TO ADD.

49. I SAID, TURNING TO HIS REMARKS CONCERNING OUR DRAFT, HE HAD APPARENTLY SLIGHTLY MISUNDERSTOOD OR MISINTERPRETED STATEMENT I HAD MADE THIS MORNING. WHAT I WAS SPEAKING OF CONCERNING EMBODIMENT IN ANY DECLARATION OF STATEMENT ON INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE, WAS THAT IT BE CLEARLY EMBODIED AS A PRINCIPLE. WHAT I HAD SAID WAS THAT IN LIGHT OF HISTORY THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND PARTICULARLY PUBLIC STATEMENT ISSUED BY CHINESE GOVT YESTERDAY, THEY WERE IN EFFECT DEMANDING THAT US RENOUNCE THIS PRINCIPLE. I HAD SAID THIS WAS WHAT WE WOULD NOT DO. IN THIS, THEY WERE ASKING US TO DO SOMETHING THAT WE HAD NOT ASKED THEM TO DO.

50. WANG SAID HE HAD MADE THEIR POSITION CRYSTAL CLEAR IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS AS WELL AS TODAY ON QUESTION OF DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT. AS HE HAD SAID, HE WOULD WELCOME ANY CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL OR AMENDMENT WHICH I WILLING PRESENT.

51. I SAID I HAD ALSO MADE MY POSITION CLEAR. AMENDMENTS WHICH I HAD SUGGESTED TO THEIR DEC 1 DRAFT, IN SPITE OF THEIR IMPORTANCE, DID NOT CHANGE DRAFT'S ESSENTIAL NATURE. I HAD INCORPORATED THEM IN FORM SUCH THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR ME TO SEE WHY THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY ACCEPTABLE. I HAD OFFERED CONSIDER ANY ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS THAT WOULD ACCOMPLSH SAME PURPOSE. I WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT THIS MORNING HE PERSISTED IN REJECTING WHAT I HAD OFFERED WITHOUT MAKING ANY CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS OF HIS OWN. I DID NOT SEE HOW I COULD GO ANY FURTHER.

52. WANG SAID I COULD SEE THAT THEY HAD ALREADY MADE REPEATED EFFORTS ON QUESTION OF DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT. I WOULD RECALL THAT IN THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL THEY PROPOSED TO INCLUDE CERTAIN SPECIFIC STIPULATIONS OF UN CHARTER AS WELL AS PARA CONCERNING HOLDING CONFERENCE FOREIGN MINISTERS. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OUR RELUCTANCE ACCEPT THAT DRAFT AND IN SPITE FACT STIPULATIONS UN CHARTER COULD BE IN NO WAY OBJECTED TO, SUBSEQUENTLY IN INTEREST FORMULATING DRAFT MEETING VIEWS BOTH SIDES, CHINESE SIDE PUT FORWARD DEC 1. DRAFT, IN WHICH PARAS CONCERNING UN CHARTER AND CONVENING FOREIGN MINISTER CONFERENCE WERE WITHDRAWN.

53. WANG SAID, HOWEVER WITHDRAWAL OF TWO PARAS DID NOT MEAN PARAS THEMSELVES WERE OBJECTIONABLE OR THAT THEY NOT PROPER FOR INCLUSION IN DRAFT. WITHDRAWAL TWO PARAS FROM ORIGINAL DRAFT DID NOT MEAN THEY WERE NOT QUALIFIED FOR INCLUSION, BUT REPRESENTED EFFORT THEIR PART FORMULATE AN ACCEPTABLE FORM AND EFFORT THEIR PART TO WORK FOR MAKING SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT AND NOT FOR ITS HINDRANCE. THEREFORE, HARD FOR HIM SEE WHY I NOT WILLING ACCEPT CONCRETE PROPOSAL HE PUT FORTH LAST MEETING: TO WITHDRAW PHRASE CONCERNING INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE FROM AMENDMENT TO DRAFT I HAD PUT FORWARD AT LAST MEETING.

54. I SAID IT SHOULD BE CLEAR TO HIM AND HIS GOVERNMENT THAT, FROM MANNER IN WHICH THIS QUESTION OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE HAD BEEN HANDLED BY HIM IN THESE MEETINGS AS WELL AS IN PUBLIC STATEMENT MADE BY GOVT.; ANY FAILURE TO MENTION THIS IN

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THIS IN ANY DRAFT WE MIGHT ISSUE WOULD INEVITABLY BE REPRESENTED AS RENUNCIATION ON PART OF US OF ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF SELF DEFENSE. IT SHOULD BE EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THIS WAS DEMAND WHICH IT ENTIRELY IMPOSSIBLE FOR US ACCEPT.

55. WANG SAID WANTED MAKE CLEAR POSITION HIS GOVERNMENT THIS REGARD. THAT WAS, THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY DRAFT WHICH INCLUDED PHRASE DEALING WITH SO CALLED RIGHT TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. IF THEY DID ACCEPT SUCH PHRASE, WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT RECOGNITION ON THEIR PART OF OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN BY US. THIS WHY THIS (RPT THIS) PHRASE ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM.

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Action FE

Info RMR SS G SP C L IO

Control: 9442
Rec'd: JANUARY 19, 1956
5:26 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1402, JANUARY 19, 8 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

PRIORITY

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

56. I SAID I HAD NOTHING FURTHER ON THIS. DID HE HAVE ANYTHING ELSE?

57. WANG SAID, WITH REFERENCE TO SEVEN CHINESE MENTIONED HIS PREVIOUS LETTER TO ME, AS WELL AS LIST OF THREE HANDED ME LAST MEETING, WONDERED IF I HAD ANY INFORMATON? HE HAD FURTHER LIST OF FOUR CHINESE IN US WHO WANT RETURN ANY WHO EITHER BEEN PREVENTED OR WHO HAVE NOT BEEN HEARD FROM FOR LONG TIME BY FAMILIES. WOULD LIKE TO HAND ME LIST (NAMES IN FOL TEL) AND REQUESTED MY GOVT INVESTIGATE. SHOULD NOTE THAT IN LIST HAD ENTERED FULL DETAILS CONCERNING THEM. HE ONLY WANTED SAY THAT CHINESE NOT SATISFIED WITH SITUATION ENCOUNTERED THESE PERSONS AND FACT THEY NOT ABLE RETURN.

58. I ASKED WHAT WAS HIS ALLEGATION CONCERNING THESE PERSONS? WAS IT THAT THEY WANTED RETURN BUT WERE BEING PREVENTED?

59. WANG SAID FAMILIES OF SOME HAVE NOT HEARD FROM THEM FOR LONG PERIOD, OTHERS DESIRE RETURN BUT UNABLE DO SO.

60. I ASKED IF ALLEGATION WAS THEY OBSTRUCTED?

61. WANG SAID YES.

62. I SAID IF THEY FELT THEY ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION THEY COULD FREELY CONTACT INDIAN EMBASSY. IS ALLEGATION THAT THEY BEING PREVENTED COMMUNICATE INDIAN EMBASSY?

63. WANG SAID THERE WERE VARIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES. SOME THESE PEOPLE NOT INFORMED CONCERNING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND THEREFORE

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NOT INFORMED OF SPECIFIC MEASURES IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND HAD NO KNOWLEDGE ABOUT COMMUNICATION WITH INDIAN EMBASSY.

64. I SAID IT NOT CREDIBLE TO ME THAT ANY CHINESE IN US WHO DECIDED RETURN HAD NOT HEARD OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD OUTLINED TO HIM AT TIME ISSUANCE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT EXCEPTIONAL MEASURES TAKEN TO BRING IT TO ATTENTION OF EVERY CHINESE IN US. SINCE THAT TIME, AS I HAD MENTIONED PREVIOUS MEETING, 70,000 COPIES FULL TEXT POSTED IN EACH OF 36,000 POST OFFICES IN US. INEVITABLE THAT IT WOULD BE BROUGHT THEIR ATTENTION SOME MANNER. ALSO LIKE MENTION, IF HE HAD NOT NOTICED, PRESS RELEASE BY DEPT. OF DEC 18 (I LATER CORRECTED DATE TO 17TH) WHICH STATED: "IF ANYONE KNOWS OF ANY CHINESE WHO WISHES TO LEAVE OR WHO CLAIMS HE IS BEING PREVENTED, HE SHOULD COMMUNICATE AT ONCE WITH THE DEPT OF STATE OR THE INDIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON, WHICH THE US HAS AGREED MAY RENDER ASSISTANCE". IF THERE WERE IN FACT ANY OBSTRUCTION DEPARTURE ANY THESE PEOPLE, REASONABLE THAT AT LEAST ONE CASE WOULD HAVE BEEN BROUGHT ATTENTION INDIAN EMBASSY. HE OFTEN HERE AND STATEMENT HIS GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY CONTINUALLY REFERRED TO APPLYING PERMISSION DEPART. I HAD OVER AND OVER AGAIN EXPLAINED HIM, AND IT WAS CONFIRMABLE BY INDIAN EMBASSY AND ANY ONE ELSE, THAT CHINESE WISHING DEPART NEED NOT APLY TO ANYONE.

65. I SAID IF WE WERE GOING BOG DISCUSSIONS DOWN HERE WITH CASE EVERY CHINESE IN US WHO FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER DOES NOT EXERCISE HIS RIGHT TO WRITE PERSON HIS COUNTRY, DID NOT SEEM TO ME WE COULD GET ANYWHERE.

66. I SAID IT SHOULD BE MOST REASSURING HIM THAT THUS FAR INDIAN EMBASSY HAS BROUGHT NO CASE TO ATTENTION DEPT CONCERNING OBSTRUCTION TO DEPARTURE OF CHINESE. I WOULD BE VERY HAPPY AND PEOPLE MY COUNTRY WOULD BE MUCH GRATIFIED IF THAT WERE SITUATION REGARDING US CITIZENS IN CHINA.

67. I SAID I PERFECTLY AWARE NUMBER AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY WITH NO DESIRE RETURN US. THIS ENTIRELY MATTER DECISION AND RIGHT OF INDIVIDUALS. I HAD NOT MADE ANY ISSUE THESE CASES. MY GOVERNMENT NOR I HERE HAD NOT STATED THESE PRESSURED, TERRORIZED,

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OR IN ANY OTHER WAY PREVENTED LEAVING, ALTHOUGH THIS MIGHT BE CASE. HOWEVER, I MAKING NO SUCH CHARGE. I HAD TRIED KEEP DISCUSSIONS WITHIN TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPT 10. IF I HAD EVIDENCE ANY THESE PEOPLE BEING PREVENTED IN THEIR DESIRE DEPART, I WOULD TAKE IT UP HERE. HOWEVER, MY GOVT AND I MYSELF HAVE NO DESIRE CREATE HYPOTHETICAL ISSUES FOR SAKE PROPAGANDA OR MAKE EXAGGERATED CHARGES FOR PUBLIC CONSUMPTION. I CAREFULY TRYING AVOID PLACE THIS TYPE OBSTACLE IN WAY IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS AND PROGRESS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES.

68. I SAID MY GOVT CONTINUES INCREASINGLY CONCERNED FATE THIRTEEN AMERICANS IN PRISON WHO INDISPUTABLY FALL WITHIN CATEGORY SPECIFICALLY COVERED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS NOT PROPAGANDA ISSUE WITH US IN ANY SENSE. IT QUESTION VALIDITY AND USEFULNESS OF ANY AGREEMENTS BETWEEN US. THESE THIRTEEN CERTAINLY DESIRE RETURN. THEY CLEARLY BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. THEIR FREEDOM COMMUNICATE UK CHARGE DEFINITELY BEEN PLACED UNDER LIMITATIONS. THEY SHOULD BE PROMPTLY EXPEDITIOUSLY ALLOWED EXERCISE RIGHT RETURN.

69. WANG SAID AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT OUR AGREEMENT ALTHOUGH US CLAIMED IT MADE WIDE PUBLICATION CONCERNING AGREEMENT, THERE STILL MANY PEOPLE WHO NOT INFORMED ABOUT AGREEMENT. FURTHERMORE, IN VIEW FACT THAT US HAD FAILED SUBMIT LIST OF CHINESE IN US, INDIAN EMBASSY HAD NO MEANS INFORM THESE PEOPLE.

70. WANG SAID IN ADDITION MANY CHINESE STUDENTS IN US HAVE WRITTEN HOME THEIR FAMILIES COMPLALINING OF MANY DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES THEY ENCOUNTERING.

71. WANG SAID MOST CONSPICIOUS CASE IS THAT OF LIU YUNG-MING. LIU INNOCENT PERSON WHO NEVER COMMITTED ANY OFFENSES AGAINST US YET HE HAD BEEN CONFINED IN MENTAL HOSPITAL LONG TIME. EVEN AFTER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT 10 US GOVT FAILED TAKE ANY MEASURES REGARDING HIM. IT ONLY AFTER WANG HAD WRITTEN LETTER TO ME THAT LIU ALLOWED RETURN.

72. WANG SAID AS HE STATED AT LAST MEETING ALTHOUGH HE WELCOMED MEASURES TAKEN EFFECT LIU'S RETURN, HE ENTIRELY DISSATISFIED WITH TREATMENT LIU SUBJECTED TO FOR SUCH LONG TIME.

73. WANG SAID FURTHERMORE I HAD FAILED GIVE THEM PRECISE INFORMATION CONCERNING ANY CHINESE IN US PRISONS. THEY HAD SEEN NO MEASURES TAKEN BY US GOVT TO REMOVE REQUIREMENT FOR CHINESE IN US SECURE ENTRY PERMITS FOR TAIWAN. ALL THESE THINGS INDICATED HINDRANCES IN WAY OF RETURN OF CHINESE IN US.

74. WANG SAID HE HOPED I WOULD MAKE INVESTIGATION INTO SITUATION THESE PEOPLE WHOSE NAMES HE GAVE ME IN HIS LETTERS AS WELL AS LISTS HE GVE ME AT LAST MEETING AND AT TODAY'S MEETING. HE HOPED MEASURES WOULD BE TAKEN ASSISTING THEM RETURN.

GOWEN

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Action Assigned to 1/16

Action Taken

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 9453
Rec'd: JANUARY 19, 1956
6:08 PM

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1402, JANUARY 19, 8 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

PRIORITY

75. WANG SAID HE WOULD LIKE POINT OUT NAMES THESE PEOPLE WERE NOT INCLUDED IN LIST I GAVE THEM OF CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN. HE WISHED EXPRESS HIS DISSATISFACTION OVER THIS FACT.

76. I REPLIED THAT WITH REGARD LIU, I SIMPLY WANTED POINT OUT NO ACTION EVER TAKEN BY US GOVT PREVENT HIS DEPARTURE. LIU WAS AND STILL IS SICK MAN. HE HOSPITALIZED MANY YEARS AT PUBLIC EXPENSE IN US. ONLY MEMBER OF FAMILY WHO APPARENTLY EVER TOOK TROUBLE CORRESPOND WITH HOSPITAL WAS LIU'S FATHER.

77. I SAID IF WANG WOULD REFER TO FULL RECORD CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN FATHER AND HOSPITAL HE WOULD NOTE THAT FATHER ASKED THAT LIU'S TREATMENT BE CONTINUED.

78. I SAID SOON AS WORD RECEIVED THAT LIU'S WIFE DID NOT DESIRE HAVE TREATMENT CONTINUED BUT WANTED HIM RETURN, AND THAT HE WAS WILLING RETURN, ALTHOUGH LIU NOT FULLY RECOVERED ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR HIM DEPART. THERE CERTAINLY NO LEGITIMATE GROUNDS FOR COMPLAINT REGARDING HIS TREATMENT. IN FACT IT WOULD SEEM TO ME QUITE OPPOSITE.

79. WANG SAID SUPERINTENDENT OF HOPSPITAL IN WHICH LIU KEPT WROTE LETTER WHICH FULLY PROVED THAT LIU COULD HAVE LEFT HOSPITAL LONG AGO. LIU ALSO WANTED RETURN. HIS FAMILY ALWAYS WANTED HIM RETURN. HOWEVER, HE NOT ABLE DO SO FOR LONG TIME. QUESTION OF LIU AND HIS SITUATION QUITE CLEAR.

80. I SAID NEITHER WANG NOR MYSELF WERE PSYCHIATRISTS, BUT THERE CERTAINLY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ABILITY TO TRAVEL, WHICH APPARENTLY WAS LIUT'S CONDITION IN 1950, AND BEING CURED OF

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ILLNESS. CERTAINLY NEITHER HOSPITAL OR ANY OTHER OFFICIAL AGENCY IN US WOULD HAVE ANY INTEREST IN TREATMENT OF PERSON MENTALLY ILL OTHER THAN PURE HUMANITARIAN.

81. WANG SAID HE THOUGHT DOCTOR IN THIS HOSPITAL WAS ONE WHO CAPABLE MAKING JUST STATEMENT REGARDING CONDITION LIU.

82. I SAID I WOULD THINK SO TOO AND DOCTOR SAYS LIU STILL NOT CURED.

83. WANG SAID BUT THEY HAD LETTER WRITTEN BY SUPERINTENDENT HOSPITAL STATING LIU WAS FIT TO LEAVE HOPSITAL LONG AGO.

84. I SAID, THAT IS, FIT TO TRAVEL.

85. WANG SAID YES.

86. I SAID I ONLY WANTED TO SAY BEFORE LEAVING THAT I WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED TO NOTE THAT IN SPITE DISCUSSION LAST MEETING WANG'S GOVT SAW FIT ISSUE STATEMENT WITH REGARD TALKS. IT DIFFICULT FOR ME SEE HOW THIS COULD HELP US MAKIE PROGRESS. AS I SAID AT LAST MEETING, I DID NOT SEE HOW PUBLIC AIRING OUR DIFFERENCES HELPED TOWARDS SOLUTION PROBLEMS. IT ONLY AGGRAVATES THEM.

87. I SAID I WONDERED IF THIS INDICATED WHETHER HIS GOVERNMENT STILL INTRESTED IN CONTINUING THESE TALKS UPON BASIS WHICH I SUGGESTED AT BEGINNING AND WHICH I HAD TRIED VERY HARD MAINTAIN.

88. I SAID EXCEEDINGLY HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY RESTS UPON TWO OF US HERE. I HAD TRIED FOR MY PART TO DISCHARGE TALKS WE FACE HERE WITH DEEP SENSE THAT RESPONSIBILITY. I WILLING CONTINUE DO SO. I HOPED WANG SHARED MY FEELING THIS REGARD.

89. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT CHARGES I HAD LEVELED AGAINST THEIR ACTION IN MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT. HE HAD AT PREVIOUS TWO MEETINGS EXPLAINED HIS POSITION AND REASON TTHAT LED FOR THIS ONE TIME TO MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THEIR PART.

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90. WANG SAID I ASKED WHETHER THEY INTERESTED IN CONTINUING THESE TALKS IN PREVIOUS MANNER. HE WANTED POINT OUT THAT IN PAST HIS SIDE HAD CONSISTENTLY BEEN ADHERING TO FORM OF TALKS. HOWEVER, FORM IN WHICH TALKS BEING CARRIED ON SHOULD BE AIMED AT FACILITATING DEVELOPMENT OF OUR TALKS.

91. WANG SAID HE AGREED WITH ME THAT WE HAD EXCEEDINGLY HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY IN TALKS. PUBLIC OPINION IN WORLD HAD GIVEN OUR TALKS GREAT ATTENTION AS WELL AS GREAT HOPE. PUBLIC DESIRES TO SEE IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AS WELL AS RELAXING TENSION IN FAR EAST IN WORLD. HOWEVER, PUBLIC DOES NOT WANT SEE OUR TALKS REMAINING IN OLD POSITION WITHOUT MAKING PROGRESS FORWARD.

92. WANG SAID THEY HAVE ALWAYS ADVOCATED MEANS OF NEGOTIATION TO FIND WAY TO SETTLE STATUTES PEACEFULLY. PRC SIDE WILL FULLY AND CERTAINLY DISCHARGE TASK WHICH WE SHOULDER. IT HIS DESIRE AND HOPE THAT OUR TALKS MAKE POSITIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE AND HONEST-TO-GOODNESS PROGRESS.

93. WANG SAID HE WOULD LIKE ADVANCE NEXT MEETING FROM 26 TO 25 JANUARY INSTEAD OF USUAL THURSDAY.

94. I ASKED WHETHER THIS JUST FOR THIS ONE MEETING.

95. WANG SAID THEY WOULD POSSIBLY WANT TO DELAY THE NEXT FOLLOWING MEETING ONE DAY TO FEB 3, FRIDAY, INSTEAD OF FEB 2.

96. I INDICATED I AGREED TO 25 JAN MEETING BUT INDICATED I MIGHT HAVE SOME DIFFICULTY AGREEING TO LATTER CHANGE.

97. WANG SUGGESTED WE LEAVE THAT QUESTION OPEN UNTIL NEXT MEETING.

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456

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

1/6

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53-51
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1403, JANUARY 20, 1 AM

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENT ON TODAY'S MEETING:

Control: 9485 FE/P
Rec'd: JANUARY 19, 1956
7:53 PM

Action Assigned to CA/D
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

Secretariat
Director
Political
Econ
PSA - Director
V
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FA
Ex Dir
Fcst Man
Budget

WITH RESPECT RENUNCIATION FORCE, POSITION CONCERNING SELF DEFENSE CLAUSE FROZE VERY TIGHT AT TODAY'S MEETING WITH ONLY SLIGHT OPENING LEFT BY WANG. THEIR YESTERDAY'S PUBLIC STATEMENT OF COURSE ALSO TENDS RIGIDIFY THEIR POSITION AT LEAST FOR TIME BEING.

WANG'S PERSISTENT RELATION OF PRC OBJECTION ON SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE TO ITS LINKAGE WITH TAIWAN AREA SUGGESTS THAT WAY TO AGREEMENT MIGHT BE BY REPHRASING AND OR REPOSTIONING CLAUSE. QUESTION IS WHO TAKES INITIATVIE IN SUGGESTING CHANGE.

I DO NOT SEE ANY IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITY BREAKING THIS DEADLOCK AND WOUD PROPOSE AT NEXT MEETING ONLY TO CAREFULLY REVIEW AND REITERATE OUR POSITION.

ALTHOUGH NOT EXPLICITLY CONFIRMED AT TODAY'S MEETING, I FEEL THAT THEY HAVE ACCEPTED INCLUSION SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN, AS WELL AS "MEANS" IN PLACE OF "NEGOTIATIONS". MUCH OF WANG'S COMMENTS ON SELF-DENFENSE CLAUSE WERE BASED ON IMPLCIT ASSUMPTION TAIWAN WAS INCLUDED IN PARAGRAPH.

I PURPOSELY REFRAINED FROM MY USUAL TACTIC OF INITIATING IMPLEMENTATION DISCUSSION AND HE WAS QUICK TO TAKE INITIATIVE. IN CONTRAST TO ACRIMONIOUS DISCUSSION OF "LIFE" ARTICLE AND

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FEB 27 1959

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RENUNCIATION FORCE, HIS MANNER AND LANGUAGE IN INTRODUCING IMPLEMENTATION AND PARTICULARLY WHEN PRESENTING ADDITIONAL LIST OF NAMES WAS VERY MILD AND POLITE.

I ALSO WENT SOME LENGTH IN TESTING THEIR DESIRE CONTINUE MEETINGS AND IT IS CLEAR THEY DESIRE TO DO SO FOR IMMEDIATE FUTURE. HOWEVER, WOULD BE RASH TO HAZARD ANY GUESS HOW LONG THIS MAY CONTINUE IF NO NEW ELEMENT IS INTRODUCED.

IC CONSIDERING FUTURE COURSE I AM CONTINUING CONSIDER EFFECTS ON REMAINING 13 AMERICANS. I HAVE NO DOUBT IF IT WERE POSSIBLE REACH AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE STATEMENT, PARTICULARLY IF INITIATIVE CAME FROM US, ADDITIONAL RELEASES WOULD TAKE PLACE. IN ABSENCE SOME SUCH DEVELOPMENT OR ADDITIONAL INDIRECT PRESSURE THAT COULD BE APPLIED DIFFICULT TO FORSEE CHICOMS FULLY CARRYING OUT THIS COMMITMENT IN NEAR FUTURE. IN THIS CONNECTION FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH CORRESPONDENTS AND PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS HERE AM IMPRESSED WITH SUCCESS OF CHICOM SMOKE SCREEN ON SITUATION OF CHINESE IN US. MOST SEEM IMPRESSED BY CHICOM CITATION SPECIFIC NAMES AND FEEL MUST BE SOME FIRE WHERE SO MUCH SMOKE. ALSO ARE CONFUSED BY LIU YUNG-MING CASE. HAVE FOUND MOST EFFECTIVE REBUTTAL IS CITATION FACT NOT SINGLE REPRESENTATION YET RECEIVED FROM INDIANS. WE NEED GET OUR STORY ACROSS BETTER THIS REGARD, AND REPEAT ON ALL POSSIBLE OCCASIONS.

MESSAGE UNSIGNED

OW

BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1956 JAN 20 AM 7 30

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Rec'd: JANUARY 19, 1956

10:42 PM

Action Taken

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1405, JANUARY 10, 1 AM

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM JOHNSON

FOL IS LIST HANDED ME BY WANG AT BOARD MEETING:

. . . . . .

611.93/1-1056

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Department of State

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1956 JAN 20 PM 6 44

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1524

FOR JOHNSON

Following statement being released by Department 11 a.m. January 21:

QUOTE

The Chinese Communists issued a misleading statement on January 18 regarding the Geneva discussions which have been taking place between United States Ambassador Johnson and Chinese Communist Ambassador Wang. It is thus necessary that the record be set straight.

These conferences were started last August to discuss the repatriation of civilians and other "practical matters at issue".

AGREEMENT TO REPATRIATION OF CIVILIANS

On September 10, 1955 the representatives of both sides, by agreement, issued statements that civilians were entitled to return to their own countries (Annex A).

The Communist declaration stated:

"The Peoples Republic of China recognizes that Americans in the Peoples Republic of China who desire to return to the United States are entitled to do so, and declares that it has adopted and will further adopt appropriate measures so that they can expeditiously exercise their right to return."

As of

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 1/20/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: FE - Mr. Sebald ND - Mr. White

JAN 20 1956 P.M.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

As of today, four months after this declaration was made, only six out of the nineteen for whom representations were being made on September 10 have been released. Thirteen Americans are still in Communist prisons.

As for the United States, any Chinese is free to leave the United States for any destination of his choosing, and not a single one has been refused exit. The Indian Embassy which was designated to assist any Chinese who wished to leave, has not brought to the attention of this Government any case of a Chinese who claims he is being prevented from leaving, nor has it stated that it is impeded in any way in carrying out its functions under the terms of the September 10 Agreed Announcement.

DISCUSSION OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE

After this Agreed Announcement was made, the two sides proceeded to discuss "other practical matters at issue between them".

The Communists suggested the topics of the termination of the trade embargo against Communist China and the holding of a meeting by the Foreign Ministers of both sides.

Ambassador Johnson at the October 8, 1955 meeting, pointed out that progress in further discussions could not be expected in the face of continuing Communist threats to take Taiwan by military force, and suggested that both sides agree to announce that they renounced the use of force generally and particularly in the Taiwan Area and agree to settle their differences by peaceful means. The United States representative made

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made clear that this renunciation of the use of force was not designed to commit the Communists to renounce pursuit of their policies by peaceful means with respect to Taiwan. These proposals were in the terms shown as Annex B.

Three weeks after the United States proposal to renounce the use of force, the Communists on October 27 proposed a draft, a copy of which is shown on Annex C. In this proposal, the Communists pointedly omitted any reference to the Taiwan Area, or to the recognition of the right of self-defense, and inserted a provision for an immediate meeting of Foreign Ministers.

This proposal was unacceptable because it would have made it possible for the Communists to claim that the proposal did not apply to the Taiwan Area, which is the very place against which the Communist threats are directed, and to claim further that the United States had renounced the right to use force in self-defense. Ambassador Johnson further pointed out that consideration of higher level meetings was neither appropriate nor acdeptable under existing circumstances.

On November 10, 1955, Ambassador Johnson, in an attempt to reach an acceptable form of declaration, submitted a new draft declaration (Annex D). This made clear that the renunciation of the use of force was without prejudice to the peaceful pursuit of its policies by either side;

that

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that it had general application, but applied particularly to the Taiwan Area; and that it did not deprive either side of the right of self-defense.

The United States proposal was rejected by the Communists, who, on December 1, 1955, made a counter-proposal (Annex E). This represented an advance over their previous proposal in that it dropped the provision for talks on the Foreign Minister level in favor of the continuance of Ambassadorial talks, but still pointedly omitted any reference to the Taiwan area and to recognition of the right of self-defense.

In a further effort to reach agreement, Ambassador Johnson, at the January 12 meeting, suggested two simple amendments to the Communist counter-proposal. These were the insertion of the words "without prejudice to the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense" and of the words "in the Taiwan Area or elsewhere". This United States revision of the Chinese counter-proposal is shown in Annex F.

THE COMMUNIST PUBLIC STATEMENT

This was the status of the discussions when the Communists released their public statement of January 18.

The Communist statement apparently rejects the United States proposal. It states "Taiwan is Chinese territory: there can be no question of defense, as far as the United States is concerned. ...Yet the United States has demanded the right of defense of the Taiwan Area. Is this not precisely a

demand

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demand that China accept continued occupation of Taiwan and that the tension in the Taiwan Area be maintained forever." And further, it states: "The American side continues to demand that our side accept that the United States has 'the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense' in China's Taiwan Area. This is what our side absolutely cannot accept."

THE UNITED STATES POSITION

Two points must be made clear. First, the United States is not occupying Taiwan, and Taiwan has never been a part of Communist China. The claims of Communist China and the contentions of the United States with respect to this area are well known and constitute a major dispute between them. It is specifically with respect to this dispute that the United States has proposed the principle of renunciation of force and the settlement of differences by peaceful means. This is the principle which the Communists say they have accepted.

In this connection the United States has made completely clear that in renouncing the use of force neither side is relinquishing its objectives and policies, but only the use of force to attain them.

Secondly, the United States has rights and responsibilities in the Taiwan Area; also it has a Mutual Defense Treaty. Accordingly, it is present in the Taiwan Area. The Communist refusal to state that the renunciation of force is without prejudice to the right of self-defense against

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against armed attack can only be interpreted as an attempt to induce the United States to agree that if attacked it will forego the right to defend its lawful presence in this area.

The right of individual and collective self-defense against armed attack is inherent; it is recognized in International Law: it is specifically affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations. No country can be expected to forego this right. Indeed the Communists should be as anxious to preserve this right as is the United States.

CONCLUSION

The present exchange makes clear that:

1. Four months after the Communists announced that they would adopt measures to permit Americans in China to return to the United States, 13 Americans are still held in Communist prisons.

2. The United States proposed that the parties renounce the use of force without prejudice to the right of individual and collective self-defense against armed attack, in order that the discussions might take place free from the threat of war.

3. The United States made clear that this renunciation would not prejudice either side in the pursuit of its objectives and policies by peaceful means.

4. The Communists, while stating that they accept the principle of the renunciation of force, have deprived such acceptance of its value

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by refusing to agree that it is without prejudice to the right of individual and collective self-defense against armed attack and that it is applicable to the Taiwan Area.

In short, the Communists so far seem willing to renounce force only if they are first conceded the goals for which they would use force.

The United States for its part, intends to persist in the way of peace. We seek the now overdue fulfillment by the Chinese Communists of their undertaking that the Americans now in China should be allowed expeditiously to return. We seek this not only for humanitarian reasons but because respect for international undertakings lies at the foundation of a stable international order. We shall also seek with perseverance a meaningful renunciation of force, particularly in the Taiwan Area.

END QUOTE

Dulles
(W.B.S.)
DULLES

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459

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
JAN 26 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

January 20, 1956.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Exrise as shown) B_____
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 21

Dear Walter:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 16 and especially for your forethought in sending me a copy of the Shepley article. As you will see the subject came up in a very major way at yesterday's meeting and I was able to handle it against the background of full knowledge of the contents of the article.

I do not think there can be any question but that the article stung Peiping and that at the minimum they felt they had to react at least verbally. I have tried to kill much speculation among the correspondents here that the article called forth the Chicom statement on the talks, letting it be known that Wang had informed me at last meeting before the furor concerning the Shepley article had started, that they were going to issue the statement. Whether or not the Shepley article in fact had any effect on their final decision, it gave them a convenient peg on which to hang their release.

I had to handle my reply to Wang entirely off the cuff but believe I made the major points. I had not anticipated quite this kind of presentation from him and thought it would more likely be a passing reference such as his reference to Quarles' statement the preceding meeting which I could, if I chose, ignore.

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

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However, his presentation with regard to the Shepley article was such I felt it incumbent to reply at some length.

I have tried fully and frankly to cover my views with regard to the situation in my telegrams and have little to add.

You can be sure that I more than share your concern over the possibility, and I think even probability, that eventually some Chinese in jail that desires to return will turn up. I am a little concerned over being too specific in my statements each of the persons mentioned in his lists is free to return, just on the chance one of them might turn out to be imprisoned, deceased, or some other such thing.

I agreed with him yesterday on changing the date of meeting after I had verified that it was not an attempt to step-up the frequency of the meetings. Knowing your schedule on getting my instructions to me, as well as the likelihood that little new would be needed for the next meeting, it should not present any problem to you back there. By agreeing to it of course enabled me somewhat to balance off his agreeing to my Christmas recess and puts me back in the position of being able to ask for any change that we might desire in the future.

As a sidelight, as promised, Wang promptly furnished me copies of their January 18 statement and his interpreter just called Ekvall and asked that I furnish them copies of any statement that the Department may issue, which I agreed to do.

I stayed here last week-end in order to be on hand if and when they issued their public statement and I am staying here this week-end because of the meeting on Wednesday. However, I hope to leave Wednesday night so that I can get back to Prague on Thursday as things are piling up back there.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

460

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Department of State

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Control: 10597
Rec'd: January 21, 1956
12:05 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1410, January 21, 5 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

Department's telegram 1524. Unclassified

Statement is excellent and from my standpoint strikes exactly right note. Yesterday Wang asked for copy of any statement made by Department and I am sending copies to him as soon as press reports Department release has been made. Will also make copies available to correspondents here in response inquiries.

GOWEN

LMC

Note: Mr. Haring (FE-DO) notified, 1/21/56, 2:40 p.m., CWO/FED

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken

Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DO/R

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1956 JAN 23 AM 8 13
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VERBATIM TEXT

1530

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY [redacted]
FOR JOHNSON

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Chinese Communist Vice Minister made following reply to letter sent by O'Neill make representations on behalf McCarthy:

QUOTE

~~XXX~~ American criminal McCarthy offended against Chinese law and has been sentenced by ~~XXX~~ competent Chinese Authorities. During ~~XXX~~ period of his sentence McCarthy has no right ~~XX~~ demand repatriation and accordingly ~~XXX~~ question of his encountering obstruction in departure does not arise. According to statement agreed to during Sino-American Ambassadorial talks, American criminals in China are basically different from law abiding Americans in China. American criminals in China cannot exercise their right of repatriation until ~~XXX~~ Chinese Government has adopted measures. As to what sort of measures China adopts in accordance with its own legal procedure, and when it adopts these measures in respect of these persons, this is a matter of [group undeciphered. China's] sovereignty and will be decided by China herself.

UNQUOTE

You

Drafted by: FE:CA:RHClough:ek 1/23/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger - in substance FE - Mr. Sebald

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Dulles
(WPMcA)

= DULLES

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Page [illegible] of telegram to Acconsul GENEVA 1530 (Control 9560) 1/23/[illegible] 6

1/24/56 [illegible]:30 am
CORRECTED PAGE 2

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FW 611.93/1-2356

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (462)

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Department of State

09503 546

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Classification

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1531
FOR JOHNSON

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

In response to request from Miner UK Charge made representations his behalf and received reply dated January 18 stating ~~that~~ Shanghai authorities have been taking active measures to help Miner settle his affairs and some progress made. However, Miner had intentionally delayed liquidation some his firms. Reply added authorities continuing help him but he himself responsible for his inability leave China quickly and his statement that he was being obstructed was not true.

Local representative Starr Interests says Miner reported recently he had completely transferred one firm to Chinese Communists and about to complete second. He appeared optimistic as result progress being made. Consequently, Department not requesting further British representations this time.

Dulles
(WOMMLEES

DC/R
Ans: 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 1/23/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

JAN 23 1956 P.M.

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Department of State

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA
FOR JOHNSON

PRIORITY 1533

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for January 25 meeting.

1. Concur your proposal only to review and reiterate U.S. position on renunciation of force. Department's press release January 21 (DEPTEL 1524) affords guide line for your presentation.

2. You should not take any initiative to rephrase or reposition self-defense clause so as to set it apart from reference to Taiwan area, but you can make clear that its location is not designed to ~~[illegible]~~ estop the Chinese Communists ~~into renouncing~~ from pursuit of their policies by peaceful means with respect to Taiwan.

3. Renew demand that Communists make good on their undertaking to release Americans expeditiously. Reiterate no Chinese being prevented from leaving U.S., no case of Chinese claiming he being obstructed has been brought to Department's attention by Indian Embassy, no response received to Department's public statement December 16 asking anyone who knew of Chinese being obstructed to communicate at once with Department or Indian Embassy. Chinese in U.S. completely free to write to relatives on mainland China if they wish. No U.S. responsibility for fact that some fail to write. FYI

Department

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DC/T

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:WPMcConaughy/ek/jmd 1/23/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE:WSRobertson

Clearances:
S - The Secretary
L - Mr. Phleger
FE - Mr. Sebald

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Classification

JAN 25 1956 P.M.

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Department investigating case of Yuan Jui-hsiang (Your 1365), alleged by Wang to have been taken into custody by US Immigration Service. Will take some time since Immigration does not maintain central files individual cases and must query each immigration district office. May be impossible trace if name given by Wang differs radically from spelling used by individual himself. END FYI.

4. Contrast US performance with Communist refusal so far fulfill their commitment and emphasize Communist non-fulfillment would cast doubt on dependability of their pledged word.

5. Point out that responsibility for dragging out of talks lies with Communists, who not only fail to carry out their pledge of September 10, but also refuse to accept reasonable U. S. proposal for renunciation of force by both sides which would remove threat of war in Taiwan area and permit constructive discussion other practical matters at issue.

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Control Act 11833
Rec'd: JANUARY 24, 1956
12:40 PM

Date of Action

Action

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1416, JANUARY 24, 5 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

WANG SENT ME 3:30 P.M. TODAY COPIES LONG FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT JANUARY 24 REPLYING DEPT'S JAN.21 STATEMENT. PRESUME DEPT RECEIVING VIA FBIS.

STATEMENT CONTAINS LITTLE NEW APART FROM SLIGHT HARDENING AND AMPLIFICTION OF LINE:

"SITUATION IN WHICH ONE SIDE FAITHFULLY EXECUTES AGREEMENT WHILE OTHER SIDE UNSCRUPULOUSLY VIOLATES IT IS NOT PERMITTED CONTINUE FOR LONG".

"CHINA HAS CONSISTENTLY STOOD FOR RESPECTING RIGHT OF EACH COUNTRY TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE.....HOWEVER, ON CHINESE TERRITORY OF TAIWAN, CAN BE NO QUESTION OF SELF-DEFENSE SO FAR AS US CONCERNED."

"AMBASSADORIAL TALKS HAVE PROVED INCAPABLE OF SETTLING SUCH MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE QUESTION AS RELAXATION AND ELIMINATION TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA. CHINESE SIDE HOLDS THAT SINO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS MUST BE HELD, AS THIS IS PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR SETTLING THIS QUESTION".

STATEMENT ENDS: "SHOULD US PERSIST IN SUCH UNREASONABLE DEMAND AND DRAG OUT TALKS WITHOUT ANY SETTLEMENT, US MUST BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL CONSEQUENCES".

I MAKING NO COMMENT HERE.

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Control: 12455

Rec'd: 1 JANUARY 25, 1956

10:50 A.M.

1956 JAN 25 PM 1 42

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1419, JANUARY 25, 4 P.M.

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PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

THREE HOUR TWENTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING.

I OPENED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE. STRESSED PROPOSED DECLARATION WAS ESSENTIAL PRELIMINARY OTHER DISCUSSIONS, FACT IT DID NOT REQUIRE ACCEPTANCE BY EITHER SIDE OR VIEWS OF OTHER. POINTED OUT HIS ATTEMPT FORCE US INTO RENOUNCING SELF-DEFENSE RIGHT WAS DISTORTION ORIGINAL PROPOSAL AND WAS "EFFORT OBTAIN US CAPITULATION TO PRC DEMANDS WITH RESPECT OUR CONTROVERSY TAIWAN AREA". CANNOT EXPECT THIS TO SUCCEED.

WANG REPLIED WITH STRONG ATTACK ON US RECORD KOREA, BITTER REPETITION CHARGE OF US "OCCUPATION" TAIWAN AND ASSERTION US BUILDING BASE THERE FOR MAINLAND INVASION. SAID FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE MUST BE HELD TO SETTLE QUESTION RELAXATION TENSION, REALIZE PRINCIPLE NON-USE FORCE. DEMANDED WITHDRAWAL US FORCES FROM TAIWAN.

I REITERATED FACTS ON RESTRAINT OF US AND UN ACTION KOREA, REFUTED HIS CHARGE OF US "OCCUPATION" TAIWAN BY STATEMENT PURELY DEFENSIVE AND LIMITED CHARACTER OUR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH GRC, WHICH UN MEMBER AND RECOGNIZED BY MAJORITY OF WORLD GOVERNMENTS. AGAIN ASSURED WANG WE NOT ASKING THEY ACCEPT OUR VIEWS, CONTRASTING THIS WITH HIS ATTEMPT FORCE US CAPITULATE TO VIEWS PRC REGARDING TAIWAN CONTROVERSY. I MADE THIS STATEMENT AS POINTED AS POSSIBLE AND REITERATED IT IN GIVE AND TAKE IN ORDER TEST WHETHER WANG WOULD DENY THEY

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ATTEMPTING DEMAND US CAPITULATION. HE REFUSED ALL OPENINGS TO DENY IT, REAFFIRMED THAT "LIBERATION" TAIWAN IS EXERCISE OF CHINESE PEOPLES' INHERENT RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE, FINALLY STATED FLATLY "IT NOT SUFFICIENT MERELY TO STATE THAT EITHER SIDE MAY NOT ACCEPT VIEWS OF OTHER. SOME VIEWS MUST BE OPPOSED".

ON IMPLEMENTATION I TOOK INITIATIVE WITH MY MOST FORCEFUL REFUTATION TO DATE THEIR ATTEMPT CLAIM DISTINCTION BETWEEN "ORDINARY" AND "LAW-BREAKING" AMERICANS, REFERRING TO PRC VICE MINISTER'S LETTER TO O'NEILL (DEPTEL 1530). WANG REAFFIRMED THEIR POSITION SUPPORTING DISTINCTION, REITERATED STANDARD CHARGES, DEMANDED REVOCATION ALLEGED TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT REQUIREMENT AND OTHER PRESSURES ON CHINESE IN US, DEMANDED "ACCOUNTING" PERSONS ON HIS PREVIOUS LISTS. HANDED ME NEW LIST 4 UNHEARD FROM CHINESE IN US.

IN GIVE AND TAKE I STRESSED LACK REPRESENTATIONS FROM INDIANS TO WHICH WANG HAD NO REBUTTAL.

AT CLOSE, WANG SUGGESTED INSTEAD OF POSTPONING NEXT MEETING TO FEBRUARY 3 IT BE MOVED TO JANUARY 28. I DECLINED, SAYING HAD MADE ARRANGEMENTS FOR FEBRUARY 3 MEETING ACCORDANCE HIS PROPOSAL LAST MEETING, BUT SAID I WILLING MEET ON FEBRUARY 2 AS PER REGULAR SCHEDULE. WANG SHIFTED BACK TO FEBRUARY 3 DATE TO WHICH I AGREED.

LEAVING FOR PRAGUE THURSDAY. RETURNING TUESDAY.

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Control: 12693
Rec'd: JANUARY 25, 1956
6:47 PM

Action Taken

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1422, JANUARY 25, 11 PM (SECTION 1 OF 7)

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PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 34TH MEETING TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT AS FOLS:

A. I HAVE GIVEN CONSIDERABLE THOUGHT SINCE OUR LAST MEETING TO NATURE AND ORIGIN OF DIFFICULTY WHICH CONFRONTS US IN PRESENT STAGE OUR TALKS. I DO NOT MEAN TO MINIMIZE SIGNIFICANCE OF ISSUES INVOLVED IN OUR AREA OF DISAGREEMENT, BUT I AM ENCOURAGED TO BELIEVE IF WE ARE SINCERELY DETERMINED TO SEEK WITH PERSERVERANCE MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE, WHICH WILL ALSO UNMISTAKABLY BE APPLICABLE TO TAIWAN AREA, WE CAN FIND WAY OUT THIS DIFFICULTY.

B. I BELIEVE TO SOME EXTENT OUR DIFFICULTY LIES IN FACT THAT WE MAY HAVE GOTTEN AWAY FROM UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF PROPOSED DECLARATION. IN MY OCT.8 STATEMENT TO YOU, PROPOSED DECLARATION WAS CLEARLY IDENTIFIED AS PRELIMINARY STEP TOWARDS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. IT WAS TO BE--AND I QUOTE--"AN ESSENTIAL FOUNDATION AND PRELIMINARY TO SUCCESS OF DISCUSSIONS UNDER ITEM TWO". THIS I REGARD FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE. AS I PLAINLY SAID THERE SHOULD BE NO QUESTION OF ATTEMPTING TO SETTLE OR PREJUDGE, IN THIS DECLARATION, ISSUED IN DISPUTE BETWEEN US.

C. I CAN HONESTLY SAY I HAVE CAREFULLY ENDEAVORED TO BE GUIDED BY THIS PRINCIPLE. MY DRAFT NOV. 10, I BELIEVE, WAS COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH MY STATEMENT OCT. 8, IN THAT IT WAS NOT SUGGESTED EITHER OF US SHOULD RENOUCE ANY POLICY OBJECTIVES WHICH WE

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CONSIDERED WE WERE LEGITIMATELY ENTITLED TO ACHIEVE, BUT ONLY THAT WE RENOUNCE USE OF FORCE TO IMPLEMENT THESE POLICIES. I HAVE SINCE ON MANY OCCASIONS GIVEN YOU SIMILAR ASSURANCES.

D. ANOTHER FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENT OF PROPOSE DECLARATION WAS NECESSITY IT BE CLEARLY APPLICABLE TAIWAN AREA. IF DECLARATON WAS TO BE USEFUL PRELIMINARY TO FREE DISCUSSION OF OUR DIFFERENCES AND THEIR FAIR AND EQUITABLE SOLUTION, IT OBVIOUSLY HAD TO APPLY TAIWAN AREA, PRECISELY AREA IN WHICH OUR DIFFERENCES ARE MOST ACTURE, AND WHERE DANGER OF HOSTILITIES IS GREATEST. I BELIEVE MY DRAFTS AND STATEMENTS IN THESE MEETINGS HAVE ALL RECOGNIZED THIS REQUIREMENT THAT OUR DECLARATION BY FULLY RESPONSIVE TO SITUATION IN WHICH CONFRONTATION OF POLICIES OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS MOST IMMEDIATE.

3. DESPITE FUNDAMENTAL AND EVEN OBVIOUS CHARACTER THESE TWO REQUIREMENTS, YOU FOR LONG TIME PERSISTED IN YOUR OBJECTION TO THEIR RETENTION IN OUR DECLARATION. YOU HAVE ALSO CLAIMED MY AMENDMENTS JAN. 12 TO YOUR DRAFT DEC. 1 REQUIRED YOUR GOVT. RENOUNCE ITS POLICIES OR ABANDON ITS WELL-KNOWN POSITION WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA. I HAVE GIVEN YOU REPEATED ASSURANCES THAT WAS NOT MY INTENTION. I AGAIN ASSURE YOU IT WOULD NOT BE IN KEEPING WITH WHAT I REGARD AS FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTER AND HIGH PURPOSES OF DECLARATION FOR ME TO ATTEMPT TO TRICK YOU INTO FORM OF WORDS THAT COULD BE REPRESENTED AS RENUNCIATION BY YOUR GOVERNMENT OF ITS CLAIMS AND PEACE-FUL PURSUIT ITS POLICIES WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA. FIRST, I HAVE TOO MUCH RESPECT FOR YOUR INTELLIGENCE AND THAT OF YOUR PRIME MINISTER TO THINK SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD BE SUCCESSFUL. SECONDLY, IT WOULD NOT BE INTELLIGENT ON MY PART EVEN IF I WERE SUCCESSFUL IN DOING SO. WE WOULD BE ENTERING INTO AGREEMENT THAT WOULD MEAN ONE THING TO ONE PARTY, AND SOMETHING ELSE TO OTHER PARTY. WHILE WE WOULD THEREBY BE ABLE MOMENTARILY TO PRESENT TO WORLD SURFACE APPEARANCE OF AGREEMENT, IN FACT WE WOULD SIMPLY BE CREATING FURTHER CAUSE CONTROVERSY AND LANU ON# BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. THIS WOULD SERVE INTERESTS OF NO ONE HONESTLY INTERESTED IN REDUCING CAUSES OF OUR CONTROVERSIES.

F. I RENEW MY PLEA YOU APPROACH THIS MATTER IN THE SAME SPIRIT. YOU CERTAINLY CANNOT REASONABLY EXPECT MY GOVERNMENT CAN IN

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ANY MANNER BE FORCED IN SUCH DECLARATION EITHER EXPLICITY OR IMPLICITLY TO RENOUCE ITS VIEW WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA OR ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHTS. YOU CERTAINLY CANNOT EXPECT US TO SAY IF AMERICAN VEUSEL ON LAWFUL MISSION IS FIRED UPON IT FOREGOES RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF. YOU CERTAINLY CANNOT EXPECT US IN EFFECT TO SAY IT RENOUNCES RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST ARMED ATTACK - PROBABLY OLDEST, MOST FUNDAMENTAL AND GENERALLY RECOGNIZED RIGHT IN LAW OF NATIONS.

G. APPARENT ATTEMPT YOUR GOVT. ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE DISTORTS SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD OBJECTIVE MY OCT. 8 PROPOSAL. IT CAN ONLY BE INTERPRETED AS EFFORT ON PART YOUR GOVT. ATTAIN IN OUR NEGOTIATION OF THIS DECLARATION CAPITULATION BY US TO DEMARCHE YOUR GOVT WITH RESPECT OUR CONTROVERSY IN TAIWAN AREA. YOUR GOVT. CANNOT SERIOUSLY EXPECT IT WILL BE SUCCESSFUL IN THIS.

H. EFFORT TO PERSIST IN THIS AS WELL AS CONTINUED FAILURE YOUR GOVT. FULLY TO CARRY OUT AGREEMENT SEPT. 10 WITH RESPECT AMERICANS IMPRISONED YOUR COUNTRY CAN ONLY CONTINUE TO DELAY TIME WHEN IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO ENTER INTO CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN US. FOR MY PART, I CONTINUE TO HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO ENTER INTO SUCH DISSUCSSIONS WITHOUT FURTHER UNNECESSARY DELAY.

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Control: 12694
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7:10 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1422, JANUARY 25, 11 PM (SECTION 2 OF 7)

PRIORITY

2. WANG REPLIED FROM NOTES TAKEN DURING MY STATEMENT THAT HE HAD LISTENED TO MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING, BUT FAILED NOTE ANY NEW CONSTRUCTIVE REMARKS IN IT. HE VERY MUCH REGRETTED THAT ARGUMENTS WHICH HE HAD REPEATEDLY REFUTED IN COURSE OF TALKS HAD AGAIN BEEN RAISED.

3. WANG SAID ON HIS PART IT HAD ALWAYS BEEN THEIR STAND THAT TALKS SHOULD MAKE POSITIVE STEADY PROGRESS. HE DIDN'T SEE HOW POINTS RAISED BY ME, WHCH UNACCEPTABLE THEIR SIDE, COULD LEAD TALKS FORWARD. HE DID NOT SEE ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POINTS ADVANCED THIS MORNING AND THOSE PRESENTED AT LAST MEETING. HE HAD ALREAY GIVEN HIS COMMENTS ON POINTS RAISED LAST MEETING. HE WOUD LIKE MAKE FURTHER COMMENTS NOW.

4. TURNING TO PREPARED STATEMENT, WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I HAD LAUDED ALLEGEDLY GOOD RECORD OF US IN WORLD AFFAIRS AND STATED THAT IN KOREA US DEMONSTRATED RESTRAINT AND LACK AGGRESSIVE INTENTION. HE HAD ALREADY INDICATED THEIR VIEWS ON THIS AT THAT TIME. HE WOULD AGAIN POINT OUT THAT VERSION GIVEN ME GROSSLY AT VARIANCE WITH FACTS.

5. WANG SAID US PERFORMANCE IN KOREA AND ON CHINESE TERRITORY AS WITNESSED BY CHINESE PEOPLE IN PAST AND AT PRESENT TIME POINTS ENTIRELY DIFFERENT RECORD. US STARTED WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST KOREA IN JUNE 1950 AND ORDERED ITS ARMED FORCES TO PUSH TOWARDS YALU AND TUMEN RIVERS. SECURITY OF CHINESE NATION WAS GREATLY THREATENED AND CHINESE PEOPLE COULD NOT STAND IDLY BY, CHINESE PEOPLE COULD NOT BUT RISE IN SELF-DEFENSE.

6. WANG SAID US AT SAME TIME AS ITS AGGRESSION AGAINST KOREA

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ALSO USED THREAT AND FORCE AGAINST CHINA IN TAIWAN AREA. SINCE INTRUSION US SEVENTH FLEET INTO TAIWAN STRAIT, CHINESE PROVINCE OF TAIWAN FALLEN PREY TO DIRECT AGGRESSION OF US.

7. WANG SAID US HAS ESTABLISHED NAVAL AND AIR FORCE BASES ON TAIWAN AND STEPPED UP EQUIPPING OF CHIANG KAI-SYEK CLIQUE, TURNING TAIWAN INTO BASE OF CONTEMPLATED INVASION OF MAINLAND. SUCH IS MATTER OF FACT WELL KNOWN TO ALL. IS THERE SLIGHTEST GRAIN IN THIS PERFORMANCE WHICH COULD BE PRESENTED AS RESTRAINT AND LACK AGGRESSIVE INTENT?

8. WANG SAID TAIWAN CHINESE TERRIOTRY. EVEN US HAD ASSUMED SOLEMN PLEDGE THIS EFFECT. IT MATTER OF FACT THAT TAIWAN AND PENGHU TURNED OVER TO THEN CHINESE GOVT. ON OCT 25, 1945. THIS FACT ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED BY US IN WHITE PAPER PUBLISHED BY STATE DEPT. IT INDISPUTABLE MATTER OF FACT THAT NEW CHINA HAS SUCCEEDED TO CHINA'S ENTIRE TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY.

9. WANG SAID AS US HAS USED FORCE AND THREAT AGAINST CHINA IN TAIWAN AREA CHINA HAS EVERY JUSTIFICATION TO REPEL SUCH AGRESSION IN EXERCISE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE IN ITS OWN TERRITORY. NEVERTHELESS, CHINA STILL WILLING SEEK FOR SETTLEMENT THIS DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND US BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT RESORTING FORCE.

10. WANG SAID IT WOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT FOR ME SEE THAT IT PRC SIDE WHICH GENUINELY DEMONSTRATED SELF RESTRAINT AND CONTROL. THEY ALWAYS STOOD FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA BETWEEN CHINA AND US BY MEANS OF NEGOTIATION. IN COURSE OUR TALKS PRC SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY MADE MAJOR EFFORTS AND PRESENTED REASONABLE DRAFTS FOR ANNOUNCEMENT RENOUNCING USE FORCE BY BOTH SIDES.

11. WANG SAID THEIR REASON FOR HOLDING OF-FONMIN CONFERENCE, WHICH THEY STILL HOLD, EXACTLY DEMONSTRATES THEIR STAND IN THIS REGARD. HOWEVER, CONFRONTED WITH CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH US ALREADY USING FORCE AGAINST CHINESE TERRITORY TAIWAN, PROPOSITION OF NON-EMPLOYMENT OF FORCE CANNOT BE USED TO INDUCE CHINA TO ACCEPT US OCCUPATION TAIWAN.

12. WANG SAID, IN ORDER REALIZE PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE FORCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA US, CONFERENCE BETWEEN FORMINS TWO COUNTRIES MUST BE HELD TO SETTLE QUESTION OF ELIMINATING AND RELAXING TENSION BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

13. WANG SAID WE NOW SPENT FOUR MONTHS ON DISCUSSION SECOND ITEM AGENDA. IF US GENUINELY WILLING RENOUNCE FORCE AND ACCEPT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTE IT SHOULD WITHDRAW FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA. UNFORTUNATELY THEY HAD NOT YET SEEN ANY ACTIONS ON PART US TO WITHDRAW FORCES AND STOP POSING THREATS IN TAIWAN AREA, NOR HAD THEY HEARD ANY REMARKS FROM ME PONTING TOWARDS THAT END.

14. WANG SAID, AS IF TO ADD TO THIS, MR. DULLES WHO LEADING FIGURE OF US FOREIGN POLICY RECENTLY DECLARED THAT AMERICA HAD THRICE GONE TO BRINK OF LAUNCHING ATOMIC WAR, RECENTLY STEPPING! UP MILITARY ACTIVITES IN TAIWAN AREA WHICH AIMED AT CREATING TENSION. IN RECENT MONTHS AMERICAN MILITARY AIR-CRAFT MADE REPEATED INTRUSIONS INTO CHINA'S TERRITORIAL AIR.

15. WANG SAID US REFUSES TOUCH ON QUESTION OF WITHDRAWING ITS FORCES AND ENDING THREAT, YET PERSISTS IN DEMANDING CHINA ACCEPT ITS RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE ON CHINESE TERRITORY TAIWAN. WAS THIS NOT RESROT TO PERVERSION OF FACTS AND TURNING ARGU-MENT UPSIDE DOWN?

16. WANG SAID TO RESPECT RIGHT OF STATE TO INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN CONFORMITY WITH UN CHARTER ONE THING; TO WHITEWASH ONESELF WITH FALSE CLAIM TO SELF-DEFENSE IS QUITE ANOTHER. WAS THIS NOT CLEAR ENOUGH? COULD THERE BE FOUND ANY STIPULATION IN UN CHARTER WHICH COULD POSSIBLY BE INTER-PRETED AS GRANTING AGGRESSOR STATE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE ON TERRITORY OF STATE WHICH IS VICTIM OF AGGRESSION?

17. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT QUESTIN OF SELF-DEFENSE IS NOT SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE. THIS SHEER SOPHISTRY. IF US ATTTEMPTS CARRY OUT SO-CALLED RIGHT INDIVIDUAL COLLETIVE SELF-DEFENSE ON CHINA'S TERRITORY TAIWAN, THIS IS WHAT CHINESE PEOPLE

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WOULD DETERMINEDLY OPPOSE. IF CHINESE PEOPLE WERE TO ACCEPT SUCH ACTION OF SEIZURE AS LEGAL, WHAT MORE RAMINS BETWEEN CHINA AND US WHICH NECESSITATES NEGOTIATIONS?

18. TURNING AGAIN TO PENCILLED NOTES, WANG CONTINUED THAT IN STATEMENT I HAD MADE THIS MORNING I HAD REMARKED THAT TALKS HAVE NOW ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTY. I HAD ACKNOWLEDGED NECESSITY FOR US TO FIND WAY OUT OF THIS. HOWEVER, IT MIGHT BE ASKED WHEREIN LIES ROOT OF THIS PRESENT DIFFICULTY AND HOW WE SHOULD TRY TO GET OUT OF IT.

19. WANG SAID SOLUTION TO PRESENT DIFFICULTY SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARDS EFFECTIVE RELAXATION OF TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA RATHER THAN IN REVERSE DIRECTION. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT SEE ANYTHING WHICH LEADS THIS DIRECTIONS IN MY REMARKS THIS MORNING.

20. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT REFRAIN FROM PONTING OUT THAT CRUX OF ISSUES BETWEEN US IS ONE OF SUBSTANCE AND PRINCIPLE.

21. WANG SAID WE HAD AGREED TO MAKE DECLARATION IN CONFORMITY UN CHARTER OF FACT WE AGREED DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IN TAIWAN AREA SHOULD BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY. THAT IS PRELIMINARY STEP. NEXT STEP WOULD BE FOR TWO OF US SEEK PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE WAYS TO REALIZE ABOVE OBJECTIVES. THAT PRECISELY POINT OF VIEW THEIR SIDE.

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Control: 12718
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7:36 PM

Info RMR SS G

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1422, JANUARY 25, 11 PM (SECTION 3 OF 7)

1/6

PRIORITY

22. WANG SAID US ON OTHER HAND PROPOSES MAKE DECLARATION IN WHICH SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF DEFENSE OF US IN TAIWAN AREA TO BE RECOGNIZED. INSTEAD OF ENDING ITS OCCUPATION TAIWAN, US BY SUCH DECLARATION CONTEMPLATES LEGALIZING ITS OCCUPATION. THAT IS CONTROVERSY OF PRINCIPLE WITH WHICH WE CONFRONTED.

23. WANG SAID CHINESE PEOPLE WILL NEVER ACCEPT ANY TERMS IN DECLARATION WHICH RECOGNIZE SO-CALLED RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE OF US IN TAIWAN AREA. IF US REFUSES GIVE UP SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, CAN ONLY CREATE DOUBTS AS TO WHETHER US SINCERELY DESIROUS OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

24. I SAID I HAD JUST FEW PRELIMINARY COMMENTS MAKE ON STATEMENT HE HAD JUST MADE. I HAD NO DESIRE ENTER INTO DEBATE ON MATTERS PAST HISTORY, WHICH CANNOT CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS IN OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE.

25. I SAID I FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE, HOWEVER, PASS BY HIS STATEMENT THAT US STARTED WAR OF AGGRESSION IN KOREA IN JUNE 1950 AND THAT SECURITY OF CHINA WAS THREATENED BY US. I SIMPLY WANTED POINT OUT FACT THAT, WITH EXCEPTION OF THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THAT AGGRESSION AGAINST ROK, VIRTUALLY EVERY MEMBER UN AGREED ON WHO TRUE AGGEESSOR WAS.

26. I SAID HIS STATEMENT REGARDING USE FORCE AND THREAT TO HIS COUNTRY IN TAIWAN AREA AT TIME KOREAN HOSTILITIES SO ENTIRELY IGNORED ACTION TAKEN THAT TIME JUST TO PREVENT SPREAD OF HOSTILITIES TO THAT AREA.

27. I SAID HIS STATEMENT REGARDING US AS ATTEMPTING TURN

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TAIWAN INTO BASE FOR AGGRESSION AGAINST HIS COUNTRY ALSO ENTIRELY IGNORED FACTS. PURELY DEFENSIVE CHARACTER AND STRICTLY LIMITED ARRANGEMENTS OF COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA BY US HAS BEEN PUBLISHED TO AND IS WELL KNOWN BY ENTIRE WORLD.

28. I SAID TENSION TAIWAN AREA HAD BEEN CAUSED NOT BY ANY ACTION TAKEN BY US. TENSION BEEN CAUSED BY LONG REPEATED, OFTEN REITERATED, AND STILL CONTINUED THREATS HIS COUNTRY INITIATE HOSTILITIES THAT AREA.

29. I SAID IT WAS US HAD PROPOSED IT BE MADE CLEAR THAT THERE IS DETERMINATION NOT INITIATE HOSTILITIES IN AREA BUT SEEK SOLUTION TO DISPUTES EXISTING BETWEEN US IN AREA BY PEACEFUL MEANS. NOT CONDITIONALLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS--THAT IS NOT TO SAY THAT IF SOLUTION NOT FOUND ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY TO ONE SIDE OR OTHER THAT FORCE WILL BE RESORTED TO, BUT UNCONDITIONALLY THAT SOLUTION BE FOUND BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

30. I SAID HE ALSO PERSISTED THIS MORNING IN SPEAKING OF US OCCUPATION TAIWAN. US IS NOT OCCUPYING TAIWAN. PRESENCE US FORCES IN TAIWAN AREA IN ACCORD WITH COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT IS MEMBER UN AND IS RECOGNIZED BY GREAT MAJORITY WORLD GOVERNMENTS. NO AMOUNT WORDS CAN TWIST THIS FACT INTO SUPPORTING STATEMENT THAT US IS IN OCCUPATION TAIWAN.

31. I SAID, HOWEVER I RECOGNIZED THESE WERE MATTERS ON WHICH WE HAVE DIFFERENT VIEWS. I HAVE NOT ASKED HIM ACCEPT MY VIEWS IN REGARD THESE MATTERS. WHAT I HAD ASKED WAS THAT WE UNCONDITIONALLY AND WITHOUT RESERVATIONS MAKE IT ENTIRELY CLEAR WE WILL NOT PERMIT THESE DIFFERENCES LEAD US TO WAR. ONCE THIS DONE, WE COULD IN THAT ATMOSPHERE DISCUSS OUR DIFFERENCES AND OTHER OUTSTANDING PRACTICAL MATTERS BETWEEN US WITH BETTER HOPE COMING TO MUTUALLY AGREEABLE AND MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS.

32. I SAID I HAD MADE IT VERY CLEAR IN PROPOSING AND DISCUSSING THIS DECLARATION THT IT NOT MY INTENT THEY SACRIFICE THEIR VIEWS OR RENOUNCE THEIR POLICIES. I REGRETTED THEIR NOT BEING WILLING ADOPT SAME ATITUDE.

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33. I SAID I REGRETTED THIS MORNING THAT HE HAD MADE IT VERY EXPLICIT THAT HIS GOVT'S PURPOSE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS FOR DECLARATION WAS TO REQUIRE US GIVE UP ITS RIGHT COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE. THIS ENTIRELY DISTORTS PROPOSAL I HAD MADE.

34. I SAID WHAT HE SEEMED BE SAYING WAS IN MAKING THIS DECLARATION US GOVT SHOULD ENTIRELY CAPITUALTE TO VIEWS HIS GOVT WITH RESPECT DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. I HAD MADE NO SUCH DEMAND ON HIS GOVT AND IN NEGOTIATING THIS DECLARATION DID NOT BELIEVE IT PROPER DO SO. THAT, IT SEEMED ME, GOT US COMPLETELY AWAY FROM PROPOSITION THAT WE FIRST MAKE CLEAR WE NOT GOING TO WAR AND DISCUSS OUR PROBLEMS IN THAT ATMOSPHERE AND MOVED US TO PROPOSITION THAT WE DISCUSS OUR DIFFERENCES UNDER THREAT OUR SIDE MIGHT RESORT TO HOSTILITIES. THAT EXACTLY SITUATION I HAD BEEN TRYING GET OURSELVES OUT OF.

35. I SAID I REGRETTED THAT HIS GOVT GONE SO FAR IN DISTORTING THIS VERY SIMPLE STRAIGHTFORWARD AND FUNDAMENTAL PROPSAL.

36. WANG SAID HE FOUND HARD ACCEPT VIEWS PRESENTED BY ME IN MY STATEMENT. CERTAINLY NOT HIS INTENT INITIATE DEBATE PAST HISTORY. WAS BECAUSE I RAISED SOME HISTORICAL EVENTS AT LAST MEETING THAT COMPELLED HIM MAKE THEIR VIEWS CLEAR.

37. WANG SAID I HAD AGAIN ASSERTED THAT NO INTENT PART US THREATEN SECURITY CHINA WHEN KOREAN HOSTILITIES STARTED. HOWEVER, CHINESE PEOPLE COULD NEVER FORGET HISTORICAL LESSON GIVEN IN PATH TAKEN BY JAPANESE IMPERIALISTS WHEN SEIZED KOREA IN ORDER ATTACK CHINA IN LONG RUN. I HAD ALLUDED TO UN RESOLUTION ON QUESTION OF WHO WAS AGGRESSOR BUT HE MIGHT POINT OUT THAT RESOLUTION ADOPTED UNDER ENTIRE MANIPULATION OF US AND THEREFORE COMPLETELY ILLEGAL.

38. WANG SAID, AGAIN ON QUESTION OF SPREAD OF KOREAN WAR WHICH HAD BEEN PREVENTED: HE MIGHT POINT OUT THAT WAS DUE TO STRENGTH CHINESE AND KOREAN PEOPLE THAT EXPANSION KOREAN WAR PREVENTED.

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Action FE

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10:01 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1422, JANUARY 25, 11 PM (SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN)

1-B'

PRIORITY

39. WANG SAID, THEN TURNING MY DENIAL US HAS OCCUPIED TAIWAN AND TURNED IT INTO BASE FOR ATTACK AGAINST CHINA, HE MIGHT PONT OUT US HAS MADE NO GESTURES WITHDRAW TAIWAN AREA BUT IS STEADILY REINFORCING STRENGTH THAT AREA. COULD ONLY RAISE QUESTION WHETHER US IS NOT TRYING STRENGTHEN FORCES IN ORDER LAUNCH ATTACK AGAINST CHINA.

40. WANG SIAD MY CLAIM TENSION TAIWAN AREA NOT CAUSED BY US BUT RATHER BY CHINA WAS GLARING DISTORTION FACTS. IT MATTER FACT THAT LIBERATION BY CHINESE PEOPLE ENTIRE MAINLAND CHINA HAD NEVER POSED THREAT AGAINST ANYBODY ELSE. IF THERE NO PRESENCE AMERICA FORCES THIS AREA THERE WOULD BE NO TENSION THIS AREA.

41. WANG SAID, AS TO PROPOSAL FOR RELAXATION TENSION BETWEEN CHINA AND US IN TAIWAN AREA, PROPOSAL FIRST ADVANCED BY CHINESE PREMIER AT BANDUNG CONFERENCE IN WHICH HE PROPOSED CHINA AND US ENTER NEGOTIATIONS RESOLVE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

42. WANG SIAD IN ORDER ELIMINATE CONFLICTS IN TAIWAN AREA AND TENSIONS THAT AREA, NECESSARY TAKE PRACTICAL ACTIONS RATHER THAN MERELY RENDER LIP SERVICE.

43. WANG SAID I HAD PROPOSED THAT DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA BE SETTLED UNCONDITONALLY, YET IN DRAFT PRESENTED BY US, US CLAIMS RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. THIS IS EXACTLY A CONDITION IMPOSED BY US.

44. WANG

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44. WANG SAID IT WAS THIS CONDITION THAT PREVENTED OUR TALKS FROM MAKING PROGRESS. CHINESE PEOPLE WILL NEVER ACCEPT MY DENIAL THAT US HAS EVER OCCUPIED TAIWAN, NOT MY STATEMENT REGRADING RELATIONS BETWEEN MY GOVERNMENT AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK. IT WELL KNOWN FACT ENTIRE WORLD THAT CORRUPT REGIME CHIANG KAI-SHEK LONG BEEN VEIL WORN BY CHINESE PEOPLE. WITHOUT SUPPORT OF US, THIS CHIANG-KAI SHEK CLIQUE CAN NEVER EXIST FOR SINGLE DAY. ACTION US IN SUPPORTING CHIANG CLIQUE AND OCCUPYING TAIWAN IS OUTRIGHT VIOLATION SOVEREIGNTY CHINA AND INTERFERENCE WITH CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

45. WANG SAID IF US CONTINUES PERSIST CLAIMING RIGHT TO SELF DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA THEN ALL MY REMARKS CONCERNING NOT REQUIRING CHINESE RENOUNCE PURSUIT POLICIES OR VIEWS TOWARD DISPUTE ARE NO MORE THAN EMPTY WORDS.

46. WANG SAID I HAD GIVEN EXAMPLE THAT IF AMERICAN VESSEL FIRED UPON IT WOULD RESPOND IN SELF-DEFENSE. HE MIGHT ASK WHAT SORT VESSEL MEANT. IF MERCHANT VESSEL CARRYING ON PEACEFUL MISSION WOULD BE ONE THING. IF MILITARY VESSEL INTRUDING INTO TERRIORIAL WATERS CHINA, IT COULD NOT CLAIM ANY SELF-DEFENSE. THAT ACTION WOULD BE OUTRIGHT PROVOCATION AND ACT AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINESE PEOPLE AND CHINESE PEOPLE WOULD NOT HESITATE RESPOND THAT AGGRESSION.

47. WANG SAID TURNING NOW TO QUESTIN OF DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION FORCE. IF US REFUSES WITHDRAW ITS UNTENABLE CLAIM TO RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, IT THEN PROVES US NOT WILLING MAKE ANY PROGRESS ON THIS QUESTION.

48. WANG SAID IF US SHOULD IN ANY WAY ASSUME CHINESE WOULD ACCEPT MY PROPOSAL, THAT, HE MIGHT SAY, WOULD BE AN ILLUSION WHICH COULD ONLY BE REALIZED WHEN SUN RISES IN WEST.

49. I SAID, IN OTHER WORDS HIS PROPOSITION WAS THAT, INSTEAD OF BEING RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND AGREEMENT SETTLE DIFFERENCES PEACEFUL MEANS, THAT INSTEAD WOULD BE RENUNCIATION OF US OF ITS VIEWS, RIGHTS, AND INTERESTS IN TAIWAN AREA.

50. WANG SAID IF THEY WERE TO MAKE DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE FORCE AND AT SAME TIME DECLARATION RECOGNIZED AMERICAN RIGHT

SELF-DEFENSE

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SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, WHAT MEANING WOULD THERE BE TO SUCH A DECLARATION? PROBABLY I WAS PROPOSING MAKING OF STATEMENT IN WHICH THEIR SIDE WOULD ACCEPT CONTINUING ARMED OCCUPATION TAIWAN BY US.

51. I SAID I HAD TOLD HIM OVER AND OVER AGAIN THAT IT NOT MY INTENT, AND I DID NOT THINK AMENDMENTS I HAD SUGGESTED, IN ANY WAY PREJUDICE THEIR VIEWS AND POLICIES ON AREA. I STILL BELIEVED I HAD ACCOMPLISHED THAT PURPOSE AND I HAD SAID IF THEY DO NOT AGREE, WILLING LISTEN ANY SUGGESTIONS THEY CARED MAKE ON THIS QUERY.

52. I SAID, HOWEVER IN STATEMENTS HE HAD MADE HERE PREVIOUSLY IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY HIS GOVERNMENT, AND AGAIN VERY EXPLICITY THIS MORNING, HE HAD STATED HIS PURPOSE IN NEGOTIATING THIS DECLARATION WAS TO HAVE US RENOUCE ITS VIEWS AND ITS RIGHTS IN AREA. THAT WAS SOMETHING DIFFERENT. HE COULD NOT EXPECT US DO THAT, EITHER EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY.

53. WANG SAID, I HAD SAID I DID NOT DEMAND CHINA GIVE UP ITS VIEWS OR POSITION. HOWEVER. POSITION OF CHINA IS EXACTLY TO LIBERATE TAIWAN. THIS LIBERATION OF TAIWAN IS INHERENT RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE OF CHINESE PEOPLE.

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Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1422, JANUARY 25, 11 PM (SECTION FIVE OF SEVEN)

PRIORITY

54. WANG SAID THIS REASONABLE POSITON OF CHINA WAS ACCEPTED THROUGHOUT WORLD. HE HAD REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT THAT US HAS ABSOLUTELY NO RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE TAIWAN AREA. FOR US TO INSIST ON ITS VIEWS OR RIGHTS IN TAIWAN AREA WAS TO INTERFERE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY AND TO SEIZE TERRITORY OF ANOTHER COUNTRY IN VIOLATION INTERNATIONAL LAW. THIS VIEW OF RIGHTS OF US CANNOT BE ACCEPTED BY CHINESE PEOPLE. THESE ARE UNEQUAL RIGHTS OR VIEWS.

55. I SAID I NOT ASKING HIM ACCEPT MY VIEWS. WHAT I ASKING WAS THAT HE TAKE SAME ATTITUDE REGARDING MY POSITION. HOWEVER, HE NOT DOING SO. WHAT HE WAS DOING, AND HE HAD AGAIN EXPLICITLY STATED IT THIS MORNING, WAS DEMAND THAT MY GOVT ACCEPT HIS GOVT'S VIEWS AND RENOUCE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE.

56. I SAID I BELIEVED I HAD FAIRLY ACCURATELY STATED MY UNDERSTANDING OF SITUATION. IF I HAD NOT STATED IT CORRECTLY, WILLING TO HEAR IN WHAT WAY I WAS WRONG.

57. WANG SAID, FIRST, IT WOULD BE WELL FOR ME TO RECOGNIZE THAT PURPOSE PRESENT TALKS WAS TO TRY SETTLE ISSUES TAIWAN AREA. PRESENT FACT WAS US HAD OCCUPIED CHINESE TERRIORY OF TAIWAN AND VIOLATED SOVEREIGNTY OF CHINA. FELL UPON US TWO TO CORRECT THIS UNREASONABLE SITUATION. IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THIS SSUE, IT NOT SUFFICIENT MERELY TO STATE THAT EITHER SIDE NEED NOT ACCEPT VIEWS OF OTHER. SOME VIEWS MUST BE OPPOSED.

58. WANG SAID TODAY IT US WHICH VIOLATES CHINESE TERRIORY; IT NOT CHINA WHICH VIOLATES AMERICAN TERRIORY. IF US WOULD WITHDRAW ARMED FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA AND STOP ITS THREATS IN

TAIWAN

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TAIWAN AREA, NO FURTHER ISSUES WOULD EXIST IN THIS AREA BETWEEN US.

59. I SAID I HAD NOTHING MORE ON THIS THIS MORNING BUT HAD ANOTHER MATTER I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE UP. MADE FOL PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION:

A. I HAD OCCASION ON JAN 12 TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO EFFORTS YOUR GOVT CREATE FALSE IMPRESSION THAT IN SOME WAY AMERICANS IMPRISONED YOUR COUNTRY, ONLY AMERICANS WE WERE DISCUSSING AT TIME OF OUR ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT. 10 LAST YEAR, WERE NOT ENTITLED EXPEDITIOUSLY RETURN IN ACCORDANCE WITH COMMITMENT YOUR GOVT MADE IN THAT ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD CONTINUED TO HOPE THIS DID NOT REPRESENT CONSIDERED VIEWS YOUR GOVT.

B. HOWEVER, I PARTICULARLY REGRET TO NOTE SINCE OUR LAST MEETING YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS IN COMMUNICATION WITH UK CHARGE AGAIN ATTEMPTED TO JUSTIFY THIS ENTIRELY INDEFENSIBLE POSITION. IN REPLY TO COMMUNICATION WITH REGARD FATHER MCCARTHY YOUR GOVERNENT HAS MADE SUCH EXTEME ASSERTIONS AS FATHER MCCARTHY HAS NO RIGHT EVEN ASK FOR REPATRIATION DURING PERIOD HIS IMPRISONMENT AND QUESTION OF HIS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTING DOES NOT ARISE DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT. YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS EVEN STATED THAT UNDER OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPT 10 IT WAS AGREED CASES OF IMPRISONED AMERICANS ARE BASICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE NOT IMPRISONED.

C. IT IS HARD FOR ME TO BELIEVE YOUR GOVT SERIOUSLY THINKS SUCH CONTENTIONS CAN BE SUPPORTED, AND I AM SURPRISED THAT IT CONTINUES ITS ATTEMPT TO DO SO.

D. IN FIRST PLACE YOU KNOW, I KNOW AND WORLD KNOWS THAT WAS PRECISELY THESE IMPRISONED AMERICANS WE WERE DISCUSSING AT TIME OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED. WE WERE NOT DISCUSSING THEORIES, IMAGINARY OR HYPOTHETICAL AMERICANS, WE WERE DISCUSSING SPECIFIC AMERICANS IN PRISON YOUR COUNTRY. WHAT DID YOUR GOVERNMENT SAY WITH RESPECT THOSE AMERICANS? IT FIRST SAID IT RECOGNIZES AMERICANS IN YOUR COUNTRY DESIRING RETURN ARE ENTITLED DO SO. IT DID NOT SAY ONLY SOME SELECTED AMERICANS, IT DID NOT SAY ONLY AMERICANS WHO HAVE MANAGED TO STAY OUT OF YOUR PRISIONS, IT DID NOT SAY ONLY AMERICANS RELEASED FROM PRISON, IT DID NOT SAY

AMERICANS

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AMERICANS IN PRISON BASICALLY DIFFERENT FROM THOSE NOT IN PRISON, IT SAID AMERICANS DESIRING RETURN, AMERICANS WE WERE TALKING ABOUT AT THE TIME, WERE ENTITLED TO DO SO. WORDS CANNOT BE MORE PLAIN.

E. WHAT DID YOUR GOVERNMENT NEXT SAY WITH RESPECT THESE AMERICANS? IT FIRST SAID IT HAS ADOPTED AND THEN THAT IT WILL FURTHER ADOPT APPROPRIATE MEASURES.

F. IT DID NOT SAY THESE FURTHER MEASURES WILL BE ADOPTED WITH REGARD TO AMERICANS ALREADY IN PROCESS OF RETURNING, IT DID NOT SAY THESE MEASURES WOULD BE ADOPTED WITH REGARD TO THOSE WHO DID NOT DESIRE RETURN, IT DID NOT SAY THESE MEASURES WOULD BE ADOPTED WITH REGARD TO ANY THEORETICAL GROUP AMERICANS, IT SAID THESE MEASRUES WOULD BE ADOPTED WITH REGARD TO AMERICANS DESIRING RETURN, PRECISELY THIS GROUP IMPRISONED AMERICANS WE WERE DISCUSSING SEPT 10.

G. WHAT WAS NEXT THING SAID WITH RESPECT THESE AMERICANS? YOUR GOVERNMENT SAID THESE MEASURES WOULD BE ADOPTED SO THESE AMERCANS COULD EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT RETURN. IT DID NOT SAY MEASURES WOULD BE ADOPTED SO THEY COULD RETURN WHEN THEY HAD COMPLETED WHATEVER SENTENCES YOUR AUTHORITIES CHOSE TO INFLICT UPON THEM, IT DID NOT SAY MEASURES WOULD BE ADOPTED SO THEY COULD RETURN WHEN YOUR AUTHORITIES DECIDED RELEASE THEM FROM PRISON, IT SAID MEASURES WOULD BE ADOPTED SO THEY COULD RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY--NOT EXPEDITIOUSLY FROM SOME FUTURE DATE, NOT EXPEDITIOUSLY AFTER THEY HAD BEEN RELEASED FROM PRISON, NOT EXPEDITIOUSLY AFTER LIFETIME IN PRISON, BUT EXPEDITIOUSLY

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Rec'd: JANUARY 25, 1956
10:51 PM

Action Assigned to ____
Action Taken ____
Info Action ____
Action Office ____
Name of Officer ____
Direction to DC/R ____

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1422, JANUARY 25, 11 PM (SECTION SIX OF SEVEN)

PRIORITY

AS OF SEPT 10, 1955 MORE THAN FOUR LONG MONTHS AGO.

H. THAT WAS STATEMENT FREELY MADE AND FREELY ENTERED INTO BY YOUR GOVERNMENT. YOUR GOVERNMENT COULD HAVE HAD NO MISUNDERSTANDING OF WHAT STATEMENT MEANT.

I. WHAT IS RECORD--- THIRTEEN THESE AMERICANS STILL IN PRISON. THIRTEEN AMERICANS FALSELY GIVEN IMPRESSION THAT ALL THIS HAS NO RELATION TO THEM. NOT ONLY HAVE THESE AMERICANS NOT BEEN GIVEN THEIR RIGHTS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT YOUR AUTHORITIES SEEM TO BE ATTEMPTING FURTHER TO PUT OFF DAY WHEN COMMITMENT WITH REGARD TO THEM WILL BE CARRIED OUT.

J. JUST WITH REGARD TO CASE REVEREND MCCARTHY--- AFTER OVER TWO YEARS IN PRISON WITHOUT EVEN TRIAL, AND SIX WEEKS AFTER THIS COMMITMENT ON PART OF YOUR GOVT. WHAT HAPPENS? ARE OBSTRUCTIONS TO HIS DEPARTURE REMOVED SO THAT HE CAN EXPEDITIOUSLY RETURN? ON CONTRARY, APPARENT NEW OBSTRUCTIONS ARE SET UP AND HE IS FINALLY TRIED AND SENTENCED FOUR YEARS IMPRISONMENT.

K. I FAIL TO SEE WHAT YOUR GOVT HOPES OR EXPECTS TO GAIN BY THIS CONTINUED DELAY AND EVASION IN CARRING OUT ITS FREELY ENTERED INTO COMMITMENT, AND WHY IT ADOPTS COURSE OF ACTION WHICH IF CONTINUED CANNOT BUT CONTINUE TO CAST INCREASING DOUBT ON DEPENDABILITY OF ITS PLEDGED WORD.

L. IT CANNOT HOPE CONCEAL THESE FACTS OR OBSCURE ISSUE BY REPETITION VAGUE AND UNFOUNDED CHARGES OF HYPOTHETICAL NATURE AGAINST MY GOVERNMENT.

M. SIMPLE

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M. SIMPLE FACT IS MY GOVT IS NOT PREVENTING ANY CHINESE FROM LEAVING US FOR YOUR COUNTRY OR ANY OTHER DESTINATION OF HIS CHOICE. THIRD POWER WHO YOU DESIGNATED TO CONFIRM THIS ASSURANCE HAS NOT CALLED TO ATTENTION MY GOVT SINGLE CASE TO CONTRARY. THERE HAS NOT TO OUR KNOWLEDGE BEEN SINGLE RESPONSE TO PUBLIC STATEMENT MADE BY DEPT OF STATE TO WHICH I REFERED AT OUR LAST MEETING INVITING EVEN ANYONE WHO KNEW OF ANY CHINESE BEING OBSTRUCTED IN DEPARTING TO COMMUNICATE EITHER WITH DEPT OR INDIAN EMBASSY.

N. NO AMOUNT PROPAGANDA NOR REITERATION VAGUE CHARGES CAN OBSCURE CONTRAST BETWEEN MY GOVERNMENT'S RECORD AND THAT OF YOURS IN THIS REGARD.

60. WANG SAID, IN FIRST PLACE HE WANTED SAY HE ENTIRELY COULD NOT ACCEPT FALSE AND UNFOUNDED CHARGES AGAINST HIS GOVT ON ITS CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT 10. STATEMENT MADE BY ME WAS ANOTHER ATTEMPT AT DISTORTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEP 10.

61. WANG SAID HE SURE I WOULD RECALL THAT, IN DISCUSSIONS ON FIRST ITEM AGENDA, CLEAR DISTINCTION WAS MADE BETWEEN THOSE ORDINARY AMERICANS IN CHINA AND THOSE WHO HAD COMMITED CRIMES.

62. WANG SAID THAT AS TO ORDINARY AMERICAN RESIDENTS IN CHINA, PASSAGES OF ANNONNCEMENT OF SEPT 10 QUOTED BY ME WERE ENTIRELY CORRECT. HIS GOVT HAS EXPLICITLY ASSUMED COMMITMENT TOWARD THESE ORDINARY AMERICAN CITIZENS. ALONG THIS LINE THEIR SIDE BEEN CONSISTENTLY CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT CONCERNING AMERICAN RESIDENTS IN CHINA.

63. WANG SAID THAT ONCE ANY AMERICAN CIVILIAN IN CHINA APPLIED FOR DEPARTURE, HIS GOVT NEVER IN ANY INSTANCE OFFERED ANY OBSTRUCTION TO HIM. EVEN IN CASES THOSE AMERICAN CIVILIANS WHO HAD NOT YET SETTLED PERSONAL AFFAIRS IN CHINA, POLICY HIS GOVT WAS ASSIST THEM TO ENABLE THEM QUICKLY DEPART. IN THIS RESPECT, NO CHARGES AGAINST HIS GOVT JUSTIFIED.

64. WANG SAID, AS TO THOSE AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED OFFENSES AGAINST LAWS CHINA, THEY WERE PRECISELY CARRYING OUT AGREED

ANNOUNCEMENT

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ANNOUNCEMENT AS WELL AS PRINCIPLES INDICATED IN OUR DISCUSSIONS OVER THEIR HANDLING OF THEM. WE HAD FOR VERY LONG TIME DISCUSSED QUESTION OF THOSE AMERICANS WHO HAVE COMMITTED OFFENSES. NEITHER IN CONVERSATIONS IN COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS, NOR IN TEXT AGREEMENT HAVE THEY STATED ALL THOSE AMERICANS WHO HAVE COMMMITTED OFFENSES SHOULD BE RELEASED AT GIVEN TIME. IT SIMPLY SAID HIS GOVT WOULD REVIEW EACH THESE CASES, AND WOULD HANDLE THEIR CASES WITH LENIENCY, TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION NATURE CASES AS WELL AS THEIR BEHAVIOUR. AS MATTER FACT, THEIR LENIENT POLICY TOWARDS THESE AMERICANS HAS BEEN DEMONSTRATED.

65. WANG SAID AMONG 40 AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED OFFENSES AGAINST CHINESE LAWS AT BEGINNING OF DISCUSSIONS, 27 BEEN RELEASED. COULD THIS ACTION HIS GOVT BE MISREPRESENTED AS NOT LENIENT? SOME OF THE AMERICANS HAD BEEN SENTENCED 10 YEARS IMPRISONMENT YET AFTER ONLY FIVE YEARS IMPRISONMENT HAD BEEN RELEASED. WAS NOT THIS EXAMPLE LENIENT TREATMENT BY HIS GOVT?

66. WANG SAID IT TRUE 13 AMERICANS STILL REMAIN PRISON FOR THEIR OFFENSES. HOWEVER, CASES THESE PEOPLE COULD IN NO WAY BE USED TO CHARGE CHINESE GOVT NOT CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IT WAS THESE 13 AMERICANS THEMSELVES WHO WERE TO BLAME FOR THEIR NOT ABIDING BY LAW IN CHINA AND COMMITING OFFENSES AGAINST CHINESE LAW.

67. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT ANY CHINESE IN US WAS FREE TO LEAVE AND THAT INDIAN EMBASSY HAD SO FAR NOT RAISED ANY CASES OF OBSTRUCTION DEPARTURE CHINESE. ALL THIS AT VARIANCE WITH FACTS. IF ANYONE TO BE ACCUSED OF FAILURE CARRY OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, IT WAS US WHICH SHOULD BE ACCUSED.

68. WANG SAID IT PRECISELY BECAUSE MY SIDE CONTINUED EXERT PRESSURE ON CHINESE IN US IN VIOLATION OF AGREEMENT THAT MANY CHINESE DARED NOT ATTEMPT RETURN OR EVEN COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. MOREOVER, IT BECAUSE MY REFUSAL SUBMIT LIST ALL CHINESE IN US AND FURNISH INFO ABOUT CHINESE IN US PRISONS THAT MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR INDIAN EMBASSY CARRY OUT ITS DUTIES. EVEN AFTER CONCLUSION AGREEMENT AGENDA ITEM ONE, MY GOVT SAW FIT TO ADOPT MEASURES FURTHER THREATENING CHINESE IN US BY REQUIRING THEM SECURE ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN, THEREBY DEPRIVING THEM THEIR FREEDOM APPLY FOR RETURN IN FUTURE.

69. WANG

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69. WANG SAID, ALTHOUGH HIS SIDE HAD REPEATEDLY PROTESTED OUR GROSS VIOLATIONS AGREEMENT, SO FAR HAD SEEN NO ACTIONS BY MY GOVT TO REVOKE THESE MEASURES AND IMPROVE SITUATION. MIGHT HE ASK WHETHER US WILLING IMPLEMENT TERMS AGREEMENT AFTER ALL.

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Action Assigned to ____
Control: 12858 Action Taken ____
Rec'd: JANUARY 26, 1956
3:06 AM
Date of Action ____
Action Office Symbol ____
Name of Officer ____
DC/R ____

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1422, JANUARY 25, 11 PM (SECTION SEVEN OF SEVEN)

PRIORITY

70. WANG SAID HE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING SPECIFIC REPLY FROM ME CONCERNING WITHDRAWAL BY US GOVT OF REQUIREMENT FOR TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS.

71. WANG SAID HE WOULD ALSO ASK ME TO LOOK INTO SITUATION OF 14 CHINESE WHO WERE MISSING IN US OR WHOSE DEPARTURES PREVENTED, AS GIVEN IN PREVIOUS THREE SEPARATE LISTS. I HAD NOT YET GIVEN AN ACCOUNT OF THEM. AGAIN I HAD STATED IN LAST MEETING THAT I COULD SEE NO POINT IN THEIR SIDE RAISING QUESTION OF CHINESE WHO FOR ONE OR OTHER REASON DO NOT DESIRE RETURN FOR TIME BEING. HE CONSIDERS SUCH ATTEMPT AT GENERALIZATION AS ENTIRELY UNJUSTIFIABLE. FOR ALL THESE HAVE DESIRE RETURN BUT PREVENTED DOING SO BY US GOVT MY SIDE HAS OBLIGATION GIVE ACCOUNT ON EACH OF THESE. THESE REPRESENT ONLY FRACTION THOSE CHINESE PREVENTED FROM RETURNING BUT DOES SHOW PLIGHT OF BROAD MASSES OF CHINESE IN US.

72. WANG SAID THIS MORNING HE HAD FURTHER LIST OF FOUR CHINESE IN US (NAMES IN FOL TEL) AND REQUESTED ME MAKE INVESTIGATION AND GIVE ACCOUNTING ON THESE AS WELL AS OTHERS. FULL DETAILS HAD BEEN GIVEN IN LIST HE HANDED ME.

73. I SAID, FIRST, IN DISCUSSING AMERICANS IN CHINA, HE HAD SPOKEN OF LENIENT TREATMENT, WE HAD DIFFERENT VIEWS AS TO WHAT WAS LENIENT AND WHAT WAS NOT, AND I WOULD NOT GO INTO THAT.

74. I SAID HE HAD ALSO SAID HIS GOVT HAD NOT AGREED THAT IMPRISONED AMERICANS WOULD BE FREED AT ANY PARTICULAR TIME. I DID NOT THINK I NEEDED TAKE TIME REVIEW OUR DISCUSSION ON THIS, BUT BOTH OF US WELL AWARE OF SIGNIFICANCE OF WORD "EXPEDITIOUSLY" IN THIS AGREEMENT. WE HAD ACCEPTED WORD IN GOOD FAITH.

75. I SAID

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75. I SAID WHAT I HAD SAID, AND WAS REPEATING, WAS THAT THESE AMERICANS WERE NOT BEING RELEASED EXPEDITIOUSLY. NO AMOUNT OF EXPLANATION OR RATIONALIZATION COULD CHANGE THAT FACT.

76. I SAID I HAD PREVIOUSLY GONE INTO QUESTION OF WHAT HE CALLED TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS AT GREAT LENGTH. IF HIS GOVT GOING TO DISREGARD THOSE EXPLANATIONS, I SAW LITTLE PURPOSE IN REPEATING THEM.

77. I SAID, I HAD SAID IN PAST AND WAS AGAIN SAYING THAT I ALWAYS WILLING DISCUSS WITH HIM AND IMMEDIATELY TAKE UP CASE WHERE THERE APPEARS EVIDENCE MY GOVT MIGHT NOT BE FULLY CARRYING OUT TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I CONTINUED TO BE WILLING DO THIS.

78. I SAID, HOWEVER AT SAME TIME I COULD NOT TAKE OR ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THOSE AMONG TENS THOUSANDS CHINESE IN US WHO DO NOT WRITE LETTERS. AS FAR AS COMMUNICATION BY CHINESE IN US WITH INDIAN EMBASSY CONCERNED, ANYONE KNOWING ANYTHING ABOUT US AND ITS POSTAL SYSTEM WOULD KNOW IT PERFECTLY ABSURD SAY THAT ANY CHINESSE AFRAID DROP LETTER ADDRESSED INDIAN EMBASSY IN MAIL BOX.

79. WANG SAID HE HAD ALREADY STATED THEIR POSITION TOWARDS AMERICANS IN CHINA AND THEIR POLICY IN HANDLING OF THEIR CASES. HE HAD STATED THAT HIS GOVT WOULD CONTINUE FAITHFULLY TO CARRY OUT TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

80. WANG SAID HE ALSO ASKED US GOVT DO SAME IN FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND REFRAINING FROM ANY ACTIONS IN VIOLATION OF IT.

81. WANG SAID SITUATION OF AMERICANS IN CHINA WAS QUITE CLEAR TO EVERYBODY. AND THIS SITUATION WAS THAT THEIR SIDE HAS ASSISTED THESE AMERICANS IN CHINA. BUT THEY STILL NOT ABLE GET LIST CHINESE IN AMERICA FROM OUR SIDE. THEY NOT EVEN BEEN FURNISHED BY US GOVT WITH LIST INDICATING NUMBER CHINESE WHO ARE IN US PRISONS.

82. WANG SAID I HAD JUST STATED IT HARD UNDERSTAND WHY NOBODY AMONG THE GREAT NUMBER OF CHINESE NATIONALS IN US HAD

WRITTEN

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WRITTEN INDIAN EMBASSY. THIS SITUATION QUITE UNDERSTANDABLE TO THEM. SITUATION IS RESULT OF SERIES OF HARRASSMENTS AND PRESSURES TAKEN BY US GOVT TOWARD THESE PEOPLE IN PAST. MANY PEOPLE BEEN DETAINED PRISON, PUNISHED WITH FINES, INTERCEPTED ON WAY HOME BY US GOVT. ALL THIS HAS LEFT DEEP IMPRESSION MINDS CHINESE IN US. PARTICULARLY, AFTER CONCLUSION AGREEMENT RETURN CIVILIANS, US GOVT WENT SO FAR AS TO REQUIRE CHINESE CIVILIANS RESIDING US TO PROCURE ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN. THIS SERIOUS PRESSURE ON CHINESE RESIDENTS IN US.

83. WANG SAID I HAD REPEATEDLY ADVANCED CLAIMS CONCERNING 13 AMERICAN PRISONERS CHINA. THESE, AS I KNEW, HAD COMMITTED OFFENSES AGAINST CHINESE LAWS. AND CASES KNOWN EVERYBODY.

84. WANG SAID THE EIGHTEEN CHINESE WHOSE NAMES GIVEN ME PREVIOUS MEETINGS AND THIS MORNING REPRESENT ONLY FRACTION CHINESE IN US WHO HAVE LONG WANTED RETURN BUT UNABLE DO SO. THESE CASES OF EIGHTEEN SHOW PLIGHT CHINESE IN US FIND THEMSELVES IN.

85. WANG SAID, THEY ASK US EXPEDITIOUSLY MAKE AN ACCOUNT AND GIVE SPECIFIC REPLY THESE CASES OF CHINESE WHOSE NAMES HE HAS GIVEN ME.

86. WANG SAID AND THEY ASK US GOVT SHOULD CEASE THREATS AND PRESSURES AGAINST CHINESE STUDENTS. US SHOULD ADOPT MEASURES ACCORDING WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SO AS TO ENABLE THESE CHINESE RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY.

87. I SAID I DID NOT SAY NO CHINESE IN US HAD COMMUNICATED WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. I DID NOT KNOW WHETHER HE FAMILIAR WITH PRESS RELEASE OF INDIAN EMBASSSY DEC 20 WHICH SAID THAT IT BEEN RECEIVING ENQUIRIES AND APPLICATIONS FROM CHINESE IN US. THAT PRESS RELEASE SAID THAT SOME THESE HAD RAISED TECHNICAL MATTERS WHICH EMBASSY WAS TAKING UP WITH INDIAN GOVT, AND SOME HAD FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

88. I SAID I DID NOT KNOW WHAT THESE TECHNICAL ISSUES WERE. MY ONLY POINT WAS THAT INDIAN EMBASSY CLEARLY WAS IN TOUCH WITH MANY CHINESE IN US. AT LEAST THUS FAR, NOT IN SINGLE CASE HAS

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EMBASSY OF INDIA, IN SPITE FACT IN TOUCH MANY CHINESE IN US, CALLED ATTENTION MY GOVT TO ANY RESPECT IN WHICH IT VIOLATED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OR WHERE INDIAN EMBASSY FEELS US OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE OF ANY THESE CHINESE.

89. WANG SAID, AS HE HAD SAID IF US GOVT WOULD NOT REVOKE THOSE UNREASONABLE MEASURES AGAINST CHINESE, THE PRESSURES AGAINST THEIR FREE CHOICE WOULD ALWAYS BE PRESENT. THEY CONTINUED ASK THAT US ADOPT MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE SPECIFICALLY HAD RAISED NUBMBER CASES WITH ME, AND HE AWAITS MY ANSWER TO THESE REPRESENTATIONS.

90. I SAID I HAD NOTHING MORE.

91. WANG SAID HE ALSO HAD NOTHING MORE.

92. I ASKED IF HE STILL WISHED MEET NEXT FRIDAY.

93. WANG SAID PERHAPS WE COULD ADVANCE NEXT MEETING--- SAY SATURDAY 28TH.

94. I SAID IN VIEW HIS SUGGESTION LAST TIME I HAD ARRANGED MY SCHEDULE TO FIT AND WAS AGREEABLE HIS PROPOSAL OF NEXT FRIDAY OR AS REGULARLY SCHEDULED ON THURSDAY.

95. WANG SWITCHED TO AGREE TO NEXT FRIDAY, FEB. 3.

GOWEN

HE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 JAN 26 AM 7 24
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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5:31 AM

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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46
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FE

Info
RMR

SS

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1425, JANUARY 26, 10 AM

FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING LIST HANDED ME BY WANG 34TH MEETING JANUARY 25:

. . . . . .

611.93/1-2656

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(468)

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1956 JAN 26 PM 5 12

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Control: T3002

Rec'd: JANUARY 26, 1956 3:16 PM

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

57-B
Action
FE

Info
RMR

SS
G
SP
C
L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1426, JANUARY 26, 2 PM

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS ON YESTERDAY'S MEETING:

EXTREME POSITION ADOPTED BY CHICOM WITH RESPECT SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WHICH THEY FULL WELL RECOGNIZE WOULD NEVER BE ACCEPTED BY US, TOGETHER WITH THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS, MAY REPRESENT NEW POLICY DECISION MAKE NO FURTHER EFFORTS ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT WITH US ON RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION. THEIR TACTIC NOW APPEARS BE THERBY UTILIZE DEMONSTRATED INABILITY THESE TALKS MAKE PROGRESS TO SUPPORT PUBLIC CAMPAIGN AND POLITICAL PRESSURES FOR FONMIN MEETING AND IN GENERAL TRY ESTABLISH POSTURE OF THEIR REPEATED EFFORTS NEGOTIATE "REDUCTION TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA" BEING REBUFFED OR FRUSTATED BY US. THEY MAY FEEL THAT IF THEY ARE SUCCESSFUL IN THIS IT WOULD TEND FREE THEIR HANDS MILITARY ACTION AGAINST OFFSHORE ISLANDS. TO SUPPORT THIS THEY MAY DESIRE THESE TALKS BE CONTINUED PRO FORMA FOR TIME BEING OR AT LEAST NOR BE WILLING ACCEPT ONUS FOR BREAKING THEM OFF. IN THIS REGARD WANG MADE NO THREATS AT YESTERDAY'S MEETING TO BREAK OFF TALKS OR OTHERWISE AND FROM THIS STANDPOINT HIS STATEMENTS WERE SOMEWHAT MILDER THAN JAN. 24 PEIPING STATEMENT.

2. AS FAR AS NEXT MEETING IS CONCERNED IT WILL BE WANG'S "TURN" TO OPEN. IT SEEMS TO ME HE HAS FOUR POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION WHICH I LIST IN ORDER MY ESTIMATE PROBABILITY: (A) MAINTAIN FOCUS ON IMPASSE PERHAPS PUTTING MORE STRESS ON THREAT ASPECT; (B) PROPOSE THAT AS WE HAVE NOW SPENT MORE THAN FOUR MONTHS ON OUR ITEM RENUNCIATION FORCE WITHOUT AGREEMENT WE DROP IT AND MOVE TO THEIR ITEM OF FONMIN MEETINGS AND TRADE

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FILED FEB 27 1959

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EMBARGO; (C) MAKE NEW PROPOSAL ON RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION AND (D) MAKE MOVE TO BREAK OFF TALKS. BELIEVE I SHOULD BE PREPARED HANDLE ANY OF FOREGOING POSSIBILITIES.

3. IF HE FOLLOWS FIRST COURSE OR DEPENDING ON NATURE HIS PROPOSAL EVEN THIRD COURSE, BELIEVE IN ADDITION POINTS I HAVE ALREADY MADE, I MIGHT POINT OUT CONTRADICTION BETWEEN ACCEPT[illegible] APPLICABILITY RENUNCIATION FORCE TO TAIWAN AND DEMAND US REN[illegible] SELF-DEFENSE RIGHT THERE. IF PRC SINCERE IN RENOUNCING FORCE TAIWAN AREA QUESTION US EXERCISING RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE THERE DOES NOT ARISE.

4. IF HE PROPOSES BREAK OFF OF TALKS I WOULD PROPOSE REITER[illegible] MY WILLINGNESS AND DESIRE CONTINUE EFFORTS REACH AGREEMENT AND MAKE CLEAR THEY WOULD HAVE TO BEAR ENTIRE ONUS.

5. WHILE I COULD REITERATE OUR POSITION ON RENUNCIATION FORCE AND FONMIN MEETING IF HE ADOPTS SECOND COURSE, HE MAY ADOPT ATTITUDE OF FLAT REFUSAL FURTHER DISCUSS RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION.

GOWEN

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3-51

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Control: 13946

Rec'd: January 27, 1956
10:42 a.m.

Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Action to DC/R

Action

FE

Info

RMR

SS

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1429, January 27, 4 p.m.

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 1429, REPEATED INFORMATION PRAGUE 24.

FROM OSBORN

Wang's interpreter called to request postponement next meeting to Saturday February 4. Emphasized request purely for administrative reasons. He requested press be told merely it been agreed hold next meeting February 4 instead February 3, without saying at whose initiative. On instruction Ambassador Johnson, I agreed both requests.

GOWEN

SW:LMC

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SENT TO: CIRCULAR 500

Origin

Info:

JOINT STATE-USIA

Department and Agency request telegraphic report reaction to Chinese Communist foreign office statement January 18 concerning Ambassadorial talks at Geneva, Department's reply January 21 and rebuttal by Chinese Communist foreign office January 24. Report should ~~xxxx~~ cover same points listed circular 426 December 23.

Dulles (gave) DULLES

Send to:

BANGKOK	NEW DELHI
BERN	PARIS
BOMBAY	RANGOON
BRUSSELS	ROME
BONN	SAIGON
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LONDON	
MADRAS	
MANILA	

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Drafted by: FE/P:JWHenderson:lh 1/27/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: John W. Henderson

Clearances: USIA - Mr. Wicklejohn (by phone) NEA/P Prohme EUR/P Montgomery CA-Mr. Clough

JAN 2 1956 P.M.

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13137 554

1956 JAN 30 PM 6 13

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1559

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for February 4 meeting.

1. Concur in your estimate (Your 1426) that most likely Communist tactic next meeting is renewed attack on US position regarding renunciation of force. You should respond along lines your presentation last meeting.

2. Reiterate demand for expeditious release Americans. Note that flagrancy Chinese Communist breach of Agreed Announcement cumulative with each added week of non-performance. Again reject in vigorous terms Communist attempt exclude imprisoned Americans from application Agreed Announcement. Point out that imprisoned Americans were very persons about whom we were making representations when Agreed Announcement was drafted and issued. Also point out that instead of fulfilling commitment to take appropriate measures expedite Americans return, in at least two cases some six weeks after issuance Agreed Announcement, Americans who had been held in prison several years were tried for first time and sentenced to long prison terms. This is callous violation their pledge. Longer they unjustifiably continue hold Americans, more apparent it becomes to people of world that they using human beings as political hostages. Such action

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611.93/1-3056 CS/A

Drafted by: HPhleger 1/30/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: E:CA:RNClough/WPMcGonaughy/ikb

FE - Mr. Sebald

The Secretary (Cleared in draft)

11142

JAN 30 1956 P.M.

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is repugnant to all civilized nations. FYI During coming meetings you should continue build strong case against Communists aimed particularly at their failure to honor commitments and demonstrated use individuals as political pawns. END FYI

3. Inform Wang ~~that~~ US is investigating case of Yuan Jui-hsiang, alleged to have been taken into custody by US Immigration Service, but does not intend ~~to~~ investigate other names previously submitted by Wang in absence specific showing claiming that US Government obstructing departure these persons. Refuse to accept any more names unless Wang makes such showing. Failure of Chinese in this country to write letters to Communist China is no evidence either that they wish to go to Communist China or that they have encountered obstruction.

4. Your argumentation at last meeting was excellent throughout and theme can be repeated next meeting with suitable variations.

5. FYI We do not wish talks broken off and under no circumstances should break come from us. Break, if inevitable, should come from other side. If Communist press for discussion of trade embargo or higher level meetings you should ~~maintain~~ maintain position that fruitless to discuss other issues until both sides renounce use of force.

6. FYI. It would be possible by rearranging draft announcement of renunciation of force to eliminate any basis for claim that juxtaposition of reservation of self-defense and mention of Taiwan would represent Communist concession that Taiwan not part of China, and we could also insert statement that neither party gives up right to achieve objectives by

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peaceful means. However, because of categorical Communist statements which make clear their plan to contend that US renunciation of force would in effect give up US rights in Taiwan area and in implementation of Defense Treaty with GRC, we do not ourselves suggest any change in formulation of announcement, as it would be misinterpreted.

Dulles
WSR

= DULLES

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472

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FE

Info
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Control: 148
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 1, 1956
5:39 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1440, FEBRUARY 1, 11 AM

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1956 FEB 1 AM 8 55
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FROM JOHNSON

PARAGRAPH 3 DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 1559.

APPRECIATE REASONS AGAINST APPEARING ACCEPT EVEN BY IMPLICATION OBLIGATION INVESTIGATE NAMES SUBMITTED BY WANG IN ABSENCE ANY SHOWING OF CURRENT DESIRE RETURN AND CURRENT OBSTRUCTION DEPARTURE. WILL CONTINUE MAKE CLEAR NOT ACCEPTING ANY SUCH OBLIGATION.

HOWEVER, BELIEVE REFUSAL ACCEPT FURTHER LISTS WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH ACCEPTANCE PREVIOUS LISTS AND MY STAND REGARDING HIS REFUSAL ACCEPT LIST 450 MILITARY PERSONNEL WHICH WE MAY AGAIN DESIRE RAISE.

ALSO AS MATTER HAS THUS FAR BEEN HANDLED BY HIM IN MEETINGS IT IS ONLY AFTER RECEIVING AND READING LISTS THAT I CAN DETERMINE EXACT ALLEGATION CONCERNING PERSONS NAMED AND IT WOULD BE AWKWARD THEN ATTEMPT RETURN LIST OR TEAR OFF SOME NAMES FROM LIST AND RETAIN OTHERS. BELIEVE I CAN EFFECTIVELY MAKE POINT IN PARAGRAPH 3 REFERENCE TELEGRAM WITHOUT REFUSING ACCEPT LISTS.

GOWEN

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1568
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

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Our 1567.

Both British Embassy and American Red Cross have received telegrams from Hong Kong confirming Liu stated he did not wish to proceed Communist China. He is being cared for by Hong Kong authorities who are investigating whether Liu has any relatives in colony. American Red Cross has requested British Red Cross undertake any humanitarian assistance required by Liu and British Red Cross has agreed. American Red Cross telegraphing Chinese Communist Red Cross that Liu unwilling proceed Communist China and that British Red Cross will render assistance.

Dulles
(WPMcC)

DULLES

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DCT
Encl. 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 2/1/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

FEB 1 1956 PM

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1573

Origin

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FOR JOHNSON

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Your 1440. You are authorized your discretion handle Chinese names as you suggest provided Wang afforded no grounds for misinterpretation.

Dulles

DULLES

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 2/2/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: FE - Mr. Sebald

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2/6/56 4 p.m.
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Control: 2613
Rec'd: February 4, 1956
10:15 a.m.

Info RMR SS G

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1453, February 4, 4 p.m.

Assigned to CA/DIR

Taken 1-6

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FROM JOHNSON

1. Five-hour meeting this morning, three hours of which on renunciation, two hours on implementation. No perceptible progress on renunciation and attempt in implementation lay groundwork for renunciation September 10 agreement on basis US failure implement. Should anticipate heavy propaganda play by Peiping radio this regard with particular emphasis Liu Yung-Ming case fantastically charging our objection to his departure 1949 drove him to insanity, and while subsequently cured, his confinement on ship and "pressure" brought on him has caused recurrence insanity.

2. With respect renunciation, threat break off meetings unless we withdraw self-defense clause clearly made coupled with demand Foreign Ministers meeting.

3. Next meeting Thursday February 9. Am departing Prague tonight returning Tuesday.

GOWEN

ROW:MDM

FE Message Center notified 2/4/ 11:20 a.m. EMB (CWO)

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1956 FEB 7 AM 7 35

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2/7/56 10:10 a.m. BB
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Control: 2698
Rec'd: February 4, 1956
2:38 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1454, February 4, 7 p.m.

Action Assigned to 1
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Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

Comments on today's meeting:

1. From full record of meeting Department will note I went long way, particularly in latter portions give and take, to sharpen and clarify issue on self-defense clause in renunciation force draft. I am sure there can now be no possibility of their misunderstanding our position. I did not feel I could go any further without danger of erroneously implying willingness eventually negotiate away our position with respect Taiwan. However, would appreciate any specific comments or suggestions Department may have with respect my statements this regard at today's meeting, or what it feels I could usefully stress or minimize at next meeting.

2. There was no slightest indication at today's meeting any willingness their part reformulate self-defense clause, although he gave impression he might be expected to offer reformulation. Of course, I gave no indication intent offer any such reformulation. Thus situation with respect next meeting is very tight.

3. Their performance at today's meeting with respect implementation was

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-2- 1454, FEBRUARY 4, 7 P.M., FROM GENEVA.

IMPLEMENTATION WAS PROBABLY FOR PURPOSE ATTEMPTING DEMONSTRATE STRENGTH THEIR PUBLIC POSITION TO DENOUNCE SEPTEMBER 10 AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT IN EVENT TALKS BROKEN OFF AND THEREBY USE 13 REMAINING AMERICANS AS ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON US. I TRIED EXPOSE WEAKNESS THEIR POSITION WITH RESPECT CHINESE IN MY REPLIES TODAY AND AT NEXT MEETING BUILDING ON BASIS I LAID TODAY CAN WELL MORE CLEARLY EXPOSE FOREGOING TACTIC. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S SUGGESTIONS AS TO ANY FURTHER REPLIES I MIGHT MAKE WITH RESPECT HIS DEMAND FOR LIST IMPRISONED CHINESE, AND WHETHER THERE IS ANY CONCRETE BASIS FOR HIS CHARGES CONCERNING CHINESE BEING REQUIRED PRESENT PASSPORTS TO HIM. HIS STATEMENTS WITH REGARD LIU YUNG MING WERE SO ABSURD AND DESIGNED HAS DESPERATE ATTEMPT BUILD PROPAGANDA CASE EXPLAIN HIS FAILURE RETURN, I CONSIDERED USELESS ATTEMPT REPLY IN FURTHER DETAIL AND INDICATED RIDICULE BY IRONICALLY SMILING WHEN HE MADE STATEMENTS,

4. AS FAR AS OVERALL SITUATION IS CONCERNED DEPARTMENT WILL APPRECIATE THAT IT MAY BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR ME TO KEEP TALKS GOING MUCH IF ANY BEYOND NEXT MEETING UNLESS CHICOMS FOR OWN PURPOSES DESIRE TO HAVE TALKS CONTINUED FOR THEIR OWN SAKE, OR THEIR PRESENT TACTICS ARE BLUFF. THERE CAN BE NO SURE ANSWER EXCEPT THAT WHICH WILL BE GIVEN BY THE COURSE OF EVENTS.

5. WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHETHER IN EVENT OF BREAK IF SITUATION PERMITS DEPARTMENT DESIRES ME TAKE ANY INITIATIVE TOWARD OR AGREE TO MAINTENANCE ANY CONTINUING CONTACT BETWEEN WANG AND MYSELF THROUGH CONSULATE HERE.

GWL

GOWEN

* As received. Will be serviced upon request.

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1956 FEB 6 AM 7 40
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Control: 2736
Rec'd: February 4, 1956
6:15 p.m.

Action Assigned to

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1455, February 4, 8 p.m. (SECTION ONE)

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FROM JOHNSON

1. Wang opened 35th meeting today by reading prepared statement on renunciation force saying we now holding 16th meeting devoted discussion on making statement renouncing use force in relations China US. This subject first submitted by US side. After 16 sessions views both sides been set out clearly. Responsibility for failure reach agreement up to this time obviously not that of PRC side.

2. Wang said in line their consistent stand for peaceful solution internationl disputes their side proposed that China and US should jointly announce their intention settle their disputes peacefully. As US was already using force in regard Taiwan, there had to be some way in which this desire could be realized, hence their side proposed Foreign Ministers meeting.

3. Wang said, in order promote peaceful settlement disputes between two countries their side has refrained from advancing any prerequisites for renunciation force. However, US side has put forward and persists in requiring their side recognize US right self-defense on China's territory Taiwan. Obviously this represents attempt block way to peaceful settlement.

4. Wang said at last meeting I had claimed that action by US in forcibly seizing Taiwan June 1950 taken to prevent spread of Korean hostilities. Such actions can in no sense be taken as intended prevent aggression. Facts have proven to contrary. After US launched aggression against Korea,

at same

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AT SAME TIME IT EXTENDED ITS AGGRESSION AND ATTEMPTED SPREAD ITS AGGRESSION TO CHINA'S NORTHEAST SECTION.

5. WANG SAID NOW KOREAN WAR LONG CEASED, YET US STEPPING UP AGGRESSIVE MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN TAIWAN AREA. THIS SERVES CONFIRM POINT THAT US ATTEMPTING USE PRETEXT OF KOREAN WAR TO WHITEWASH ITS ACTS OF WAR IN SEIZURE OF TAIWAN. HOWEVER THIS SIMPLY VAIN ATTEMPT.

6. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO CLAIMED THAT TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA NOT CREATED BY AMERICAN ACTS OF AGGRESSION; THAT INSTEAD IT CREATED BY CHINA'S DESIRE EXERCISE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OVER TAIWAN. THIS AGAIN IS TURNING EVERYTHING UPSIDE DOWN.

7. WANG SAID EXERCISE BY STATE OF SOVEREIGN RIGHT OVER OWN TERRITORY COULD IN NO WAY CAUSE TENSION. HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR OUTRIGHT INTERVENTION US, TAIWAN WOULD BE LIBERATED LONG AGO, AND THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA WHATSOEVER. NO AMOUNT OF SOPHISTRY COULD DENY FACT THAT AMERICAN SEIZURE TAIWAN BY FORCE AND INTERVENTION IN TAIWAN BY THREAT OF FORCE CAUSED TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA.

8. WANG SAID I HAD NEXT CLAIMED THAT US IN TAIWAN PURELY FOR SELF-DEFENSE AND THAT PRESENCE AMERICAN FORCES ON TAIWAN IN ACCORDANCE WITH COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK CLIQUE. FACT IS TAIWAN IS CHINA'S TERRITORY AND US HAD NO RIGHT AT ALL TO TRAVERSE PACIFIC ALL WAY TO TAIWAN AND PUT UP DEFENSES ON THAT TERRITORY.

9. WANG SAID CHIANG KAI-SHEK RULE OVER CHINESE PEOPLE LONG BEEN OVERTHROWN BY CHINESE PEOPLE. CHIANG COULD NOT REPRESENT ANYONE. ANY TREATIES SIGNED BY HIS CLIQUE NULL VOID AND COULD NOT LEGALIZE AMERICAN AGGRESSION.

10. WANG SAID HOWEVER MY ASSERTION THAT US ON TAIWAN PURELY IN SELF-DEFENSE AND THAT PRESENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH SELF-DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS FULLY PROVES MY DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR RENUNCIATION FORCE AMOUNTS TO REQUIRING PRC SIDE RECOGNIZE

occupation of Taiwan as well as recognize treaty between US-Chiang Kai-shek clique so as to legalize American occupation.

11. Wang said I had repeatedly stated US side does not demand PRC accept its views. In fact it not only demands they accept US position but also demands PRC recognize US actions of aggression as legal. He wanted say again that this could by no means be accepted.

12. Wang said it American occupation Taiwan which created tension Taiwan area. Their side proposes that conference Foreign Ministers be held by two countries, whereas US propose that US must be given prior recognition status quo Taiwan so as to legalize occupation. As to just which side has sincerity towards settlement our problems, it plain to everybody.

13. Wang said if US side desirous peaceful settlement it must therefore withdraw its unreasonable demands. If US side should continue persist in its unreasonable demands, Wang saw no point in continuing these dragged out talks.

14. In partly extemporaneous partly prepared reply I said he had given his views on how he saw situation in which we find ourselves and had renewed charges against my government and discussed matters which I couldn't see would help US advance in reaching agreement on problem directly in front of us. I, too, was seriously concerned with situation with which we confronted in our talks which could and still can have such favorable potentialities not only for our two peoples but for world. I would like to discuss that situation with him with utmost candor. I did not want to make charges or engage in fruitless debate but would like him understand how situation appeared to me at present moment.

15. I said I came here on August 1 last year with hope that his government fully shared spirit which led my government propose these talks and with hope real progress could be

achieved

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ACHIEVED BY EXERCISE OF GOOD WILL AND UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHERS POINT VIEW, AND WOULD CONTINUE CARRY THIS OUT TO BEST MY ABILITY.

16. I SAID IT WAS NOT THROUGH ACCIDENT, OR LIGHTLY, THAT IN ITS SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FOR THESE TALKS MY GOVERNMENT PLACED MATTER OF RETURN CIVILIANS FIRST, AND HAD HOPED THAT ACCEPTANCE OF THAT BY HIS GOVERNMENT PROVED THAT IT ALSO APPRECIATED GREAT IMPORTANCE OF PROMPTLY RESOLVING THAT MATTER. AT VERY OUTSET OUR CONVERSATIONS I CAREFULLY TRIED EXPLAIN TO HIM NOT ONLY OFFICIAL ATTITUDE MY GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD THIS MATTER BUT ALSO EXACTLY HOW AMERICAN PEOPLE FELT ABOUT IT AND RELATIONSHIP IT HAD TO ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH WE MIGHT SEEK RESOLUTION OF OTHER MATTERS FACING US.

17. I SAID ACTION HIS GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN JULY 31 IN FREEING 11 AMERICAN AIRMEN LED ME TO HOPE THAT HIS GOVERNMENT ALSO FULLY APPRECIATED IMPORTANCE THIS MATTER AND WAS DESIROUS OF PROMPTLY AND COMPLETELY RESOLVING IT. IN ORDER SHOW ITS GOODWILL WITH REGARD MATTER AND IN HOPE IT WOULD FACILITATE PROMPT RESOLUTION OF PROBLEM OF AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY, MY GOVERNMENT UNILATERALLY RESCINDED ALL MEASURES UNDER WHICH SOME FEW CHINESE HAD BEEN PREVENTED FROM RETURNING HIS COUNTRY. I HAD INFORMED HIM OF THIS AT VERY OUTSET OUR TALKS.

18. I SAID NO ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO HOLD THESE PEOPLE TO EXTRACT POLITICAL OR OTHER CONCESSIONS FROM THEM NOR WAS ACTION IN ANY WAY CONDITIONED ON TAKING OF ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY. AS I HAD POINTED OUT TO HIM AT TIME, TAKING OF SIMILAR ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY COULD HAVE PROMPTLY AND QUICKLY SETTLED WHOLE PROBLEM OF RETURN OF CIVILIANS.

19. I SAID, HOWEVER, HE STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT NOT WILLING TAKE SIMPLE STEPS NECESSARY TO MATCH ACTION TAKEN BY MY GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE DISPOSED OF PROBLEM, BUT INSISTED ON THIRD POWER ARRANGEMENT. ALTHOUGH IT CLEAR THAT ONLY

ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT COULD REMOVE IMPEDIMENTS TO DEPARTURE OF AMERICANS FROM HIS COUNTRY, IN ORDER MEET HIS POINT OF VIEW I AGREED WITH SUCH THIRD POWER ARRANGEMENT. I EVEN ACCEPTED HIS POSITION THERE BE NO SPECIFIC TIME LIMIT SET WITHIN WHICH ACTION TO PERMIT ALL AMERICANS RETURN WOULD BE COMPLETED, AND AGREED TO HIS SUGGESTION THAT SIMPLY TERM "EXPEDITOUSLY" BE USED IN THIS REGARD. THUS AGREEMENT WAS FINALLY REACHED ON OUR ANNOUNCEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 LAST YEAR, FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* **ACTION COPY**

Action Assigned To: —

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Action Taken: —

Action
FE

Control: 2734
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 4, 1956
8:38 PM

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 PM (SECTION TWO)

Action Officer: —

Name of Officer: —

Direction to RM/R: —

20. I SAID AS I POINTED OUT TO HIM AT TIME, PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY WOULD INTERPRET AGREEEMENT TO MEAN JUST WHAT IT SAID AND WOULD EXPECT EXPEDITIOUS RETURN FROM HIS COUNTRY OF ALL AMERICANS WHO DESIRED RETURN. AGREEMENT WAS RECEIVED WITH MUCH SATISFACTION MY COUNTRY AND THERE WAS GENERAL HOPE THAT IT PORTENDED OPENING OF NEW PHASE IN PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF OTHER QUESTIONS BETWEEN US. ADDITIONAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF RELEASE 10 AMERICANS ON DAY OF AGREEMENT GREATLY ENCOURAGED BELIEF THAT REMAINING 19 AMERICANS WOULD IN FACT QUICKLY BE RELEASED IN ACCORDANCE PLEDGE MADE BY HIS GOVT IN ANNOUNCEMENT. THEREBY THIS PROBLEM AND IRRITANT IN OUR RELATIONS WOULD QUICKLY BE REMOVED.

21. I SAID , THUS, IF HIS GOVT GENINELY DESIRED ESTABLISH CONDITIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OUR RELATIONS AND ATMOSPHERE WHICH WOULD PERMIT FRUITFUL DISCUSSION QUESTIONS IT DESIRED RAISE, IT HAD IT ENTIRELY IN ITS POWER AND ABILITY DO SO BY SIMPLY CARRYING OUT PROMPTLY AND IN GOOD FAITH CLEAR COMMITMENT INTO WHICH IT HAD FREELY ENTERED.

22. I SAID , HOWEVER, HIS GOVT APPEARED DELIBERATELY TO BE DISSIPATING THESE POSSIBILITIES. INSTEAD OF CARRYING OUT ITS COMMITMENT IN PROMPT AND STRAIGHTFORWARD MANNER THAT WOULD COMMAND RESPECT AND CONFIDENCE, IT BRINGS FORWARD ALL KINDS EXCUSES AND INVOLVED RATIONALIZATIONS FOR NOT DOING WHAT IT FULL WELL KNOWS IT SAID IT WOULD DO. LONGER IT DELAYS IN CARRYING OUT ITS PLEDGED WORD, MORE INEVITABLE IS CONCLUSION BY AMERICAN PEOPLE, AS WELL AS PEOPLE OF WORLD, THAT PURPOSE IS TO CONTINUE HOLD THESE UNFORTUNATE HUMAN BEINGS AS POLITICAL HOSTAGES. I WAS RELUCTANT TO COME TO CONCLUSION HIS GOVT ADOPTING SUCH ABHORRENT POLICY BUT FROM STATEMENTS MADE BY HIS GOVT AND CONTINUED FAILURE RELEASE THESE PEOPLE IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR ME AVOID DOING SO.

23. I SAID

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23. I SAID I ALSO CONCERNED WITH INCREASINGLY OBDURATE ATTITUDE HIS GOVT ADOPTING CONCERNING OUR SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD PROPOSAL OCT 8 AND ITS PERSISTENT ATTEMPTS MISREPRESENT THAT PROPOSAL. I HAD AT ONE TIME THOUGHT WE WERE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT AS TO PRINCIPLE THAT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS AND PEACEFUL PURSUIT OUR POLICIES WE WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR WE WOULD NOT THREATEN OR INITIATE WAR IN ATTEMPT SOLVE THOSE DIFFERENCES.

24. I SAID ONCE THIS HAD BEEN DONE, WE COULD IN SUCH ATMOSPHERE CALMLY AND RATIONALLY DISCUSS OUR DIFFERENCES WITH REAL HOPE THAT MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS COULD BE FOUND. IF WE WERE TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN SUCH HIGH PURPOSE IT ESSENTIAL WE REFRAIN FROM ATTEMPTING ANTICIPATE SETTLEMENT THOSE DISPUTES OR PREJUDICE POSITION OF EITHER SIDE WITH RESPECT OUR DIFFERENCES. IT SEEMED TO ME THIS PROPOSITION SO SELF-EVIDENT THERE COULD BE NO OBJECTION TO IT AND UNTIL RECENTLY I HAD ASSUMED IT ALSO ACCEPTED BY HIS GOVT, AND THAT OUR ONLY REMAINING DIFFICULTIES WERE THOSE OF WORDS BY WHICH IT WOULD BE EXPRESSED.

25. I SAID IN MY OPENING STATEMENT OCT 8 I VERY SPECIFICALLY SET FORTH IT WAS NOT SUGGESTED THAT EITHER OF US SHOULD RENOUNCE ANY POLICY OBJECTIVES WHICH WE FELT WE WERE LEGITIMATELY ENTITLED ACHIEVE BUT ONLY RENOUNCE FORCE IN IMPLEMENTING THOSE POLICIES. THIS WAS ALSO EXPLICITLY SET FORTH IN DRAFT I PRESENTED NOV 10. I FELT SATISFIED AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED TO HIS DRAFT DEC 1 ALSO CARRIED OUT SAME INTENT. I STILL FEEL THAT IS CASE. I SAID I THOUGHT HE AND HIS GOVT HAD MISTAKENLY INTERPRETED AMENDMENTS WHICH IS SUGGESTED THERE WAS NO INTENT WHATEVER TO PREJUDICE HIS VIEWS REGARDING PEACEFUL PURSUIT HIS POLICIES. I DID NOT THINK THERE WAS ANY BETTER WAY ACCOMPLISHING COMMON PURPOSE THAN IN AMENDMENTS I PRESENTED. I STILL HAVEN'T THOUGHT OF ANY BETTER WAY BUT AGAIN REPEAT MY WILLINGNESS HEAR ANY SUGGESTIONS HE HAD.

26. I SAID, HOWEVER, IT HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY CLEAR INTENT OF HIS GOVT, APPARENTLY FROM BEGINNING OUR DISCUSSION THIS MATTER, WAS VASTLY AND FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENCT. IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT PURPOSE HIS GOVT IS UTTERLY TO REVERSE WHOLE SPIRIT AND INTENT

OF ANY

OF ANY SUCH DECLARATION INTO DOCUMENT WHICH ON ONE HAND WOULD EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY CONSTITUTE UNILATERAL RENUNCIATION BY MY GOVT ITS SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS AS WELL AS ITS VIEWS AND POLICIES. ON THE OTHER HAND THE INTENT APPEARS TO BE TO RESERVE TO HIS GOVT. RIGHT TO INITIATE WAR TO OPPOSE VIEWS OF MY GOVT. I SAID I DO NOT BELIEVE I WAS UNFAIRLY MISREPRESENTING SITUATION IF I STATED IT IN SIMPLE TERMS AS AN ATTEMPT TO GET MY GOVT TO SAY IT RECOGNIZES HIS GOVTS RIGHT TO START WAR IN TAIWAN AREA IF IT DESIRES TO DO SO, AND IF IT DOES SO MY GOVT RENOUNCES ITS RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF OR ITS ALLIES. THIS IS NOT DECLARATION OF RENUNCIATION FORCE, BUT RATHER DECLARATION INTENT OF ONE SIDE USE FORCE. PROPOSITION IS SO ABSURD, I DO NOT SEE HOW SOME COULD SERIOUSLY ATTEMPT SUPPORT IT, AND IF ONE IS TO SPEAK OF UNREASONABLE DEMANDS THIS IS CERTAINLY MOST UNREASONABLE OF ALL.

27. I SAID I DID NOT QUESTION HIS RIGHT TO HOLD HIS VIEWS WITH REGARD OUR DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA, OR ELSEWHERE FOR THAT MATTER, NO MATTER HOW OPPOSED TO THEM I MIGHT BE. NOR DID I DISPUTE RIGHT HIS GOVT PEACEFULLY OPPOSE VIEWS MY GOVT.. ALL I HAVE ASKED, AND CONTINUE TO ASK, IS THAT HE ACCORD SAME RESPECT MY VIEWS, AND TWO OF US ASSURE WORLD OF DETERMINATION OUR GOVTS THAT MUTUAL OPPOSITION OUR POLICIES WILL NOT LEAD TO WAR. I DO NOT SEE HOW ANY PROPOSITION COULD BE MORE SIMPLE OR UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED AS JUST, REASONABLE AND IN ACCORD WITH ACCEPTED STANDARDS INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT. CAN WE NOT AGAIN APPROACH THIS MATTER FROM THIS STANDPOINT?

28. WANG SAID I HAD JUST GIVEN A GENERAL OUTLINE AND REVIEW OF OUR TALKS FROM THE START LAST AUGUST UP TO PRESENT. HE WOULD LIKE POINT OUT HE FOUND HIMSELF UNABLE ACCEPT SOME OF MY STANDPOINTS IN RELATION PAST EVENTS AND IN RELATION PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN OUR TALKS.

29. WANG SAID IN PARTICULAR THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT UNFOUNDED AND UNREASONABLE CHARGES AGAINST HIS GOVT REGARDING IS IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

30. WANG SAID HE WOULD SET ASIDE FOR TIME BEING UNTIL LATER

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FULLER DISCUSSION OF RETURN OF CIVILIANS AND OTHER SUCH MATTERS REFERRING TO ITEM ON OF AGENDA.

31. WANG SAID, IN FIRST PLACE HE WOULD MAKE SOME COMMENTS ON MY STATEMENTS CONCERNING OUR DISCUSSION SECOND AGENDA ITEM, THAT IS, ON MATTER OF ISSUING STATEMENT RENOUNCING USE FORCE. THERE ARE TWO POINTS IN APPROACH THIS PROBLEM WHICH MUST BE SET CLEAR BETWEEN TWO SIDES.

32. WANG SAID FIRST POINT IS IN CONNECTION OBJECTIVE IN MAKING SUCH DECLARATION BETWEEN US. SECOND POINT IS WHAT EXACTLY IS NATURE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES. IF WE COULD SET THESE TWO ESSENTIAL POINTS IN PROPER LIGHT, THEN REMAINING MATTERS IN CONNECTION WITH THEM COULD BE EASILY SETTLED.

33. WANG SAID, NOW CONCERNING FIRST POINT: IT BEEN THEIR CONSTANT VIEW AND STAND THAT ANY SUCH DECLARATION OR STATEMENT SHOULD BE AIMED AT RELAXING EXISTING TENSION BETWEEN TWO SIDES IN TAIWAN AREA, AND THAT ANY SUCH STATEMENT OR DECLARATION MUST PROVIDE EFFECTIVE AND PEACEFUL MEASURES BY WHICH DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND US COULD BE CONCRETELY SETTLED.

34. WANG SAID, HENCE IT BEEN THEIR CONSTANT EFFORT AND ATTEMPT TO INCORPORATE IN SUCH DECLARATION OR STATEMENT, AS MUCH AS THEY WOULD, THOSE POINTS AND VIEWS WHICH ACCEPTABLE BY EITHER SIDE, WHILE SETTING TO ONE SIDE MATTERS ON WHICH WE DO NOT AGREE, SO AS TO PROMOTE CHANCE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO OF US. THEY HAVE TRIED ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITHOUT INVOLVING ANY COMPLUSION ON OTHER SIDE.

35. WANG SAID, HOWEVER US IN ITS VARIOUS PROPOSALS, INCLUDING AMENDMENT IT LAST PUT FORWARD, THERE WAS ALWAYS ATTEMPT INCLUDE SOCALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA BY US. THIS ATTITUDE OF US AMOUNTS TO COMPELLING THEIR SIDE ACCEPT POSITION WHICH IT FINDS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE. THIS PRECISELY IS GREATEST OBSTACLE IN WAY MAKING SUCH STATEMENT BY BOTH SIDES.

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Control: 2741
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 4, 1956 6:56 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 PM (SECTION THREE)

36. WANG SAID I HAD PROPERLY SAID THAT WE HOLD DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES IN MATTER MAKING STATEMENTS. HE AGREED WITH THIS VIEW.

37. WANG SAID IF PROPOSED TEXT OF MY DRAFT ACCEPTED IT WOULD REALLY BE WHAT I HAD TERMED IT-- A DECLARATION OF INTENT TO USE FORCE INSTEAD OF STATEMENT RENOUNCING USE FORCE. SUCH DECLARATION NOTE, RUNS COUNTER TO OBJECTIVE IN PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES.

38. WANG SAID, NEXT POINT IS WHAT EXACTLY IS NATURE DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA? I HAD ASSERTED WE SHOULD NOT ANTICIPATE SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES. HE FOUND IT HARD AGREE ANY SUCH STATEMENT.

39. WANG SAID AS HE HAD REPEATEDLY DECLARED UTTERLY UNJUST AND UNREASONABLE SITUATION, THEN THIS SITUATION IS EXACTLY ARMED SEIZURE TAIWAN BY US. THAT IS INTERNATIONAL ISSUE BETWEEN CHINA AND US WHICH WE CONFRONTED WITH. THIS EXACTLY SITUATION WHICH REQUIRED SOLUTION AND WHICH THEY HOPED COULD BE PEACEFULLY RESOLVED BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

41. WANG SAID IN APPROACHING SETTLEMENT THIS DISPUTE, IF WE DO NOT HAVE CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THIS SITUATION THEN IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FIND OUT CORRECT MEANS FOR FINDING SETTLEMENT.

42. WANG SAID NOW HE PROPOSED ENTER INTO DISCUSSION SOME CONCRETE FACTS I HAD MENTIONED MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING. I HAD STATED THAT WE AGREED ON DESIRABILITY FOR MAKING OF STATEMENT RENOUNCING FORCE, AND THAT ONLY REMAINING DIFFICULTE WAS FIND FORM WORDS AGREEABLE BOTH WHICH COULD EXPRESS THIS IDEA. I ALSO HAD STATED AND AGAIN REPEATED THIS MORNING THAT I DID NOT

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DEMAND THEIR SIDE RENOUNCE ITS VIEWS OR ITS POLICIES. I HAD DENIED I DEMANDED ANY PREREQUISITES FROM THEIR SIDE IN MAKING ANY SUCH STATEMENT. AND I HAD ASKED THEIR SIDE TO RESPECT VIEWS OF US.

43. WANG SAID HOWEVER THEIR SIDE HAS ALWAYS RESPECTED ANY VIEWS US WHICH COULD FACILITATE RELAXATION TENSION TAIWAN AREA, WHICH CONDUCIVE CEMENT RELATIONS TWO COUNTRIES, AND WHICH COULD HELP IN SMOOTH RESOLUTION DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US. ALL THESE VIEWS RESPECTED BY THEM. BUT HE MUST POINT OUT MOST VIEWS PRESENTED BY US ON QUESTION MAKING DECLARATION RENOUNCE USE FORCE WERE UNREASONABLE AND UNACCEPTABLE THEIR SIDE.

44. WANG SAID FOR INSTANCE, I STATED THERE ALREADY EXISTED COMMON VIEW ON QUESTION OF MAKING DECLARATION AND ONLY REMAINING DIFFERENCE ONE OF CHOICE WORDS EXPRESSING THAT IDEA. BUT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS VIEW MY SIDE BECAUSE IT TENDS IGNORE SUBSTANCE OUR DIFFERENCES OVER DECLARATION.

45. WANG SAID ORALLY I HAD STATED I DID NOT REQUIRE OF THEIR SIDE ANY PREREQUISITES, BUT IN STATEMENT I INCLUDED DEMAND RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE. THIS NOTHING BUT PREREQUISITE.

46. WANG SAID IT ALWAYS BEEN THEIR VIEW THAT EACH STATE IN ACCORDANCE UN CHARTER HAD RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE -- SELF-DEFENSE ITS OWN TERRITORY. BUT US HAS ABSOLUTELY NO RIGHT CLAIM SELF-DEFENSE ON TERRITORY OF ANOTHER COUNTRY AND THEY STRONGLY AND FIRMLY OPPOSED TO THIS VIEW OF US.

48. WANG SAID TO CLAIM RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE ON TERRITORY OF ANOTHER COUNTRY WOULD TEND REMIND PEOPLE OF EVENTS LEADING TO HITLER ANNEXATION AUSTRIA AND SUDETEN AREA CZECH. NO MATTER HOW HITLER AT TIME TRIED EXPLAIN HIS ACTION AS EXERCISE SELF-DEFENSE, HISTORY HAS RECORDED TO CONTRARY.

48. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO REPEATEDLY STATED I DID NOT INTEND PREJUDICE THEIR RIGHTS, POLICIES, OR POSITION -- THESE WORDS

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45 TELEGRAM CONFIDENTIAL 2/7/56, 10:45 a.m.
CORRECTED PAGE 3

Action -3- 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 PM, FROM GENEVA (SECTION THREE)

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SOUNDED RATHER ATTRACTIVE AND NICE TO HEAR. BUT THESE WORDS ALSO TEND REMIND CHINESE PEOPLE OF DAYS BEFORE JAPANESE WAR WHEN JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER HIROTA DECLARED HIS IGNORAMUS POLICY TOWARD CHINA. THIS GENTLEMAN HIROTA ALSO TRIED EXPOUND SO-CALLED POLICY OF COEXISTENCE AND COPROSPERITY BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN. BUT THIS JAPANESE GENTLEMAN IN FACT HARBORED ONLY MOTIVE OF CREATING PUPPET REGIMES IN CHINA, SUCH AS PU YI STATE IN NORTHEAST AND TRAITOR WANG CHING-WEI STATE IN NANKING. THEREFORE THIS SO-CALLED COPROSPERITY-COEXISTENCE POLICY ONLY RESULTED UNILATERAL PROSPERITY JAPAN.

49. WANG SAID TURNING NOW PRESENT SITUATION, WHILE I ASSERTING I NOT REQUIRING THEIR SIDE RENOUNCE POSITION, VIEWS, OR POLICIES THAT MATTER, YET AT SAME TIME I DEMANDING RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE TAIWAN AREA BY US -- THIS LAST PROPOSAL HAD TURNED NICE WORDS INTO EMPTY STATEMENTS.

50. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I ALSO STATED THAT RENUNCIATION SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA BY US WOULD AMOUNT TO REQUIREMENT SUBMISSION ON PART US, STATED THIS WHAT US ABSOLUTELY COULD NOT AGREE TO. THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS PRESENTATION OF THIS STATEMENT. SUBMISSION MEANS COUNTRY OR STATE IS FORCED RENOUNCE ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IN ITS OWN TERRITORY. IF US PERSISTS IN DEMANDING SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE TAIWAN AREA BY US, IT AMOUNTS TO DEMANDING SUBMISSION BY CHINA RATHER THAN BY US.

51. WANG SAID IF US SHOULD WITHDRAW DEMAND FOR SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, WOULD NOT BE SUBMISSION BUT OBSERVANCE UN CHARTER AND IN NO WAY COULD BE VIEWED AS SUBMISSION ON PART US.

52. WANG SAID THEY ALSO SHARE VIEW WE NOW ENCOUNTERING DIFFICULTIES IN CONDUCT OUR TALKS. I HAD ASKED HOW WE SHOULD APPROACH PRESENT SITUATION. AS HE HAS STATED IF I WOULD ONLY WITHDRAW DEMANDS FOR UNTENABLE SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, IT WOULD SEEM HIM THEN THAT OUR TALKS WOULD BE ABLE ADVANCE. AND I

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Name of Officer ____
Direction to DC/R ____

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AND I PROBABLY COULD SEE THEIR SIDE HAD MADE REPEATED EFFORTS IN MAKING THEIR DRAFTS MEET POINTS OF OURSIDE.

53. I SAID I WOULD IGNORE HIS REMARKS IMPLICITLY COMPARING MY COUNTRY AND ITS POLICIES TO THOSE OF GERMAN NAZIS AND JAPANESE MILITARIST AGGRESSORS. I DID NOT UNDERSTAND HOW HE FELT SUCH REMARKS COULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR MAKING PROGRESS HERE. I SIMPLY WANTED REMIND HIM OF EXPENDITURE OF BLOOD AND TREASURE BY AMERICAN PEOPLE TO FREE WORLD OF SCOURGE OF THEIR AGGRESSION INCLUDING FREEING OF CHINA FROM JAPANESE MILITARISTS.

54. I SAID NEXT WANTED CORRECT TWO APPARENT MISUNDERSTANDINGS HE APPEARED HAVE CONCERNING MY PREVIOUS REMARKS.

55. I SAID FIRST HE QUOTED ME SAYING THIS MORNING WE SHOULD NOT ANTICIPATE ANY SETTLEMENT OUR DIFFERENCES. I MIGHT NOT HAVE MADE MYSELF CLEAR MY ORIGINAL STATEMENT. SENSE MY STATEMENT WAS THAT WE SHOULD NOT IN THIS DECLARATION ANTICIPATE WHAT SETTLEMENT OR ANY PARTICULAR SETTLEMENT OF OUR DIFFERENCES. THAT IS, WHAT SETTLEMENT WOULD BE. I WOULD NOT BE SITTING HERE WITH HIM UNLESS MY GOVERNMENT HOPEFUL HAVE SETTLEMENT WITH THEM.

56. I SAID WHAT I DO SAY IS THAT WE SHOULD NOT, IN THIS INITIAL STEP OF AGREEING THAT OUR DIFFERENCES WOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR, CONFUSE THAT WITH THE NEXT STEPS.

57. I SAID NEXT MISUNDERSTANDING HE APPARENTLY MIGHT HAVE CONCERNING MY REMARKS THAT I WANTED CLEAR UP WAS HIS STATEMENT HE UNDERSTOOD ME AS SAYING WE AGREED ON PRINCIPLE BUT ONLY DISAGREED ON WORDS EXPRESS THIS. WHAT I IN FACT SAID WAS THAT UNTIL RECENTLY I HAD THOUGHT THAT TO BE CASE. I HAD THEN SAID THAT IT HAD HOWEVER BECOME INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT APPARENTLY PURPOSE THEIR GOVERNMENT FROM BEGINNING WAS REQUIRE MY GOVERNMENT EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY TO RENOUNCE ITS SOLEMNLY UNDERTAKEN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AS WELL

AS ITS

AS ITS VIEWS AND POLICIES. THIS NOT SOMETHING WHICH IN THESE DISCUSSIONS THIS DECLARATION I ASKING HIS GOVERNMENT TO DO, AND IS SOMETHING WHICH MY GOVERNMENT IS CORRESPONDINGLY NOT WILLING DO.

58. I SAID AGAIN I SAY, LET US NOT CONFUSE THIS ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP OF AGREEING THAT DIFFERENCES WOULD NOT LEAD WAR, WITH DIFFERENCES OF OUR VIEWS THEMSELVES. AS HE SAID THIS MORNING, AND I AGREE, WE SHOULD IN DISCUSSING THIS DECLARATION PUT TO ONE SIDE THINGS ON WHICH WE DO NOT AGREE.

59. I SAID I WOULD LIKE MAKE AS CLEAR AS POSSIBLY CAN AND SEE IF I COULD NOT CUT THROUGH THIS DIFFICULTY OF UNDERSTANDING THAT SEEMS EXIST BETWEEN US.

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IING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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Control: 2776
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 5, 1956
4:56 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 P.M., (SECTION FOUR OF SIX)

60. SAID HE HOLDS CERTAIN VIEWS WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA AND RELATIONSHIP MY COUNTRY THAT AREA. AS I SAID THIS MORNING IN DISCUSSING THIS DECLARATION, I TRYING RESPECT THEIR RIGHT HOLD THOSE VIEWS NO MATTER HOW OPPOSED TO THEM I MAY BE.

61. I SAID MY GOVERNMENT HOLDS ITS VIEWS REGARD THAT AREA. I RESPECT HIS RIGHT PEACEFULLY TO OPPOSE THOSE VIEWS. THESE ARE MATTERS OF DISPUTE BETWEEN US.

62. I SAID I DID NOT FEEL ANY PROPOSALS I HAD MADE SACRIFICED OR PREJUDICED THEIR VIEWS WITH REGARD THIS DISPUTE. I THOUGHT FOR HIS GOVERNMENT TO READ SUCH MEANING INTO PROPOSALS I HAD MADE GAVE IT MEA NG NOT THERE AT ALL AND NOT INTENDED BE THERE.

63. I SAID ON OTHER HAND, AS NEGOTIATIONS HAVE DEVELOPED ON THIS AND IN LIGHT STATEMENTS HE MADE HERE AND AGAIN MADE THIS MORNING AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE BY HIS GOVERNMENT, SEEMS VERY CLEAR THAT WHAT HIS GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTING DO IS DEMAND THAT IN THIS DECLARATION US RENOUNCE ITS VIEWS ON OUR DISPUTE.

64. I SAID HE PERFECTLY FREE OPPOSE THOSE VIEWS. I NOT ASKING HIM AGREE TO THEM. HE FREE OPPOSE THEM IN ANY PEACEFUL WAY.

65. I SAID WHAT I SAYING WAS THAT IT WOULD BE COMPLETE PERVERSION ORIGINAL PURPOSE THIS DECLARATION AND SOMETHING TO WHICH US COULB AND WOULD NOT AGREE -- TO RENOUNCE IN THIS DECLARATION ITS VIEWS.

66. I SAID SEEMED VERY CLEAR ME THEY THUS ASKING US DO SOMETHING THAT ENTIRELY UNREASONABLE, SOMETHING WE NOT ASKING THEM DO.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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(Control 2776)
2/6/56, 7 A.M.
CORRECTED PAGE 2--MAM

34-B
Action

-2- 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 P.M., (SECTION 4 OF 6) FROM GENEVA

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67. I SAID THAT WAS PUTTING SITUATION AS I SAW IT JUST AS CLEARLY AND PLAINLY AS I COULD.

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68. WANG SAID HE HAD GIVEN NUMBER OF ILLUSTRATIONS THIS MORNING IN ORDER HELP UNDERSTANDING SITUATION WE NOW FACING. OF COURSE NOBODY WOULD DENY FACT US PARTICIPATED IN STRUGGLE AGAINST NAZIISM. NOBODY WOULD DENY FACT US ALSO SUFFERED ATTACK BY JAPANESE AND WAS THUS COMPELLED JOIN IN BATTLE AGAINST JAPAN. PEOPLE HAVE RECOGNIZED CONTRIBUTIONS MADE US IN STRUGGLE BOTH IN EAST AND WEST AND CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN IN VERY GOOD COOPERATION IN OPERATIONS AGAINST AGGRESSORS WITH US. AND BLOOD SHED BY CHINESE PEOPLE DURING EIGHT-YEAR WAR RESISTANCE CANNOT BE MEASURED. THEY FINALLY ACHIEVED VICTORY.

69. WANG SAID IT ALWAYS BEEN THEIR WISH US WOULD FOLLOW POLICY LAID DOWN BY FORMER PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT. AND IT NOT DESIRE CHINESE PEOPLE THAT US SHOULD FOLLOW PATH FORMER JAPANESE MILITARISTS AND GERMAN NAZIS.

70. WANG SAID CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED TREMENDOUSLY UNDER AGGRESSION IMPERIALISTS VERY LONG TIME. BUT HIS PEOPLE WOULD NEVER BE FORCED INTO SUBMISSION BEFORE ANY EXTERNAL POWER. THIS COMPARES ALSO WITH AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO DID NOT SUBMIT BEFORE EVENT FORCED ON THEM BY PEARL HARBOR INCIDENT.

71. WANG SAID IN VIEW TAIWAN IS UNDER OCCUPATION OF US, THEY CANNOT FIND BETTER WAY ILLUSTRATING THIS SITUATION.

72. WANG WAID I HAD STATED HE HAD MISUNDERSTOOD MY STATEMENTS AND THAT WE SHOULD NOT CONFUSE WHAT I CALLED TWO STEPS IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. HE DID NOT KNOW HOW HE HAD MISUNDERSTOOD

73. WANG SAID IT ALSO THEIR OPINION WE SHOULD APPROACH SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES STEP BY STEP AND AFTER FIRST STEP GO ON TO NEXT STEP AND FINALLY TRY ACHIEVE COMPLETE SETTLEMENT DISPUTE.

74. WANG SAID ON THEIR PART, THEY HAD NO PREJUDICE OR WHAT I HAD CALLED ANTICIPATION OF SETTLEMENT. ON CONTRARY THEY FOUND SELVES UNRECONCILABLE TO POSITION OF US IN MAKING SUCH

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to DC/R

A PREJUDICE OR ANTICIPATION BY DEMANDING RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA.

75. WANG SAID IF US PERSISTED DEMANDING IN DECLARATION RIGHT TO SO-CALLED SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, IT WOULD SEEM THIS DECLARATION TANTAMOUNT REQUIRING CHINA RECOGNIZE OCCUPATION BY US OF TAIWAN AS BEING LEGAL.

76. WANG SAID IF US SHOULD INSIST IN DEMANDING SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, IT WOULD EXACTLY CONFUSE WHAT I CALLED TWO ESSENTIAL STEPS TOWARD SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. I STATED FIRST STEP SHOULD BE BOTH SIDES MAKE CLEAR DISPUTES NOT LEAD WAR AND SECOND TO RESOLVE DISPUTES THEMSELVES. BUT MY DEMAND SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA EXACTLY CONFUSES THESE TWO STEPS.

77. WANG SAID IF US WOULD WITHDRAW THIS UNREASONABLE DEMAND, THEN WOULD ENABLE TWO OF US ADVANCE ORDERLY FASHION TO SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. THIS MADE NECESSARY IN VIEW FACT US HAS ALREADY RESORTED FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA, WHICH GIVES RISE TO TENSION THERE. THAT WHY HE HAD ASKED MY SIDE WITHDRAW SUCH UNREASONABLE DEMAND, SO AS SHOW WORLD COMMON DESIRE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. IF US GENUINELY DESIRES SUCH SETTLEMENT, DID NOT SEE WHY IT SHOULD INSIST THIS UNREASONABLE STAND.

78. I SAID HE HAD ASKED ME WITHDRAW DEMAND I HAD NEVER MADE.

79. WANG SAID DID I MEAN I HAD NEVER DEMANDED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA?

80. I SAID THAT I HAD NEVER DEMANDED THEY PREJUDICE THEIR POSITION WITH REGARD THAT OR ANY OTHER ASPECT OUR DISPUTE. WHAT I HAD SAID WAS THEY DEMANDING THAT US IN THIS DECLARATION RENOUNCE ITS POSITION. I FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE INTERPRET HIS REMARKS ON THIS IN RECENT WEEKS IN ANY OTHER WAY. PUBLIC RECORD ALSO CLEAR ON THAT.

81. I SAID MOST RECENTLY IN HIS PRIME MINISTERS SPEECH JANUARY 30, IN DISCUSSING QUESTION OF OUR DECLARATION, HE

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Action Assigned 2/10/56

34-B INCOMING TELEGRAM CONFIDENTIAL 2/9/56, 1:15 P.M.

Action CORRECTED PAGE 4.

FM -4- 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 PM (SECTION 4 OF 6) FROM GENEVA CN 2776

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SPECIFICALLY STATED, "AN ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE BY BOTH SIDES MUST LEAD TO REMOVAL OF FORCE ALREADY USED BY US". IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME INTERPRET AND, IN VIEW PUBLIC RECORD, IMPOSSIBLE WORLD INTERPRET WITHDRAWAL OF AMENDMENT I PROPOSED CONCERNING SELF-DEFENSE AS OTHER THAN RENUNCIATION BY US OF ITS POSITON. I COULD NOT SEE THAT AMENDMENT WHICH WE SUGGESTED IN THIS REGARD WAS REQUIRING THEM RECOGNIZE ANYTHING THEY DID NOT CHOOSE RECOGNIZE, OR THAT THEY THEREBY PREJUDICING THEIR POSITION. HOWEVER, IF THEY BELIEVED IT DID THAT, AS I HAD SAID, I WILLING LISTEN ANY SUGGESTION THEY HAD AS TO HOW THE PURPOSE MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED IN ANY OTHER WAY, AND WHICH WOULD AT SAME TIME MEET PROBLEM THAT WOULD BE PRODUCED CONCERNING POSITION MY GOVERNMENT IF PHRASE WERE WITHDRAWN.

82. WANG SAID I HAD JUST STATED I NOT REQUIRING THEIR SIDE ACCEPT OR RECOGNIZE WHAT THEIR SIDE WOULD NOT ACCEPT OR RECOGNIZE, AND THAT I NOT ASKING THEM PREJUDICE THEIR POSITION. BUT IF US SHOULD INSIST IN RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, THAT NOTHING ELSE BUT REQUIRING THEIR SIDE RECOGNIZE US OCCUPATION TAIWAN. AND THIS EXACTLY PREJUDICING POSITION CHINESE PEOPLE IN EXERCISING SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OVER TAIWAN.

83. WANG SAID I HAD SAID IF US SHOULD WITHDRAW DEFENSE CLAUSE IN DRAFT IT WOULD BE INTERPRETED BY WORLD AS RENUNCIATION BY US OF ITS RIGHT. SPEAKING OF RIGHTS, THERE ARE RIGHTS IN CONFORMITY WITH UN CHARTER AND THEREFORE PROPER RIGHTS, BUT THERE ARE ALSO SO-CALLED RIGHTS WHICH AGAINST SPIRIT UN CHARTER AND WHICH INTERFERE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OTHER STATES. IF IT POSITION US IN TAIWAN AREA TO CLAIM THIS CO-CALLED RIGHT AS NATURAL RIGHT, IT NOT ONLY WOULD BE OPPOSED BY CHINESE PEOPLE BUT ALSO BE OPPOSED BY PEOPLE WHOLE WORLD.

84. WANG SAID HE NOT SEE HOW POSITION US WOULD BE PREJUDICED BY WITHDRAWING THIS CLAUSE FROM AMENDMENT. JUST TO CONTRARY, ABSENCE THAT CLAUSE IN STATEMENT WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT TWO COUNTRIES CHINA AND US GENUINELY DESIROUS SEEKING PEACEFUL SOLUTION DISPUTES AND RENOUNCING WAR BETWEEN THEM. IF, HOWEVER, I SHOULD INSIST ON THIS UNREASONABLE CLAUSE, HE DID NOT SEE HOW THIS COULD LEAD FURTHER PROGRESS IN TALKS.

85. I SAID WHAT HE JUST SAID SEEMED ME SIMPLY CONFIRM WHAT I JUST SAYING, THAT THEIR PURPOSE IN THTS DECLARATION WAS OBTAIN RENUNCIATION BY US OF ITS POSITION. THAT SEEMED ME BE REAL DIFFICULTY.

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Action Taken

2/6/56, 6:45 AM MAM

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~~CORRECTED PAGES 1 & 3~~

35
Action
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Control: 2777
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 5, 1956
4:56 AM

Date of Action 1

Action Office Symbol

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Name of Officer

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NO: 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 PM (SECTION FIVE OF SIX)

Direction to DC/R

86. WANG SAID IT QUITE OBVIOUS THAT SUCH DECLARATION PROVIDED FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES AND ALSO AT SAME TIME PROVIDED FOR PARTIES TO DECLARATION TO UNDERTAKE NOT INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHERS. CHINESE PEOPLE STRONGLY AND FIRMLY WILL OPPOSE TO END RIGHT OF US TO SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, WHICH NO MORE THAN INTERVENTION CHINESE AFFAIRS.

87. WANG SAID THEY ALREADY MADE GREAT EFFORTS IN DISCUSSION DECLARATION AND REMAINED FOR US TO MAKE CORRESPONDING EFFORTS AND TAKE FURTHER STEPS TO RELIEVE US FROM PRESENT POSITION. IF I HAD ANY FURTHER CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTION MAKE, THEY ALSO LOOKING FORWARD TO THEM.

88. I SAID MY CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTION WAS THEY WITHDRAW FROM POSITION WHICH REQUIRING US IN THIS DECLARATION TO WITHDRAW FROM ITS POSITION.

89. WANG SAID THEY COULD NOT ON THEIR PART RENOUNCE THEIR POSITION THAT US SHOULD RENOUNCE ITS POSITION. POSITION OF US IS ONE WHICH INSISTS IN OCCUPYING TERRITORY OF CHINA. THIS POSITION INDEFENSIBEE. THEY HAD NEVER ASKED US ACCEPT ANY POSITION THEIR SIDE WHICH MEANT INTERNAL INTERVENTION AFFAIRS US OR OCCUPATION US TERRITORY.

90. WANG SAID IF I HAD NOTHING FURTHER HE WOULD LIKE BRING UP ANOTHER MATTER.

91. I SAID ALL RIGHT.

92. WANG THEN RAPIDLY READ LONG PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION. SAID HE WOULD NOW MAKE OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING MY OPENING STATEMENT REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION FIRST AGENDA ITEM. AS FOR THEIR SIDE, THEY ALWAYS BEEN FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT.

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93. WANG SAID HOWEVER NUMBER INCIDENTS OCCURRING OF LATE COMPELLED HIM RAISE THIS SUBJECT. ON MANY OCCASIONS I HAD TRIED COVER UP FACT US GOVERNMENT VIOLATING AGREEMENT BY CONTINUING OBSTRUCT RETURN CHINESE STUDENTS. BUT NO AMOUNT SOPHISTIC STATEMENTS COULD HIDE INHUMAN TREATMENT ACCORDED LIU YUNG-MING. LIU'S PRESENCE NOW IN HONG KONG SHOWED UP MY SOPHISTIC STATEMENTS. MUST BE POINTED OUT THAT MY SIDE, WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION, PREVENTED RETURN LIU WITH RESULT THAT HE LOST HIS MIND.

94. WANG SAID IT ONLY RECENTLY, AFTER THEIR SIDE HAD MADE REPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING LIU, THAT OUR SIDE COMPELLED RELEASE HIM. HOWEVER, LIU NEVER VIOLATED ANY US LAW BUT YET US EXPELLED HIM UNDER DEPORTATION PROCEDURES.

95. WANG SAID FURTHERMORE, ON HIS RETURN PASSAGE OUR SIDE KEPT HIM APART FROM OTHER CHINESE, STEPPED UP USE OF THREATS AGAINST HIM, AND MADE HIM MENTALLY UNBALANCED AGAIN. MOREOVER, HE NOT YET ABLE RETURN. IN NAME CHINESE GOVT. WANG PROTESTING SUCH INHUMAN ACTS IN PERSECUTION CHINESE STUDENTS. US SIDE MUST BEAR RESPONSIBILITY THIS.

96. WANG SAID FURTHERMORE HE HAD ITEMIZED VARIOUS THINGS IN FOUR LISTS CONTAINING NAMES EIGHTEEN CHINESE AND HAD ASKED ME FOR ACCOUNTING WHY THEY NOT RETURNED. AS HE HAD POINTED OUT, ALL DESIRED RETURN, ALL PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. THEY UNABLE RETURN THUS FAR, AND UNABLE COMMUNICATE WITH FAMILIES ON ACCOUNT OBSTRUCTIONS MY GOVERNMENT. CHINESE PEOPLE DEMANDED RECTIFICATION THIS SITUATION.

97. WANG SAID HAD FURTHER LIST SEVEN CHINESE IN US WHOSE RETURN BEING PREVENTED (NAMES IN FOL TEL). HE RAISING THIS WITH ME AND ASKING FOR ACCOUNTING ALONG WITH OTHERS. EXPERIENCE THESE PEOPLE SHOWED US SIDE NOT ONLY FAILED OBSERVE AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 BUT ALSO DELIBERATELY HAS BROKEN AGREEMENT.

98. WANG SAID EXPERIENCE CHINESE STUDENT LIAO IN PRESENT LIST PROVIDED EXAMPLE WHEREBY NOT DIFFICULT SEE HOW US GOVT. CONTINUING OFFER OBSTRUCTION RETURN EVEN AFTER ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT RETURN CIVILIANS. MR. LIAO WENT US END

FEB 9 1956

1948, STUDIED UNIV. CHICAGO. WAS ON STAFF TEACHING MATHEMATICS AT AGRICULTURE AND MECHANICS COLLEGE STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA. ALREADY ON WAY HOME IN 1952 WHEN INTERCEPTED BY US GOVERNMENT AT SAN FRANCISCO. LATER, HE FORMALLY REQUESTED FROM US GOVERNMENT PERMISSION RETURN SEPTEMBER 1955, HOWEVER SO FAR UNABLE RETURN.

99. WANG SAID HE HAD MERELY CITED SINGLE CASE, THERE MANY MORE. ASKED THAT US TAKE NOTE, IMMEDIATELY STOP OBSTRUCTION, AND GIVE REPORT ON SITUATION THESE CHINESE STUDENTS.

100. WANG SAID ON OTHER HAND, HE HAD MANY OCCASIONS INQUIRED AS TO INNOCENT CHINESE KEPT US PRISONS, BUT I HAD SUBMITTED NO LISTS. THIS CONTRASTED STRONGLY COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE CHINESE SIDE WHICH SUBMITTED COMPLETE LISTS OF AMERICANS IN CHINA. HE ONCE AGAIN ASKED US SIDE SUBMIT COMPLETE LIST THESE PRISONERS. IF MY SIDE SINCERELY INTEREESTED IMPLEMENTATION IT SHOULD IMMEDIATELY SUBMIT SUCH LIST. (HERE WANG HANDED ME LIST, SAYING IT FULL LIST OF SEVEN STUDENTS, GIVING FULL PARTICULARS.)

101. I SAID, FIRST WITH REFERENCE MR. LIU, I ASTOUNDED AT STATEEENTS HE MADE ABOUT HIM. ACCORDING STATEMENTS IN WANG'S LETTER CONCERNING HIM, HE BECAME MENTALLY ILL MAY 1949. WHAT RELATION THAT COULD HAVE TO FACT THAT SEVERAL YEARS AFTERWARDS US IMPOSED RESTRICTIONS ON SOME FEW CHINESE REGARDING THEIR DEPARTURE, I COULD NOT UNDERSTAND.

102. I SAID MR. LIU SIMPLY A VERY ILL MAN, WHO BEEN CARED FOR AT PUBLIC EXPENSE OVER LONG PERIOD YEARS. HE NOT ONLY CARED FOR AT US PUBLIC EXPENSE, HE RETURNED HONG KONG AT US PUBLIC EXPENSE. FAR FROM INDICATING ANY VIOLATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, I THOUGHT ACTION US GOVERNMENT HIS REGARD SPOKE FOR ITSELF. I WISHED MIGHT BE POSSIBLE HE HAVE SAME PROMPT ACTION CONCERNING CASES I HAD RAISED WITH HIM.

103. I SAID NOT QUUITE CLEAR ME WHAT THEIR CHARGE CONCERNING MR. LIU WAS. HE HAD ARRIVED HONG KONG. MY UNDERSTANDING HE BEING CARED FOR BY BRITISH AUTHORITIES THERE. COULD NOT BELIEVE

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WANG COULD BE ALLEGING BRITISH AUTHORITIES PREVENTING HIS RETURN CHINA IF HE SO DESIRED. THIS REALLY CARRYING CHARGE THAT US OBSTRUCTING PEOPLE FROM RETURNING TO ABSURD DEGREE.

104. I SAID NEXT THESE VAGUE STATEMENTS HE CONTINUING MAKE CONCERNING US BREAKING AGREEMENT SIMPLY UNABLE STAND IN LIGHT FACTS. I DID NOT ASK HIM ACCEPT MY WORD ON IT. I SURE HE HAD AVAILABLE FROM INDIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON FULL AND REAL FACTS. HE WELL KNEW THAT IN SPITE FREE COMMUNICATION CHINESE IN US ENJOY WITH INDIAN EMBASSY, THERE NOT BEEN ANY CASE IN WHICH INDIAN EMBASSY FELT FACTS JUSTIFIED ANY REPRESENTATIONS TO US GOVT. THAT IT OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE.

105. I SAID FOR MOST PART, NAMES AND INFORMATION CONCERNING PERSONS IN US ALLEGEDLY BEING OBSTRUCTED DEPARTING SEEM TO COME DOWN TO SIMPLE QUESTION THEIR WRITING TO PEOPLE HIS COUNTRY. I DID NOT SEE HOW HE COULD POSSIBLY INTERPRET FAILURE SOME INDIVIDUALS IN US TO WRITE LETTERS HIS COUNTRY EITHER AS EVIDENCE THEY WANT GO HIS COUNTRY OR THAT THEY ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION IN RETURN. AS INDICATED TO HIM IN PAST, MY GOVERNMENT DID NOT UNDERTAKE IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT NOR COULD IT UNDERTAKE ANY OBLIGATION INVESTIGATE CASE SOMEBODY WHO DOES NOT WRITE LETTER HIS COUNTRY. NOR COULD IT FORCE HIM DO SO.

106. I SAID OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT VERY CLEAR. OBLIGATIONS ARE NOT TO OBSTRUCT DEPARTURE OF ANY CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRES RETURN HIS COUNTRY. OBLIGATION IS ALSO THAT PEOPLE WHO DESIRE RETURN AND FEEL THEY ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTION MAY FREELY COMMUNICATE INDIAN EMBASSY. OBLIGATION IS TO PERMIT INDIAN EMBASSY INVESTIGATE FACTS AND IF IT FINDS OBSTRUCTION ALLOW IT MAKE REPRESENTATIONS. OBLIGATION MY GOVERNMENT RECEIVE SUCH REPRESENTATIONS. MY GOVERNMENT HAS IN PAST AND WILL CONTINUE FULLY CARRY OUR ITS OBLIGATIONS. I WILLING DISCUSS WITH HIM HERE AND TAKE UP WITH MY GOVT. ANY CASE WHERE THERE APPEARS ANY POSSIBILITY WE NOT CARRYING OUT THOSE OBLIGATIONS.

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107. I SAID HOWEVER MY GOVERNMENT DID NOT INTEND INVESTIGATE CASES IN WHICH THERE NO SHOWING US GOVERNMENT OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE.

108. I SAID MY AUTHORITIES INVESTIGATING CASE MR. YUAN JUI-HSIANG, IN WHICH THERE CLAIM HE BEING DETAINED BY INS. I WOULD INFORM HIM RESULTS AS QUICKLY AS AVAILABLE.

109. I SAID I SIMPLY DID NOT UNDERSTAND HIS PERSISTENT REFERENCE TO PERSONS IN US APPLYING FOR RETURN AND BEING PREVENTED. FOR EXAMPLE, CASE MR. LIAO HE MENTIONED THIS MORNING-- WANG STATED HE FORMALLY REQUESTED RETURN FROM US GOVERNMENT IN SEPTEMBER 1955. WANG'S INFORMATION THAT REGARD SIMPLY COULD NOT BE CORRECT. AS I HAD SAID OVER AND OVER AGAIN, THERE NO EXIT PERMIT, NO EXIT VISAS, NO PROCEDURES OF ANY SUCH KIND WHICH REQUIRED OF ANY ALIEN IN US. THEY DO NOT HAVE TO APPLY ANYONE. ALL HAVE TO DO IS GO.

110. I SAID I AGAIN REPEATED STATEMENT THAT I ENTIRELY SATISFIED MY GOVERNMENT NOT OBSTRUCTING ANY WAY ANY CHINESE WHO DESIRES DO SO FROM DEPARTING COUNTRY. I WISHED SAME WAS SITUATION REGARDING AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY. REPETITION THESE VAGUE CHARGES CONCERNING CHINESE IN US DOES NOT CONCEAL FACT THIS NOT CASE WITH AMERICANS IN CHINA.

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AS RECEIVED. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

(#) OMMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

ACTION COPY

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Control: 2778
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 5, 1956
4:55 A.M.

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 P.M., (SECTION SIX OF SIX)

6

111. WANG SAID AMERICAN GOVERNMENT CANNOT EVADE RESPONSIBILITY IN CASE LIU YUNG-MING. I HAD JUST SAID WANG RECOGNIZED IN HIS LETTER THAT LIU IN MENTAL DISORDER. THIS NOT CORRECT. IN HIS LETTER, WANG HAD MADE QUITE CLEAR LIU WHEN WENT US NOT MENTALLY ILL. FAR FROM BEING ILL, HE ATTENDED UNIVERSITY AND OBTAINED MASTERS DEGREE. THIS PROOF ENOUGH HE WELL AND NOT ILL AT ALL. ONLY BECAUSE DESIRED RETURN AND PREVENTED DOING SO THAT DROVE HIM MENTAL DISORDER. VERY INHUMAN ACT, AND US GOVERNMENT SHOULD BEAR RESPONSIBILITY.

112. WANG SAID HE WOULD READ ME LETTER WRITTEN BY DR. HOCTOR, SUPERVISOR HOSPITAL MISSOURI. IN LETTER TO FRIEND OF LIU, HOCTOR WROTE, "YOUR FRIEND CONTINUES GET ALONG VERY WELL. HOWEVER, WE HAVE HAD NO RECENT WORD FROM IMMIGRATION OFFICIALS ABOUT HIS DEPARTURE. THIS WAS WRITTEN DECEMBER 1950. IN FEBRUARY 1951, HOCTOR AGAIN WROTE THAT LIU IMPROVED SUFFICIENTLY THAT I THINK NO NEED FURTHER DELAY IN ARRANGING RETURN HONG KONG.

THESE LETTERS OF DR. HOCTOR EXACTLY REFUTED STATEMENT MADE BY ME PREVIOUS MEETING THAT LIU ALTHOUGH RECOVERED YET NOT FIT FOR TRAVEL. THEN, AFTER AUTHORITIES HOSPITAL STATED MR. LIU IMPROVED SUFFICIENTLY THAT COULD MAKE DEPARTURE, US GOVERNMENT KEPT HIM THERE. FOR THIS US MUST ALSO BEAR RESPONSIBILITY. AFTER PRC SIDE MADE REPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING MR LIU AND US TOOK STEPS ENABLE HIS DEPARTURE, ALTHOUGH LIU HAD COMMITTED NO OFFENSES AGAINST US LAW, YET EVICTED FROM COUNTRY UNDER PUNISHMENT DEPORTATION. THIS ANOTHER ACTION US GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR.

113. WANG SAID WHEN LIU ON BOARD SHIP SAILING FOR HOME, HE VERY DELIGHTED FINALLY PERMITTED RETURN, BUT US AUTHORITIES KEPT HIM IN ISOLATION FROM OTHER CHINESE ON SHIP AND SENT

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Action Assigned to [illegible] 1/6

Action Taken

3[illegible] INCOMING
Action TELEGRAM CONFIDENTIAL 2/7/56, 10:30 a.m.
FE CORRECTED PAGES 2 AND 4

-2- 1455, FEBRUARY 4, 8 P.M., (SECTION 6 OF 6), FROM GENEVA.

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PERSONNEL TO TALK WITH HIM AND EXERT PRESSURE ON HIM WHILE SHIP SAILING CHINA. THIS CAUSED LIU ANOTHER MENTAL ATTACK. US GOVERNMENT MUST BEAR RESPONSIBILITY THIS ALSO. FROM THIS CASE OF MR. LIU, INHUMAN ACTS OF US AUTHORITIES IN PERSECUTING AND OBSTRUCTING CHINESE IN US ARE FULLY CONFIRMED.

114. WANG SAID AFTER HIS SIDE HAD MADE REPRESENTATIONS WITH ME CONCERNING THESE 25 CHINESE, WHOSE NAMES GIVE ME IN VARIOUS MEETINGS, I AGAIN TRIED DEFEND MY POSITION BY ARGUING US GOVERNMENT DID NOT REQUIRE PERMIT FOR RETURN, THAT INDIAN EMBASSY FREE COMMUNICATE WITH CHINESE, AND THAT CHINESE IN US NOT BEING OBSTRUCTED DEPARTURE. BUT FACTS TURN OUT CONTRARY TO WHAT I HAD ALLEGED ON QUESTION OF TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT REQUIREMENT, INDIAN EMBASSY HAD MADE REPRESENTATION US GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN EMBASSY DESIRED MAKE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT ON THIS QUESTION. HOWEVER PREVENTED DOING SO BY US GOVERNMENT. THESE 25 PERSONS HE HAD SO FAR RAISED WITH ME WERE ALL DESIROUS RETURNING BUT WERE ACTUALLY PREVENTED DOING SO.

115. WANG SAID THERE HAD BEEN CASES CHINESE ALREADY DEPARTED US AND ON WAY HOME BUT INTERCEPTED BY AGENTS INS HALFWAY. ALSO OF CHINESE WHO HAD SUBMITTED PASSPORT TO INS FOR VISAS, BUT NO ACTION TAKEN PERMIT DEPARTURE. THEREFORE QUESTION ARISES AS TO WHICH SIDE'S INFORMATION NOT CORRECT. I STATED INFORMATION BY WANG NOT CORRECT. ON OTHER HAND, MANY OCCASION HE HAD ASKED ME AS TO EXACTLY HOW MANY CHINESE KEPT IN AMERICAN PRISONS BUT I HAD FAILED MAKE REPLY UP TO PRESENT MOMENT.

116. WANG SAID THEREFORE IF US NOT WILLING PROMPTLY STOP ITS OBSTRUCTIONS AND CARRY OUT AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH SIDES, IT SHOULD BEAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR BREAKING OF AGREEMENT.

117. I SAID I NOT GOING TAKE TIME TODAY ATTEMPT ANSWER IN DETAIL THESE STATEMENTS WHICH I COULD ONLY TERM FOR MOST PART AS FANTASTIC AND NOT SUPPORTED BY SINGLE SHRED FACT. FOR EXAMPLE, HE HAD SAID INDIAN EMBASSY BEEN PREVENTED MAKING PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. US GOVERNMENT HAS NO WAY, EVEN IF IT WOULD, OF PREVENTING INDIAN EMBASSY STATING ANYTHING PUBLICLY IT DESIRED STATE. HE HAD TALKED ABOUT CHINESE BEING INTERCEPTED BY IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES. WHAT CHINESE? WHEN?

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WHERE? I POSITIVE THERE BEEN AND IS NO SUCH CASE. HE HAD CERTAINLY BROUGHT UP NO SUCH CASE.

118. I SAID THERE WERE SUCH CASES OF CHINESE ATTEMPTING EVADE PREVENTIVE DEPARTURE ORDER, BUT THAT LONG IN PAST. I HAD TOLD HIM OVER AND OVER AGAIN THAT PREVENTIVE DEPARTURE ORDER -- WHICH ONLY MEASURE EVER TAKEN BY MY GOVERNMENT TO PREVENT DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE -- LONG AGO RESCINDED.

119. I SAID HE CONTINUING SPEAK OF CHINESE PRESENTING PASSPORTS TO INS FOR VISAS. I DID NOT KNOW HOW MANY TIMES I HAD TO TELL HIM THAT CHINESE NEED OBTAIN NO VISAS FROM INS OR ANYONE ELSE FOR DEPARTURE FROM US. HE AWARE AS WELL AS I THAT CHINESE CONTINUALLY DEPARTING FREELY FROM US. I HAD NO WAY KNOWING WHETHER OR NOT THEY INTEND TO OR DO PROCEED HIS COUNTRY -- AS FAR AS WE KNOW, THEY FREE DO SO. PRESS REPORTS, INCLUDING PRESS REPORTS HIS COUNTRY, INDICATE SOME THEM GOING HIS COUNTRY. WITH EXCEPTION SMALL GROUP AGAINST WHOM PREVENTIVE DEPARTURE ORDERS ISSUED, THAT ALWAYS BEEN CASE. IT NOW THE CASE WITHOUT EXCEPTION.

120. I SAID IF IT INTENT HIS GOVERNMENT TO DENOUNCE OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPTEMBER 10, IT SHOULD BE CLEAR TO HIM THAT THERE WERE NO FACTS WITH REGARD US PERFORMANCE UNDER THAT ANNOUNCEMENT THAT COULD REMOTELY JUSTIFY SUCH ACTION. I SATISFIED THAT THIS WOULD BE RECOGNIZED BY ALL HONEST AND DISINTERESTED PERSONS EVERYWHERE. THAT WAS ALL.

121. WANG SAID I TRYING HARD DEFEND US FAILURE CARRY OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT RELATING RETURN CHINESE FROM US. NO AMOUNT ARGUMENT COULD ACHIEVE THAT PURPOSE. WHAT I SAID ORALLY NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENTS WHAT ACTUALLY BEING CARRIED OUT. FACT IS THEIR ATTENTION CONTINUALLY BEEN CALLED TO CASES CHINESE, NOT HAVING COMMITTED ANY OFFENSES IN US, YET UNABLE RETURN HOMELAND. THIS IS SITUATION WE NOW FACING.

122. WANG SAID I HAD ENQUIRED AS TO WHAT CHINESE BEEN INTERCEPTED BY INS AND WHICH CHINESE PRESENTED PASSPORTS TO INS. HE MIGHT MERELY REFER TO CASE OF LIAO, WHO NAMED IN LIST

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HE GAVE ME. THIS LIAO ONE OF CHINESE INTERCEPTED HALF WAY ON WAY HOME MAINLAND.

123. I ASKED WAS THIS IN 1952? IF SO, PROBABLY CORRECT.

124. WANG SAID I CORRECT ON INTERCEPTION 1952, BUT WHAT TOOK PLACE IN 1952 ALSO INFLUENCED THINGS IN 1955. THEREFORE, MIGHT REMIND ME TO INVESTIGATE ALL THESE CASES FIRST BEFORE I ASKED QUESTIONS AS TO WHICH INTERCEPTED OR WHICH PRESENTED PASSPORTS TO INS.

125. WANG SAID IF US AUTHORITIES HAVE IN FACT REFRAINED FROM OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE THESE CHINESE, HE DID NOT SEE WHY THEIR ATTENTION REPEATEDLY BEEN CALLED TO CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN BUT UNABLE DO SO. AND HE ALSO AWAITING ACCOUNTING AS TO CHINESE IN US PRISONS. POINT IS, SINCE TWO SIDES ALREADY HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT, DUTY BOTH IS TO FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT.

126. I SAID EXACTLY. I STILL HAD TO SEE SINGLE CASE IN WHICH US HAS NOT DONE SON.

127. WANG SAID BUT FACT IS PEOPLE DESIRE RETURN BUT HAVE NOT YET RETURNED.

128. I SAID FACT IS THIRTEEN AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY UNABLE RETURN. THIS UNDISPUTED FACT.

129. WANG SAID THIS WAS OPEN TO ALL AND QUITE CLEAR. HE MEANT CASES THESE 13 AMERICANS. OUTSIDE THESE THIRTEEN, MOST OF REST HAVE RETURNED. BUT AS FAR AS KNOWN HIS SIDE, MORE THAN THIRTEEN CHINESE TO DATE BEING PREVENTED DEPARTURE US. LATEST NUMBER HE HAD GIVEN ME 25. AND THEIR ATTENTION WOULD BE FURTHER CALLED TO MORE SUCH CASES. THIS ALSO SERVES DEMONSTRATE RESPECTIVE MANNER IN WHICH BOTH SIDES IMPLEMENTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

130. I SAID NEITHER THESE 25 OR ANY OTHER CHINESE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING. IF THEY THOUGHT THEY WERE, ENTIRELY FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY.

BB:LJ/11

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131. WANG SAID IF ONLY THEY COULD FREELY EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS IN THE US. HOWEVER, DID NOT SEE THAT THEY COULD FREELY EXPRESS THEIR DESIRE; FREEDOM EXPRESS DESIRE IN US WAS RESTRICTED.

132. I SAKED IF HE MEANT SAY THEY AFRAID WRITE OR TELEPHONE INDIAN EMBASSY.

133. WANG SAID IT SEEMED EVEN SUCH FREEDOM EXTREMELY RESTRICTED. AND ONE MIGHT ASK WHY US REFUSES RESCIND REQUIREMENT ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN. UNHAPPY EXPERIENCE MR. LIU SHOWED HOW CHINESE DESIRING RETURN DRIVEN TO MENTAL DISORDER. ALL THESE CASES SHOW THERE BEEN PRESSURE AND MENTAL THREAT AGAINST PEOPLE WHO DESIRE RETURN THEIR COUNTRY.

134. I SAID THESE CASES SHOW NOTHING EXCEPT APPARENT DESIRE WANG'S GOVERNMENT, I DID NOT KNOW WHY, TO BUILD CASE AGAINST US ON THIS QUESTION WHICH FACTS SIMPLY WOULD NOT SUPPORT. ANYBODY WHO KNOWS ANYTHING AT ALL ABOUT US KNOWS FACTS WOULD NOT SUPPORT SUCH ALLEGATION.

135. WANG SAID FACT IS PEOPLE DESIRING RETURN NOT ABLE DO SO.
AGREEMENT IS BILATERAL SO CANNOT UNILATERALLY ASK CHINESE IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT WHILE NO ACTION OTHER COUNTRY PERMIT DEPARTURES OF CHINESE. US CONCERNED WITH ITS THIRTEEN MEN IN CHINA. WHY CANNOT CHINESE PEOPLE SHOW THEIR CONCERN FOR THEIR 25 CHINESE IN US, OR PERHAPS 250, 2500 CHINESE IN US? FACT HE FELT IT NECESSARY RAISE THESE CASES WITH ME WAS BECAUSE CHINESE PEOPLE WILL NOT TOLERATE EXISTING SITUATION.

136. I SAID I HAD NO MORE TO SAY.

137. WANG SAID HE HAD NO MORE ALSO.

138. I ASKED WAS HE AGREEABLE MEET NEXT THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9?

139. WANG SAID ALL RIGHT.

GOWEN

GEM

AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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478 13

Action Assigned to FEP

Action Taken noted 56

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 2551
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 4, 1956
7:48 A.M.

Date of Action 2/7/56

Action Office Symbol FEP

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

FROM: SAIGON

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 3173, FEBRUARY 4, 4 P.M.

Henderson

REFERENCE: DEPCIRTEL 500

1. COVERAGE LIMITED TO FACTUAL STORIES AND EDITORIALS LOCAL CHINESE-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS BASED PRIMARILY ON US STATEMENT; NO SPECIFIC ATTENTION TO CHICOM JANUARY 24 REPLY. NO RADIO COVERAGE KNOWN. DEFINITELY NO NEWSREEL COVERAGE. VIETNAMESE PRESS COVERAGE OF ALL FOREIGN NEWS NOW REPORTEDLY RESTRICTED BY OFFICIAL CENSORS WHO ORDER CONCENTRATION ON DOMESTIC POLITICS (APPROACHING ELECTIONS).

2. EDITORIAL COMMENT, FOLLOWING GENERAL PATTERN OF CRITICIZING GENEVA AMBASSADORIAL TALKS, STEPPED UP DEMAND FOR BREAKING OFF NEGOTIATIONS, POINTED TO CHICOM "LACK GOOD FAITH" AS EVIDENCE CHINAT WARNINGS AGAINST NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN RIGHT ALL ALONG. MUST BE KEPT IN MIND IN THIS CONNECTION THAT CHINESE LEGATION HERE NOW REPORTEDLY EXERCISES VIRTUAL JOINT CENSORSHIP POWERS WITH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT OVER LOCAL CHINESE PRESS.

3. NO PUBLIC COMMENT BY VIETNAMESE OFFICIALS. ONLY AVAILABLE PRIVATE COMMENT THAT OF FONOFF POLITICAL AFFAIRS DIRECTOR LAM, WHO SAID AFTER CHICOM JANUARY 18 STATEMENT HE FOUND ACTION NOT SURPRISING, SUPPOSED IT MIGHT WELL MEAN END OF GENEVA TALKS. CHINESE OFFICIALS HERE FOLLOW "TOLD YOU SO" LINE, BUT SOME BUSINESSMEN (POSSIBLY IN HOPE BEING ASSURED TO CONTRARY) HAVE EXPRESSED VIEW DULLES-CHOU TALKS INEVITABLE.

REINHARDT

GWL

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2-10-56 1:45 AM (VH)
CORRECTED COPY
Control: 3140
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 6, 1956
11:02 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1457, FEBRUARY 6, 2 PM

FROM JOHNSON

FOL LIST HANDED ME BY WANG 35TH MEETING FEB. 4:

. . . . . .

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-2-1457, FEBRUARY 6, 2 PM FROM GENEVA

FZ

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GOWEN

CRH

FEB 10 AM 11 40
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 480

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

03326 563

1956 FEB 7 PM 7 52

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1591

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for February 9 meeting.

1. Refer to return of Liu Yung-ming to mainland Hong Kong's 1114. Point out no restriction was imposed his return to Communist China and clear US carried out agreed announcement. Use information contained Hong Kong's 112 to Geneva showing 35 Chinese arrived Hong Kong January 31 en route Communist China. Mention cumulative figure of 189 in this category since Jan. 1955.

2. Continue stress failure implement Agreed Announcement. Regarding our own implementation reiterate there are no restrictions on departure of any Chinese; full circulation and publicity of announcement has been made, and no report from Indian Embassy of any Chinese in US appealing to it that they prevented from leaving. Regarding prisoners, would not discuss them specifically. [redacted]

3. With respect to renunciation of force continue along lines of your last presentation and also of our last public announcement. Point out that Communist argument really adds up to demand that US concede to Communists all points in dispute instead of leaving them subject for

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611.93/2-756

S/S
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CA
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Drafted by: HPhleger/jkb 2/7/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

FE - Mr. Sebald

CA - Mr. McConaughy

S - The Secretary

SECRET FEB 7 1956 P.M.
Classification

11146

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Classification

discussion after renunciation of force has been agreed to. Particularly point out that Communists continue to insist that US concede that Taiwan and off-shore islands are Communist territory when fact is that US position is that they have never been Communist territory and particularly that Taiwan ceded to Japan by China was captured ~~by~~ from Japan by forces under US orders and now lawfully administered and held by sovereign GRC.

4. FYI It seems evident from Wang statement that Communists are not willing to agree to an announcement that would reserve right of US self-defense in area. Whether Communists will break off talks because they now realize that US will not concede to their position, cannot be predicted, but if they are determined to break on this point we cannot make concession of US rights to prevent break. However, you are under no circumstances to break off talks but continue to argue our position with firmness.

5. If break by Communists comes you should give out statement at once that Communists have broken off talks because they cannot have their way in insisting US give up right of self-defense against armed attack in area. State we hold Communists to Agreed Announcement on prisoners and hope they will be promptly released. Remark to Wang and publicly state that further communications between Communists and US can be transmitted through Consulates in Geneva. Any further statement will come from Washington.

Dulles (WPMcC)

11147

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481

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Action
FE

Info
RMR

SS
G

Control: 4454
Rec'd: February 8, 1956
5:59 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1467, February 8, 11 a.m.

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

Re last sentence paragraph 3 Department telegram 1591.

My recollection is that surrender by Japanese Forces on Taiwan to Chinese was accomplished under general order No. 1 issued by MacArthur as SCAP rather than as U.S. Commander. Would appreciate confirmation that our position is that this constituted "capture" but that action was carried out by "forces under U.S. orders".

GOWEN

SBH/1

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken Reply drafted

Date of Action 2/8

Action Office

Name

U.S. mat manuscript file

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FEB 27 1959

FEB 8 AM 8 46

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Department of State

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Classification

03582 565

Central Files

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 1592

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

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Your 1467. Latter portion last sentence paragraph 3 DEPTEL 1591 amended to read as follows:

"And particularly that Taiwan ceded to Japan by China was surrendered by Japan in 1945 under SCAP orders and now lawfully administered and held by sovereign GRC".

Dulles (DUPLIES)

611.93/2-856

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11148

DC/R
Encl 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 2/8/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances: FE - Mr. Sebald L - Mr. Phleger

S/S-CR

FEB 1956 P.M.

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Classification

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Control: 5523
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 9, 1956 2:26 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

1956 FEB 9 PM 3 27

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1474, FEBRUARY 9, 4 PM

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Action Assigned to Caffery

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

1. FOUR HOUR FIFTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. NO PROGRESS WHATSOEVER. ONLY UNUSUAL DEVELOPMENT WANG TOOK TWENTY MINUTE RECESS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MY OPENING STATEMENT. ALTHOUGH I RECEIVED IMPRESSION THIS WAS FOR PURPOSE CONFERRING ON WHETHER MY OPENING STATEMENT FITTED IN WITH SOME CONTINGENT ACTION THEY HAD PLANNED, SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS IN MEETING GAVE NO INDICATION AS TO WHAT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

2. MY GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT WHILE NO SIGN WHATEVER ANY SHIFT THEIR POSITION, THREAT OF BREAK ON RENUNCIATION FORCE HAS SOMEWHAT RECEDED.

3. HE WAS PREPARED OMIT ANY DISCUSSION IMPLEMENTATION TODAY BUT IN RESPONSE MY INITIATIVE AGAIN TOOK STRONG LINE ON LIU YUNG-MING, TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS, LISTS OF CHINESE US PRISONS, ALLEGED US ATTEMPT FORCE APPLICATION FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE, ETC.

4. BECAUSE OF SPRING FESTIVAL HE ASKED FOR NEXT MEETING FEB. 20 AND WHEN I HESITATED, SUGGESTED FEB. 18 WHICH I ACCEPTED.

5. DEPARTING FOR PRAGUE TOMORROW MORNING.

GOWEN

GWL

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FEB 27 1959

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45-B (484)

SECRET

Action
FE

Control: 5795
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 10, 1956
2:31 A.M.

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

SS
G

NO: 1476, FEBRUARY 9, 7 P.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

AS SITUATION HAS DEVELOPED, BELIEVE THERE IS POSSIBILITY WANG MIGHT AGREE SOME FORMULA STATING US-PRC DISPUTES TO BE SETTLED "ONLY" BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND PRESERVING RIGHT OF "SELF-DEFENSE" BETWEEN US AND PRC IF DECLARATION BROKEN, INCLUDING TAIWAN AREA. JUST POSSIBLE THEY MAY OFFER SOME AMENDMENT THIS REGARD. CLEAR THEY FEEL THAT ANY ACCEPTANCE BY THEM OUR RIGHT "COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE" IN TAIWAN AREA EXTENDS MEASURE OF RECOGNITION BY THEM TO LEGITIMACY GRC WHICH THEY NOT WILLING ACCORD. DO NOT SEE ANY POSSIBILITY THEIR RECEDING BEYOND THIS POSITION.

WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS ON ATTITUDE I SHOULD ADOPT IF THEY SHOULD OFFER ANY AMENDMENT ALONG LINES FIRST SENTENCE OR DEGREE TO WHICH I MIGHT DIRECT DISCUSSION IN THAT DIRECTION.

GOWEN

VH

Action Assigned to OAID

Action Taken

Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

1956 FEB 10 AM 8 37

BUREAU OF ... AFFAIRS

FEB 27 1959
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Action FE

Info RMR SS G SP C L

Control: 5701
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 9, 1956 9:29 PM

1-6

Action Assigned to OA/DIR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction Code

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1479, FEBRUARY 9, 11 P.M. (SECTION I OF VII)

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 36TH MEETING WITH FOLLOWING PREPARED STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE:

A. IN ANNOUNCEMENTS MADE BY OUR GOVERNMENTS LAST YEAR ON JULY 25, PURPOSE OF OUR TALKS WAS SET FORTH VERY CLEARLY. THAT PURPOSE WAS TWO-FOLD: TO AID IN SETTLING MATTER OF REPATRIATION CIVILIANS WHO DESIRED RETURN, AND TO FACILITATE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS AND SETTLEMENT CERTAIN OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN BOTH SIDES.

B. WHAT WERE THESE PRACTICAL MATTERS? WE EACH RECOGNIZED MOST IMPORTANT AND URGENT MATTER UNDER THIS CATEGORY WAS SITUATION TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER, OUR RESPECTIVE APPROACHES TO PROBLEM WERE VERY DIFFERENT. AGAINST BACKGROUND OF CONTINUED THREATS BY YOUR GOVERNMENT TO INITIATE HOSTILITIES IN AREA, YOU PROPOSED WE IMMEDIATELY ABANDON THESE TALKS AND THERE BE MEETING OFEFONMINS OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO DISCUSS QUESTION. IN OTHER WORDS YOU WERE SUGGESTING US UNDERTAKE NEGOTIATIONS WITH YOU AT THAT LEVEL UNDER CONTINUED OVERHANGING THREAT YOU WOULD RESORT TO HOSTILITIES IF AGREEMENT ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY TO YOU WAS NOT PROMPTLY REACHED. STATED ANOTHER WAY, YOU WERE ASKING SUCH NEGOTIATIONS BE CONDUCTED UNDER WHAT WAS IN EFFECT QDXEML(#) TIE ULTIMATUM.

C. US FOR ITS PART SUGGESTED APPROACH TO PROBLEM SHOULD BBE FIRST TO REMOVE THIS ASPECT BY MAKING CLEAR NEITHER SIDE INTENDED RESORT TO WAR ENFORCE ITS POINT VIEW, AND IN THAT

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ATMOSPHERE UNDERTAKE DISCUSSION OUR DIFFERENCES ONLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND ONLY TO SEEK THEIR FAIR AND EQUITABLE SOLUTION.

D. THIS WAS PROPOSAL I MADE OCTOBER 8 LAST YEAR. SO GRAVE WAS OVERHANGING THREAT BY ONE SIDE RESORT TO FORCE, PARTICULARLY IN TAIWAN AREA, AS TO MAKE PEACEFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION IMPOSSIBLE, UNLESS THIS OVERHANGING THREAT WERE REMOVED. IN CIRCUMSTANCES, TO HAVE REJECTED THIS PROPOSITION WOULD HAVE BEEN ADMISSION OF LACK OF REAL DESIRE OR INTENT SETTLE OUR DISPUTES PEACEFULLY.

E. I PROPOSED WHATEVER WAS SAID THIS REGARD BE FULLY RECIPROCAL; THAT IT APPLY WITH EQUAL FORCE BOTH PARTIES, NOT ASKING OF ONE PARTY ANY MORE THAN OF OTHER, AND ONLY REQUIRING OF BOTH PARTIES THEY DECLARE THEIR INTENTION SETTLE THEIR DISPUTES PEACEFULLY AND REFRAIN FROM THREAT RESORT TO FORCE ATTAIN THEIR POLICY OBJECTIVES.

F. I PROPOSED THIS BE EXPRESSLY APPLICABLE TO TAIWAN AREA, AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE. I FELT THEN, AS NOW, IF THREAT RESORT TO FORCE WERE REMOVED ELSEWHERE BUT ALLOWED REMAIN TAIWAN AREA, SUCH DECLARATION WOULD BE OF NO REAL PURPOSE.

G. FINALLY, I PROPOSED DECLARATION MAKE CLEAR NEITHER SIDE WAS, BY SUBSCRIBING TO IT, PREJUDICING ITS INHERENT RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE. SINCE JANUARY 12 WE HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING EMENDED DRAFT, WHICH LIKE MY PREVIOUS DRAFTS, WAS CONSISTENT WITH ALL THESE PROPOSITIONS. AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU INDICATED YOU WERE PREPARED ACCEPT THIS DRAFT, WITH EXCEPTION OF LAST OF MY PROPOSITIONS, REFERENCE TO SELF-DEFENSE.

H. YOU HAVE STATED IN OUR RECENT MEETINGS, AND YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS DECLARED PUBLICLY, IT DOES NOT OBJECT TO PRINCIPLE SELF-DEFENSE, EITHER INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE. I WILL PASS OVER WITHOUT COMMENT GRUDGING MANNER IN WHICH THIS ADMISSION

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MADE, RELUCTANCE PARTICULARLY SURPRISING IN COUNTRY WHICH IS PARTY TO COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS ITS OWN, AND WHICH EVEN NOW HAS TROOPS ON FOREIGN TERRITORY IN DEFIANCE UNITED NATIONS IN WHAT IT CLAIMS TO HAVE BEEN EXERCISE OF THIS VERY RIGHT.

I. YOU HAVE STATED, AND YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS DECLARED PUBLICLY, YOUR ONLY OBJECTION IS TO EXERCISE OF THIS RIGHT BY US IN TAIWAN AREA. I SHOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU FOR MOMENT TO CONSIDER SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IN ITS PROPER CONTEXT. THAT IS, IN ITS RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER PROPOSITIONS EMBODIED IN OUR DECLARATION. THIS RELATIONSHIP IS, I THINK, PERFECTLY CLEAR IN MY AMENDED DRAFT JANUARY 12.

J. TAKEN IN CONTEXT, IMPLICATION OF SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IS CLEARLY CONTINGENT. WHAT IT SAYS IN EFFECT, IS THIS: IF EITHER PARTY SHOULD, IN VIOLATION OF THIS DECLARATION INITIATE HOSTILITIES, OR IF EITHER PARTY SHOULD BE ATTACKED BY ANY OTHER PARTY, THEN PARTY WHICH HAS BEEN ATTACKED MAY DEFEND ITSELF.

K. THUS PLACED IN CONTEXT, WHICH IS ONLY WAY IN WHICH I HAVE ASKED YOU ACCEPT IT, SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE NOT ONLY DOES NOT CONFLICT WITH OTHER PROPOSITIONS EMBODIED IN PROPOSED DECLARATION NLPWACQCMNY(#) CORROLLARY AND SUPPLEMENT TO THESE OTHER PROPOSITIONS. IT IS COMPLATELY RECIPROCAL. IT IS APPLICABLE, WITH COMPLETE RECIPROCITY, TO TAIWAN AREA.

1. FRANKLY, MR. AMBASSADOR, IF WE TAKE SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IN ITS PROPER CONTEXT, I SEE ONLY ONE THING WHICH COULD RENDER IT OBJECTIONABLE. IT WOULD BE OBJECTIONABLE, CERTAINLY, IF ONE SIDE WERE ENTERING INTO DECLARATION WITH FALSE INTENTION OF NEVERTHELESS INITIATING USE HOSTIL TIES. IT WOULD BE OBJECTIONABLE, CERTAINLY, FROM POINT VIEW BY OF WHICHEVER SIDE WAS INSINCERE RENOUNCING USE FORCE TO SETTLE OUR DIFFERENCES.

M. I AM RELUCTANT BELIEVE ALL DURING FOUR LONG MONTHS WE HAVE SPENT DISCUSSING THIS PROPOSITION THERE HAS NOT BEEN

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ANY REAL INTENT ON PART YOUR GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THIS FIRST AND ESSENTIAL STEP TOWARD FINDING GENUINELY PEACEFUL SOLUTION OUR DIFFERENCES. I AM RELUCTANT BELIEVE YOU HAVE ALL ALONG BEEN CONTEMPLATING DECLARATION THAT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN REUNIFICATION FORCE AT ALL, BUT RATHER ONLY PIOUS REPETITION IN BILATERAL FORM OF HOPE THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES MIGHT SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES PEACEFULLY. WAS THAT HOPE NOT ALREADY IMPLICIT IN AGREEMENT BOTH SIDES TO HOLD THESE TALKS? WAS IT NOT OUR PURPOSE IN THESE TALKS PROGRESS FROM HOPE TO REALIZATION OF HOPE?

N. AS I SAY, MR. AMBASSADOR, I AM TRULY RELUCTANT BELIEVE YOUR OBJECTIVE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS HAS BEEN, NOT TO CARRY US FORWARD, BUT TO TAKE US BACK TO JULY 25 LAST YEAR OR EVEN PRIOR THAT TIME.

O. I AM LEFT, HOWEVER, WITH JUST TWO ALTERNATIVE CONCLUSIONS. FIRST IS, AS I HAVE PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT, YOUR POSITION CONSTITUTES DEMAND THAT IN NEGOTIATING THIS DECLARATION, US CONCEDE TO YOU ALL POINTS IN DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA, RATHER THAN PROPERLY LEAVING THEM FOR DISCUSSION FOLLOWING AGREEMENT BETWEEN US TO DECLARE WE WILL NOT RESORT FORCE SSETTLE THOSE DISPUTES. SECOND, IS THAT YOUR OBJECTION TO SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE ARISES FROM FACT THAT YOU VIEW IT IN DIFFERENT CONTEXT FROM ONE IN WHICH IT WAS INTENDED TO BE SEEN . I HAVE TRIED MAKE IT CLEAR, IN ITS INTENDED CONTEXT, SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IMPLIES NO MORE NOR LESS THAN THIS UTTERLY REASONABLE PROPOSITION: IF EITHER PARTY SHOULD IN VIOLATION OF DECLARATION INITIATE HOSTILITIES, THEN OTHER PARTY MAY DEFEND ITSELF. I AM UNABLE SUGGEST ANY 35534 2-Y IN WHICH THAT CAN BE SET FORTH THAN IN MY AMENDED DRAFT JANUARY 12. IF YOU HAVE OTHER SUGGESTIONS I SHALL BE GLAD HEAR THEM.

2. WANG SAID HE HAD DIFFICULTY UNDERSTANDING MY STATEMENT AND ITS INTERPRETATION, WOULD LIKE RETIRE WITH ASSISTANTS

TO ANOTHER ROOM TO CHECK NOTES. I AGREED. WANG AND ASSISTANTS WERE OUT OF ROOM FROM 10:36 TO 10:55.

3. ON HIS RETURN, WANG SAID HE HAD SPENT FEW MINUTES CHECKING NOTES WITH INTERPRETATION OF STATEMENT I HAD MADE THIS MORNING. HE AGREED THAT WE HOLDING THESE TALKS IN ORDER SETTLE MORE IMPORTANT AND URGENT DISPUTE NOW EXISTING BETWEEN CHINA AND US.

4. WANG SAID THEY HAD ALWAYS HELD HOPE DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES MIGHT BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY WITHOUT USE FORCE. AT SAME TIME THEY HAD HOPED THAT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL TALKS MIGHT ACHIEVE RESULTS THEY CALLED UPON TO ACHIEVE. HOWEVER, WITH RELUCTANCE HE HAD TO SAY THEY DISAPPOINTED EVERY TIME.

GOWEN

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Action Taken
Control: 5816
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 10, 1956
Date 3:31 A.M.
Action Offices Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1479, FEBRUARY 9, 11 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF SEVEN)

5. WANG SAID THIS BEEN CAUSED BY RIGID ATTITUDE ON PART US GOVERNMENT WHICH DELAYING PROGRESS AND SUCCESS TALKS. WE FIND SELVES AT MOMENT STILL CONFRONTED WITH MOST URGENT AND GRAVE DISPUTE UNSETTLED BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. FOR INSTANCE, SITUATION EXACTLY SO WITH REGARD TO NEGOTIATIONS ON DECLARATION BETWEEN BOTH SIDES, AS RESULT CONTINUED US PERSISTENCE IN WHAT IT TERMS US RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, WHICH GREATEST OBSTACLE IN TALKS.

6. WANG SAID, AS HE HAD SAID OVER AND OVER AGAIN US HAS NO RIGHT AT ALL CLAIM RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE TAIWAN AREA. HE NOTED THAT IN MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING I AGAIN TRYING JUSTIFY POSITION US WITH REGARD SELF-DEFENSE TAIWAN AREA. I HAD AGAIN TRIED DEFEND THAT POSITION WITH ALL SORTS ARGUMENTS. I WAS ALLEGING THAT SO-CALLED SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WAS CORROLLARY AND SUPPLEMENT TO STATEMENT.

7. WANG SAID ACTUALLY US IS TRYING TO MAKE CHINA ACCEPT, BY MEANS THIS SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE, US OCCUPATION TAIWAN AS LEGAL AND COMPEL CHINA ACCEPT US PREREQUISITE.

8. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO STATED THAT THIS CLAUSE ON SELF-DEFENSE APPLIED EQUALLY BOTH SIDES. HOWEVER, SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE, INSTEAD BEING APPLICABLE BOTH PARTIES EQUALLY ONLY APPLIES IN FAVOR US.

9. WANG ASKED WHETHER US COULD POSSIBLY CLAIM RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE ON FOREIGN TERRITORY. PRESENT SITUATION COULD NOT

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BE INTERPRETED AS CHINESE FORCES BEING SENT AMERICAN TERRITORY TO CLAIM SELF-DEFENSE THERE THEREFORE THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT MY STATEMENT THIS CLAUSE APPLICABLE BOTH PARTIES.

10. WANG SAID IT NO ONE ELSE BUT CHINA WHICH HAD PROPER RIGHT CLAIM SELF-DEFENSE ON OWN TERRITORY. ANY OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRY HAS ABSOLUTELY NO RIGHT SPEAK OF SELF-DEFENSE ON CHINESE TERRITORY.

11. WANG SAID FURTHERMORE I HAD MADE VARIOUS CHARGES WHICH REVERSED RIGHT AND WRONG, SUCH AS MY USE TERM "WARLIKE ULTIMATUM" AND MY ATTRIBUTION THIS TO CHINA, AND SUCH WORDS AS"OVERHANGING THREAT OF FORCE".

12. WANG SAID IT NO ONE ELSE BUT US WHICH THREATENING OTHER COUNTRIES BY OCCUPYING THEIR TERRITORY. REMARKS MADE BY MR DULLES RECENTLY ACTUALLY SUCH THREATS AS I HAD DESCRIBED. CHINESE PEOPLE NEVER GOING BE FRIGHTENED BY SUCH THREAT AND WOULD NEVER BE BROUGHT INTO SUBMISSION BY THREATS. CHINESE PEOPLE WANT EXERCISE OWN SOVEREIGN RIGHT AND WANT REMOVE ALL THREATS AGAINST THEM.

13. WANG SAID HE ALSO NOTED THAT I SAID CHINESE FORCES IN FOREIGN LAND IN DEFIANCE UN. ACTUALLY CHINESE PEOPLE WERE RISING IN OPPOSITION TO AGGRESSIVE FORCES HEADED BY US IN GROSS ABUSE NAME OF UN, FORCES WHICH THREATENING SECURITY CHINA.

14. WANG ASKED WHOSE FORCES FIRST GONE TO KOREA. IF HAD NOT BEEN FOR US ARMED AGGRESSION IN ATTEMPT THREATEN SECURITY CHINA, CHINESE PEOPLE WOULD NOT HAVE EXERCISED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE.

15. WANG SAID NEXT HE NOTED I HAD SAID THAT DRAFT HE PRESENTED ON DECEMBER ONE REPRESENTED RETROGRESSION. HE COULD NOT

ACCEPT MY

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ACCEPT MY STATEMENT THIS REGARD. HIS DRAFT OF DEC ONE EXACTLY GREAT CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS MAKING DECLARATION. HIS DECEMBER ONE DRAFT DID NOT CONTAIN ANYTHING WHICH NOT ACCEPTABLE TO EITHER OF TWO SIDES.

16. READING NOW FROM PREPARED STATEMENT, WANG CONTINUED THAT AS US ALREADY USED FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA, ANY ANNOUNCEMENT BY BOTH SIDES ON NON-EMPLOYMENT FORCE MUST NECESSARILY LEAD TO SOLUTION OF NEXT STEP. IT EXACTLY WITH THIS IN MIND THAT HIS DRAFT PROVIDED FOR CONTINUATION OF TALKS TO SEEK PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

17. WANG SAID HIS SIDE FIRMLY OF OPINION CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS SHOULD BE HELD SETTLE BY NEGOTIATION QUESTION OF TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA. THIS NOT WHAT I HAD SAID THIS MORNING, THAT THEY WANTED STOP PRESENT TALKS IN FAVOR OF HOLDING FONMIN CONFERENCE. THEY HAD NEVER ADVANCED ANY SUGGESTION ALONG THAT LINE OR MADE ANY SUGGESTION OF STOPPING PRESENT TALKS, AND IMMEDIATELY HOLDING FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. THEY HAD ONLY SAID THAT HOLDING CONFERENCE AT FOREIGN MINISTERS LEVEL IS NATURAL OUTCOME OF AMBASSADORIAL TALKS.

18. WANG SAID HOWEVER THEIR SIDE HAD NOT ADVANCED IN THEIR DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT ANY PREREQUISITE, NOR HAD IT IN DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT DEMANDED THAT MY SIDE ACCEPT ANY VIEWS WHICH NOT ACCEPTABLE. ON CONTRARY, IT US SIDE WHICH DEMANDED PRC SIDE ACCEPT IN DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE ON CHINAS TERRITORY TAIWAN.

19. WANG SAID ON NUMBER OCIASIONS IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS I EVEN REPEATEDLY ALLEGED THAT US HOLDING ONTO TAIWAN PURELY

FOR SELF-DEFENSE

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FOR SELF-DEFENSE AND THAT HOLDING US FORCES IN TAIWAN ENTIRELY IN CONFORMITY WITH ARRANGEMENTS OF COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. THESE REMARKS SERVE CONFIRM THAT WHAT I HAD WANTED WITH INSERTION SO CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE WAS THAT PRC SIDE RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO OF AMERICAN SEIZURE TAIWAN AS WELL AS US-CHIANG TREATY. HOW COULD THIS BE EXPLAINED A WAY AS NOT REQUIRING PRC SIDE RENOUNCE ITS POSITION?

20. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I HAD STATED AND AGAIN HAD MADE SIMILAR STATEMENT THIS MORNING, THAT I WILLING LISTEN ANY SUGGESTIONS THAT WOULD MEET PROBLEM THAT WOULD BE PRODUCED FOR MY GOVT IF CLAUSE ON SELF-DEFENSE WERE SIMPLY WITHDRAWN.

21. WANG SAID IF US POSITION INDEED AS I HAD PUT IT, AS NOT DESIRING PREJUDICE POSITION OR VIEWS EITHER SIDE, THEN THEIR DRAFT EXACTLY ON THAT LINE, AS IT DOES NOT CONTAIN ANY PREREQUISITE NOR DOES IT REQUIRE SUBMISSION OF EITHER SIDE. IF, HOWEVER, POSSITION IS TO REQUIRE THEIR SIDE ACCORD RECOGNITION TO AMERICAN SEIZURE TAIWAN AS WELL AS US-CHIANG TREATY AND ACCEPT AMERICAN AGGRESSIVE ACTS AS LEGAL, THEN US MUST GIVE UP THIS POSITION, AS IT WOULD REQUIRE SUBMISSION THEIR SIDE, AND WOULD DEPRIVE CONTINUATION OF TALKS OF ALL MEANING.

22. WANG SAID I HAD REPEATEDLY STATED THAT I WILLING LISTEN ANY SUGGESTION THEIR SIDE MIGHT HAVE; THEIR SUGGESTION VERY SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD: THEIR DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT OF DECEMBER ONE LAST YEAR IS PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE TO EITHER SIDE. IF THERE REAL INTENT MAKE SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT, HE FAILED SEE ANY REASON WHY WE COULD NOT REACH AGREEMENT ON DRAFT OF THEIR SIDE OF DECEMBER ONE.

23. I REPLIED IT SEEMED ME THAT WE FACED SOMEWHAT SAME PROBLEM WHICH I HAD OFTEN DISCUSSED AND DID NOT INTEND BELABOR THIS MORNING.

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THIS MORNING. THAT IS, WHETHER OUR OBJECTIVE HERE IS TO MOMENTARILY GIVE WORLD SURFACE APPEARANCE OF AGREEMENT, BUT IN FACT, BECAUSE LACK OF MEETING OF MINDS, THERE WOULD BE NO AGREEMENT. I DID NOT CONCEIVE THIS TO BE REAL PURPOSE AND DID NOT BLEIEVE IT WOULD REALLY CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING TO SITUATION TO FOLLOW SUCH COURSE. IN FACT, SEEMED ME THAT IN END IT COULD ONLY BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

24. I SAID QUESTION BETWEEN US OF MOST FUNDAMENTAL NATURE WAS WHETHER EITHER SIDE INTENDS INITIATE HOSTILITIES IN TAIWAN AREA IN ATTEMPT SETTLE OUR DISPUTE THERE IN THAT MANNER. WE REALLY RENOUNCE ALL APPEAL TO FORCE SETTLE THAT DISPUTE.

25. I SAID I HAD CAREFULLY ATTEMPTED AVOID DISCUSSION SUBSTANCE THIS DISPUTE ITSELF AT THIS STAGE. WANG HAD IN PAST AND AGAIN THIS MORNING, AND HIS GOVT HAD IN ITS PUBLIC STATEMENTS, IT SEEMED TO ME, CONTINUED CONFUSE THIS QUESTION OF SUBSTANCE OUR DISPUTE AND QUESTION OF AGREEING SIMPLY THAT WE WOULD NOT USE FORCE SETTLE THIS DISPUTE. NEITHER ONE OF US QUESTIONED FACT THERE IS DISPUTE THERE.

26. I SAID WANG HAD OFTEN SET FORTH HIS POSITION RE SUBSTANCE THAT DISPUTE. AS I HAD SAID LAST MEETING, I DID NOT DISPUTE HIS RIGHT HOLD THOSE VIEWS AND ABOCATE THEM BY ALL PEACEFUL MEANS. HE WELL KNEW I OPPOSED THOSE VIEWS BUT I NOT TRYING FORCE MY OPINIONS ON HIM AT THIS STAGE.

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Control: 5835
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 10, 1956
4:13 A.M.

Info
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1479, FEBRUARY 9, 11 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF SEVEN)

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27. I SAID WANG WELL KNEW IT POSITION MY GOVT THAT TAIWAN AND OFF-SHORE ISLANDS WE HAD JUST BEEN DISCUSSING NOT THEIR TERRITORY AND NEVER BEEN THEIR TERRITORY. I WAS NOT ASKING WANG ACCEPT THAT VIEW. HOWEVER, APPEARED TO ME, AT THIS STAGE IN DISCUSSING THIS DECLARATION, WANG WAS CONTINUING INSIST MY GOVT CONCEDE TO THEIR VIEW ON THAT MATTER.

28. I SAID VIEW MY GOVT IS TAIWAN, WHICH CEDED TO JAPAN BY CHINA, WAS SURRENDERED BY JAPAN 1945 UNDER ORDERS SCAP AND THAT IT NOW LAWFULLY ADMINISTERED AND HELD BY GRC WHICH SOVEREIGN GOVT. IT IS WITH THAT GOVT THAT US HAS TREATY RELATIONSHIPS AND OBLIGATIONS. HOWEVER, THIS ALL CONCERNS SUBSTANCE OUR DISPUTE.

29. I SAID POSITION HE TAKING SEEMED ME REQUIRED US IN EFFECT TO SAY IT HAS NO RIGHTS IN TAIWAN AREA AND TO ABANDON ITS POSITION WITH REGARD TO OUR DISPUTE. AS HE HAD AGAIN SAID THIS MORNING, HE LOOKED UPON DECLARATION WE DISCUSSING AS OF NECESSITY LEADING TO, IF I UNDERSTOOD CORRECTLY, ABANDONMENT BY US OF ITS POSITION. I THINK IT ENTIRELY WRONG TO REGARD THIS DECLARATION AS "LEADING TO" ABANDONMENT ITS POSITION BY EITHER SIDE.

30. I SAID WHAT IT SHOULD LEAD TO IS ESTABLISHMENT OF CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH SOLUTION OF THESE DIFFICULTIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS CAN BE ACHIEVED. IT NOT PROPER TO REGARD THIS DECLARATION AS OF ITSELF EFFECTIVE SOLUTION OF THESE DISPUTES.

31. I SAID AS I POINTED OUT THIS MORNING, IT HARD FOR ME TO RECONCILE HIS OBJECTION TO SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WITH GENUINE INTENT NOT TO USE FORCE TO SETTLE OUR DISPUTES. IF BOTH SIDES SAY THEY

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WILL NOT USE FORCE TO SETTLE THEIR DISPUTES AND GENUINELY CARRY THAT OUT, THERE WOULD BE NO NEED TO CALL INTO OPERATION BY EITHER SIDE OF THE SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE. IT WOULD ONLY BE IF ONE PARTY DID NOT CARRY OUT STATEMENT IT HAD MADE REGARDING NOT USING FORCE THE SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WOULD BECOME OPERATIVE. THEREFORE, IF HIS GOVT REALLY INTENDS TO DECLARE THAT ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS WILL BE USED IN SETTLEMENT OF OUR DISPUTE, IT CAN HAVE NO OBJECTION TO SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE.

32. I SAID I SHARED HIS CONCERN OVER TIME WE HAD SPENT STILL WITHOUT SETTLING THESE PROBLEMS BETWEEN US. I CERTAINLY HAVE NOT TAKEN ANY RIGID ATTITUDE ON THIS QUESTION. I SIMPLY TRYING MAKE CERTAIN THAT WE THOROUGHLY UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER. IF THERE COULD BE REAL UNDERSTANDING AND AGREEMENT REGARD TO THIS QUESTION OF USE OF FORCE WITHOUT RESERVATIONS, WE COULD HAVE LONG AGO HAVE SAID SO AND PROCEEDED TO DISCUSSION THOSE OTHER MATTERS. I CONTINUE HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR US DO SO.

33. I SAID, HOWEVER SEEMED BE THAT WE STILL FACED WITH LACK REAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN US ON THIS SUBJECT. I STILL IN DOUBT WHETHER HIS GOVT AGREES THAT ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS WILL BE USED IN SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN US. IF I WRONG, HOPE HE WILL CORRECT ME.

34. WANG SAID THEY HAD ALWAYS HELD THAT WE SHOULD EMPLOY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY MEANS NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD SETTLE SINO-US DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA. IF NOT BEEN FOR PURPOSE PEACEFULLY SETTLING THESE DISPUTES, HE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN SITTING WITH ME AND ENGAGING IN THESE TALKS.

35. WANG SAID POSITION HIS SIDE ON SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR REPEATEDLY. THEIR POSITION IS LIBERATION OF TAIWAN AND EXERCISE OF THEIR OWN SOVEREIGN RIGHTS.

36. WANG SAID I HAD SET FORTH VIEWS OF US GOVT IN THIS RESPECT. HE SHOCKED BY MY STATEMENT, WHICH SEEMED EXTREMELY ABSURD AND WHICH ENTIRELY DISTORTS HISTORY ON QUESTION OF TAIWAN. I HAD STATED THAT TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS HAVE NEVER BEEN PART OF CHINESE TERRITORY. THIS ENTIRELY A SELF CONTRADICTORY STATEMENT.

37. WANG

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37. WANG SAID HE UNDERSTANDS THAT IN US THERE ARE TWO PARTIES IN POLITICS. BUT EXISTENCE OF DIFFERENT PARTIES IN ANY STATE DOES NOT REPRESENT EXISTENCE DIFFERENT GOVERNMENTS WITHIN THAT STATE. WHAT BEEN DONE BY REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC PARTIES CANNOT BE ARGUED AWAY AS NOT DONE BY US.

38. WANG SAID AS MATTER HISTORY, TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS BELONGED CHINA AND BEEN PART CHINESE TERRITORY LONG BEFORE US EMERGED AS A STATE. CHINESE ISLAND OF TAIWAN HAS BEEN SUBJECTED NUMBER TIMES IN HISTORY TO OCCUPATION BY FOREIGN IMPERIALISTS. HOWEVER, ALL THOSE IMPERIALIST OCCUPATIONS CHINESE ISLAND OF TAIWAN HAVE ALWAYS ENDED EVENTUALLY IN DOWNFALL IMPERIALIST RULE AND TAIWAN ALWAYS RETURNED TO ARMS OF CHINA, IT HIGHLY INSULTING TO CHINESE PEOPLE TO CLAIM THAT TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS NOT BELONG CHINA.

39. WANG SAID IT SERVED NO PURPOSE IN THIS CONFERENCE ROOM TO REITERATE SUCH CLAIMS. ON THEIR PART, THEY NEVER HAD ASSERTED NEW YORK NOT PART US TERRITORY. NOR ASSERTED US OF TODAY STILL BRITISH COLONY. THEY NOT THINK ANY SUCH ASSERTIONS WOULD SERVE ANY USEFUL PURPOSE.

40. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO SET FORTH POSITION US AS HAVING SO-CALLED TREATY RELATIONS WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK REGIME. AS HE REPEATEDLY HAD POINTED OUT, REGIME CHIANG KAI-SHEK LONG BEEN OVERTHROWN BY CHINESE PEOPLE, LONG BEEN DISCARDED BY CHINESE PEOPLE, AND IT HAD NO RIGHT SIGN ANY TREATY WITH ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY. ALL SUCH EXCUSES WITH REGARD TREATY OBLIGATIONS TOWARD REGIME CHIANG KAI-SHEK WERE NO MORE THAN VAIN ATTEMPTS ARGUE AWAY UNTENABLE POSITION OF OCCUPATION BY US OF TAIWAN, WHICH CHINESE TERRITORY. THIS SITUATION WHICH NOW FACING REMINDS THEM OF WHAT JAPANESE IMPERIALISTS HAD DONE IN ASSERTING THEY HAD TREATY RELATIONS WITH PUPPET REGIME IN MANCHUKUO AND WITH PUPPET REGIME WANG CHING-WEI.

41. WANG SAID SUCH TREATY RELATIONSHIPS HAVE NEVER BEEN RECOGNIZED BY CHINESE PEOPLE AND TO INSIST IN SUCH RECOGNITION IS GREATEST FARCE IN EYES PEOPLE WORLD. NEITHER PUPPET PU YI OR TRAITOR WANG CHING-WEI IN PAST, NOR CHIANG KAI-SHEK REGIME OF TODAY,

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OF TODAY, CAN EVER BE CONSIDERED AS A STATE. US ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN BY EXCUSES OF HAVING TREATY RELATIONS WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK REGIME IS SOMETHING LIKE DROWNING MAN GRASPING AT STRAWS.

42. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT MAKING OF DECLARATION WOULD LEAD TO ABANDONMENT OF US POSITION. AS HE HAD INDICATED ABOVE, SUCH POSITION OF US CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AS PROPER POSITION AT ALL. WANG ASKED IF WE COULD FIND ANY CLAUSE IN UN CHARTER AS JUSTIFYING ONE COUNTRY'S SEIZING TERRITORY OF ANOTHER COUNTRY?

43. WANG SAID THEIR POSITION AS HE HAD SAID HAD ALWAYS BEEN THAT WE, IN ATMOSPHERE OF CALM AND PEACEFUL DISCUSSION, AND WITHOUT HOSTILITIES, AND WITH CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE, SHOULD BOTH SIDES TOGETHER TRY REACH SOLUTION. IF WE SHOULD DEMONSTRATE ILL FEELING THESE TALKS, DID NOT SEE HOW WE COULD SUCCEED.

44. WANG SAID I MIGHT RECALL THAT PROPOSAL FOR MAKING SUCH DECLARATION MADE BY US, NOT BY THEIR SIDE. AND THEY ACCEPTED THIS PROPOSAL OF US AND AGREED WITH NECESSITY FOR MAKING SUCH DECLARATION. THEY ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT MAKING OF SUCH DECLARATION WOULD BE USEFUL. IT WOULD BE USEFUL IN THAT IT WOULD DEMONSTRATE TO WORLD THAT TWO OF US, CHINA AND US, DETERMINED SETTLE DISPUTES PEACEFULLY WITHOUT RESORT HOSTILITIES; SUCH DECLARATION NOT ONLY CONFORMS TO INTERESTS BOTH PEOPLES BUT ALSO MEETS ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE WORLD.

45. WANG SAID WE HOWEVER FACED WITH TREMENDOUS DIFFICULTIES ON OUR WAY TO MAKING SUCH DECLARATION. THIS IS FACT WE HAVE BOTH RECOGNIZED. MIGHT BE ASKED, WHEREIN LIE OUR DIFFICULTIES?

46. WANG SAID NOW DIFFICULTY WE FACING IS THAT OF US PERSISTENCE INSISTING INCLUSION CLAUSE CALLED US RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HIS VIEWS REGARD THIS MATTER SET FORTH OVER AND OVER AGAIN AND HE NOT ABLE ENUMERATE HOW OFTEN HE HAD SET FORTH SUCH VIEWS. MIGHT BE ASKED IF WE SHOULD NOT TRY OVERCOME THIS DIFFICULTY. ON THEIR PART, THEY ALWAYS MAINTAINED POSITION WE SHOULD OVERCOME THIS DIFFICULTY WE FACING AND MAKE PROGRESS IN TALKS. WE SHOULD NOT GIVE UP

EFFORTS ADVANCE

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EFFORTS ADVANCE TALKS IN FACE DIFFICULTY WE FACING. QUESTION REMAINS IS HOW SHALL WE OVERCOME THIS DIFFICULTY?

47. WANG SAID IN HIS OPINION, TWO ESSENTIAL POINTS WILL HELP US IN OUR EFFORTS. FIRST, EACH OF US SHOULD SHOW SPIRIT CONCILIATION; THAT IS, MAKE JOINT EFFORTS. WITHOUT SPIRIT MUTUAL CONCLUSION AND MUTUAL CONCILIATION, NO AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED.

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Control: 5815

Rec'd: FEBRUARY 10, 1956

Info

FROM: GENEVA

1956 FEB 10 AM 11 44

3:56 A.M.

TO: Secretary of State

RMR

NO: 1479, FEBRUARY 9, 11 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN).

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48. WANG SAID I WOULD RECALL THAT OCT 27 ORIGINAL DRAFT THEIR SIDE CONTAINED THREE PARAS, FIRST TWO QUOTING CLAUSES UN CHARTER AND LAST CLAUSE DEALING WITH FONMIN CONFERENCE BY TWO COUNTRIES. AFTERWARDS, I HAD ADVANCED OBJECTIONS TO CERTAIN RESPECTS THIS DRAFT. AFTER I EXPRESSED OBJECTIONS, THEIR SIDE MADE TREMENDOUS EFFORTS AND CONCESSIONS AND FINALLY PUT FORWARD AMENDED DRAFT OF DEC. 1, WHICH AMENDED SOME OF WORDING THEIR ORIGINAL DRAFT. THIS EFFORT WAS MADE TO MEET MY POINTS. HOWEVER, ALL US PROPOSALS -- WHETHER OUR PROPOSAL OCT 8, OR DRAFT NOV 10, OR JAN 2 DRAFT AMENDMENTS -- HAVE PERSISTED IN INCLUSION SO-CALLED SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE.

49. WANG SAID BY COMPARING OUR RESPECTIVE DRAFTS, CAN BE SEEN WHICH SIDE MAKING CONCESSIONS AND WHICH SIDE NOT MAKING CONCESSIONS. THAT WHY HE SAID WE SHOULD MAKE MUTUAL CONCESSIONS. IF ONLY ONE SIDE REQUIRED MAKE CONCESSIONS, WE CANNOT MAKE PROGRESS TALKS.

50. WANG SAID SECOND POINT HE WANTED MAKE, IN ORDER OVERCOME OUR DIFFICULTY, WAS THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD FIRST TRY FIND THOSE POINTS IN COMMON AND THEREBY THEN OVERCOME POINTS OF DIFFERENCE. IT TRUE ON THIS MATTER THAT THERE SOME POINTS COMMON BOTH SIDES AND SOME POINTS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US.

51. WANG SAID FOR INSTANCE, DESIRABILITY MAKING DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE IS POINT COMMON BOTH US. THEN BOTH AGREED THAT IN MAKING SUCH DECLARATION NO PREREQUISITE SHOULD BE ADVANCED FOR EITHER SIDE. THEN IT AGREED WE SHOULD NOT CONFUSE STEP OF MAKING DECLARATION WITH SUBSTANCE OUR DISPUTES. WE ALSO AGREED THAT

MAKING OF

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MAKING OF SUCH DECLARATION WOULD CREATE FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE BETWEEN US. WE HAVE NO DISPUTES BETWEEN US ON POINTS MENTIONED ABOVE.

52. WANG SAID IF WE AGREED THAT TWO STEPS SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED, HE REALLLY FOUND DIFFICULT SEE WHY US SHOULD INSIST INCLUSION SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WHICH EXACTLY CONFUSING MAKING OF DECLARATION WITH SUBSTANCE OF DISPUTE.

53. WANG SAID AS HE VIEWED SITUATION WE NOW CONFRONTING, WE HAVE MANY DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING US, BUT WE SHOULD TRY SETTLE DIFFERENCES ONE BY ONE. IF WE DO SHARE THIS COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF TRYING SETTLE PROBLEM STEP BY STEP THEN AND ONLY THEN CAN THERE BE BETTER HOPE OUR SETTLING OUR DISPUTES.

54. I SAID HE HAD LISTED FOUR POINTS ON WHICH HE HAD STATED WE WERE IN AGREEMENT. I AGREED WITH HIM THAT IF WE WERE IN GENUINE AGREEMENT ON THOSE FOUR POINTS, PLUS ONE MORE POINT I ABOUT TO MENTION, WE SHOULD BE ABLE ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT ON ANNOUNCEMENT.

55. I SAID ADDITIONAL POINT I WOULD ADD WOULD BE WHETHER WE WERE IN AGREEMENT THAT ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS WILL BE USED SETTLE OUR DISPUTES. NOT THAT PEACEFUL MEANS WILL BE, AS HE PREVIOUSLY TERMED IT, USED "IF POSSIBLE". "IF POSSIBLE" WOULD BE BY WHOSE STANDARDS? OR WHO WOULD JUDGE "IF POSSIBLE"? SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS CAN BE MEANINGFUL ONLY IF BOTH SIDES UNCONDITIONALLY SUBSCRIBE TO THIS DOCTRINE.

56. I SAID HE HAD ALSO SAID THAT WE AGREED THAT THERE BE NO PREREQUISITES. HOWEVER, I WANTED ASK HOW IT POSSIBLE ME

INTERPRET

Action: -3- 1479, February 9, 11 p.m.(Section 4 of 7) from Geneva

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interpret position he taken here and his government taken publicly with regard withdrawal self-defense clause, other than conceding to them by us of most fundamental points our dispute in Taiwan area.

57. Wang said other question I wanted ask, to see if we could advance understanding between us, was what he thought should happen if, in violation of declaration, one side should initiate hostilities?

58. Wang said he might point out there two aspects what I said in my statement: One, relationship between China and US, and other relationship between China and Chiang Kai-shek regime. Seemed him we should not confuse these two aspects with each other.

59. Wang said regarding relationship with Chiang Kai-shek clique, as had stated previously, they will try to bring about peaceful settlement if circumstances allow. They not changed this position right up to now.

60. Wang said, however regarding disputes with us, they always stated that they should settle disputes with us peacefully without use force between two countries.

61. Wang said as he had often said, Chinese people and American people friendly to each other and these two countries should try settle disputes by peaceful means without any fighting between two of them.

62. Wang also said this intent was clearly included in their draft of statement December 1, in which they stated two countries should settle disputes peacefully without resort to force and they want make this determination known whole world. This really declaration of peace.

63. Wang said then they had said they would continue to seek necessary practical means for realization settlement of disputes. That idea also accepted by myself. He thought this statement which both sides should agree to and did not see how it could be objected to.

64. Wang said on other hand, by withdrawing self-defense clause by US from proposal, US would sustain no loss or harm their drafts, in addition to declaration determination peaceful settlement disputes between two countries, provided for further

research into

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RESEARCH INTO PEACEFUL MEANS FOR SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO.

65. I SAID THIS NOT VERY DIRECTLY ANSWERING QUESTIONS I ASKED, AND WHICH I ASKED IN HONEST EFFORT SEE WHETHER WE COULD NOT GET AHEAD ON THIS. I HOPED IF I COULD NOT HAVE MY ANSWERS TODAY, THAT HE WOULD CONSIDER THEM AND ANSWER ME AT NEXT MEETING.

66. WANG SAID THEIR VIEWS BEEN SET FORTH VERY CLEARLY, COULD NOT BE ANY CLEARER THAN HE HAD STATED IT. THEIR VIEW IS WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR MAKING STATEMENT. HE HOPED I WOULD GIVE FURTHER CONSIDERATION DEC 1 DRAFT AND BE IN POSITION TO STATE MY VIEWS AT NEXT MEETING.

67. I SAID I HAD NOTHING FURTHER BUT WOULD LIKE TURN TO ANOTHER QUESTION.

68. WANG SAID GOOD. (AT THIS POINT THEY STARTED GATHER UP PAPERS THEN, NOTING I STILL SEATED, WANG CONTINUED:) OH, YOU HAVE ANOTHER MATTER TO TAKE UP?

69 I SAID IF IT WERE ALL RIGHT WITH HIM. I THEN READ FOLLOWING PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION:

A. AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU MADE SERIES CHARGES AGAINST MY GOVT CONCERNING CASE UNFORTUNATE MR. LIU YUNG-MING, THESE CHARGES WERE SO EXAGGERATED AND SO AT VARIANCE WITH PLAIN FACTS I FOUND IT HARD TO CREDIT YOU WERE SERIOUS IN STATING THEM.

B. FACTS WITH REGARD MR. LIU ARE PERFECTLY PLAIN. IN MAY 1949, MR. LIU, THEN STUDENT IN US, BECAME ILL. HIS SICKNESS WAS OF MIND: TYPE SICKNESS AGAINST WHICH, UNFORTUNATELY, SCHOLASTIC DEGREE IS NO MAGIC AMULET.

C. MR.

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C. MR. LIUS ILLNESS IS FACT. IT IS ALSO FACT HAD MR. LIU NOT BEEN INCAPACITATED BY ILLNESS AND HAD HE DESIRED RETURN CHINA, HE WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE DO SO. THERE WERE NO RESTRICTIONS ON DEPARTURE OF ANY CHINESE, STUDENTS OR OTHERWISE, FROM US AT THAT TIME. TO CONTRARY, IT IS FACT THAT APPROXIMATELY 1,000 CHINESE STUDENTS RETURNED YOUR COUNTRY IN 1949 AND 1950. THIS NUMBER NOT ONLY RETURNED BUT 637 OF THEM HAD THEIR PASSAGES PAID BY US GOVT.

GOWEN

GWL

(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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Action Assigned to Collin 1
Control: 5843
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 10, 1956
4:34 A.M.

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DOR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1479, FEBRUARY 9, 11 P.M. (SECTION FIVE OF SEVEN).

D. MR. LIUS NEED FOR CONTINUED TREATMENT BEYOND HIS INITIAL PERIOD IN HOSPITAL IS ALSO FACT. BETWEEN 1950 AND 1951, MR. LIU HAD APPARENTLY REACHED STAGE AT WHICH TRAVEL WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE. HOSPITAL AUTHORITIES, DESIRING RETURN MR. LIU HIS HOME IF POSSIBLE, COMMUNICATED WITH MR. LIUS FATHER IN HONG KONG, ONLY ONE MR. LIUS RELATIVES WHO HAD TAKEN TROUBLE CORRESPOND WITH HOSPITAL ABOUT HIM. THEY DID NOT SAY MR. LIU HAD NO FURTHER NEED TREATMENT. ON CONTRARY, THAT WAS CLEARLY COMMUNICATED TO MR. LIUS FATHER, AND FATHER EXPRESSLY REQUESTED HOSPITAL CONTINUE ITS TREATMENT.

E. HOSPITALS TREATMENT MR. LIU WAS IN FACT CONTINUED AT PUBLIC EXPENSE SO LONG, AND ONLY SO LONG; AS THERE APPEARED BE NO RESPONSIBLE RELATIVE MR. LIUS READY AND ABLE ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY PROVIDING HIM CARE HE NEEDED. AS SOON AS MY GOVT. WAS INFORMED, AND WAS ABLE PASS INFO ON TO HOSPITAL THAT MR. LIUS WIFE HAD EXPRESSED WISH TO HAVE HIM RETURN, ARRANGEMENTS WERE MADE AND CARRIED OUT FOR MR. LIUS PROMPT DEPARTURE. MR. LIU SAILED FROM SAN FRANCISCO JAN 8 ON SHIP PRESIDENT WILSON, AND ARRIVED HONG KONG FEB 1.

F. THESE ARRANGEMENTS MR. LIUS DEPARTURE WERE COMMUNICATED TO INDIAN EMBASSY,. WHICH EXPRESSED ITS ENTIRE SATISFACTION. ARRANGEMENTS WERE ALSO MADE KNOWN TO RED CROSS SOCIETY YOUR COUNTRY. ARRANGEMENTS WERE MADE KNOWN YOU HERE. YOUR GOVT THUS KNEW MR. LIU WAS ARRIVING HONG KONG FEB 1. YOUR GOVT ALSO KNEW, AS I MADE IT CLEAR TO YOU HERE, MR. LIU WAS NOT FULLY RECOVERED, AND STILL REQUIRED CARE AND ATTENTION.

G. WHY,

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G. WHY, IF YOUR GOVT WAS GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT MR. LIUS WELFARE, WERE NO ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY YOUR AUTHORITIES FOR HIS RECEPTION AND CARE? WHY DID MR. LIUS WIFE NOT ARRIVE HONG KONG UNTIL FEB 5, FOUR DAYS AFTER MR. LIUS ARRIVAL?

H. I AM AFRAID, MR AMBASSADOR, AND I SAY THIS WITH RELUCTANCE, THESE FACTS POINT TO CONCLUSION AS INESCAPABLE AS IT IS REPUGNANT. QUITE DELIBERATELY, YOUR GOVT CHOSE EXPLOIT FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES MR. LIUS UNFORTUNATE MENTAL CONDITION.

I. THIS CONCLUSION, REPUGNANT AS IT IS, IS COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH THE RECENT EFFORTS ERECT PROPAGANDA SMOKE SCREEN BEHIND WHICH CONCEAL STARK FAILURE YOUR GOVT CARRY OUT PROVISIONS OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT 10 WITH RESPECT RETURN AMERICANS YOUR COUNTRY.

J. YOU STATED AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU EXPECTED TO HAVE YOUR ATTENTION CALLED TO NAMES OF ADDITIONAL CHINESE IN U.S., TO 250, OR TO 2,500. AND WHY NOT? UNHAMPERED BY ANY REGARD FOR FACTS OR EVIDENCE, AND WITHOUT ANY CONSIDERATION FOR DESIRES INDIVIDUALS OR THEIR FAMILIES, WHY COULD NOT YOUR GOVT MULTIPLY THESE NUMBERS ENDLESSLY?

K. MR. AMBASSADOR, THERE ARE 13 AMERICANS IN PRISON YOUR COUNTRY. YOU KNOW THEY ARE THERE, I KNOW IT, AND WORLD KNOWS IT. WE ALL KNOW THEY WANT TO COME HOME. WE ALL KNOW THEY ARE BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO, IN SPITE OF CLEAR PROMISE MADE ON SEPT 10 LAST YEAR

L. MR.

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L. MR. AMBASSADOR, 250, 2,500, OR 5,000 EMPTY AND FANCIFUL CHARGES UNSUPPORTED BY FACTS, UNSUPPORTED BY ANY EVIDENCE, UNSUPPORTED BY INDIAN EMBASSY, CANNOT BALANCE OFF THESE THIRTEEN AMERICANS. NOR CAN ANY NUMBER HYPOTHETICAL CASES OBSCURE OR JUSTIFY ATTEMPT YOUR GOVT USE THESE 13 AMERICANS EXTRACT POLITICAL CONCESSIONS.

M. IF YOUR GOVT IS REALLY INTERESTED IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS, IT WILL NO LONGER DELAY IN CARRYING OUT ITS OBLIGATION WITH RESPECT THESE 13 AMERICANS.

70. WANG REPLIED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT AMPLIFIED BY REF PENCILED NOTES SAYING THAT PREVIOUSLY IN COURSE ABOUT DOZEN MEETINGS HE HAD BEEN REPEATEDLY AND CONCRETELY CALLING MY ATTENTION TO SERIES OF ACTS TESTIFYING TO US VIOLATION SEPT 10 AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH SIDES AND HAD ASKED ME TO PROMPTLY STOP THOSE UNJUST ACTS. HOWEVER, SO FAR THEY HAD NOT WITNESSED ANY STEPS IMPROVE SITUATION.

71. WANG SAID, INSTEAD THEIR ATTENTION REPTATEDLY BEEN CALLED TO FACT MY GOVT OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE CHINESE FROM US. HE DID NOT SEE HOW OUR PERSISTENCE IN IGNORING AGREEMENT COULD POSSIBLY HELP IN FURTHER PROGRESS OUR TALKS.

72. WANG SAID INHUMAN TREATMENT RECEIVED BY CHINESE NATIONAL YAW U YUNG-MING SUFFICED DEMONSTRATE HOW CRUEL US GOVT BEEN IN ITS ILL TREATMENT CHINESE NATIONALS IN US WHO DESIRE COME BACK CHINA. HE WOULD MAKE FURTHER OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING CASE LIU IN FEW MINUTES.

73. WANG SAID NEXT HE WOULD CALL MY ATTENTION CONCRETE

FACT

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FACT THAT US GOVT COMPELLING CHINESE STUDENTS OBTAIN ENTRANCE PERMITS TAIWAN AND APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE . CHINESE STUDENT, MR. TSENG KUANG-CHIH, WROTE FAMILY 1952 THAT HE WOULD BE COMING HOME AFTER GRADUATION IN US. HOWEVER, RECENTLY NEW YEARS CARD REACHED FAMILY IN WHICH HE WROTE THAT HE BEEN OBSTRUCTED FROM RETURNING BY US GOVT MANY YEARS AND NOT BEEN ABLE RETURN UP TO PRESENT, AND THAT US GOVT WAS TRYING INDUCE HIM APPLY PERMANENT RESIDENCE.

74. WANG SAID ANOTHER CHINESE STUDENT, MR. CHAO CHUNG-YUN PREVIOUSLY OFTEN WROTE TO FAMILY AND HE ALSO INDICATED HE WOULD COME BACK AFTER COMPLETION STUDIES. HOWEVER LETTER FROM HIM MID-AUGUST 1955 STATED US GOVT INSISTING ON KEEPING CHINESE NATIONALS IN US AND THAT US GOVT WAS ANNOYED WITH THOSE CHINESE WHO INSIST ON RETURNING HOME, AND US GOVT GIVING THEM LOT OF TROUBLE AND TRYING TO COMPEL CHINESE STUDENTS WHO DID NOT APPLY PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN US TO APPLY TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS INSTEAD.

75. WANG ASKED WERE NOT DIFFICULT PLIGHTS ENCOUNTERED BY THESE TWO CHINESE TO WHOSE CASES OUR ATTENTION BEEN CALLED, WERE NOT THESE CASES CLEAR EVIDENCE OF US VIOLATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT?

COULD ABOVE TACTICS EMPLOYED BY US GOVT BE EXPLAINED AWAY AS NOT INTENDED DEPRIVE CHINESE FOREVER OF ABILITY RETURN TO HOMELAND?

76. WANG SAID I SHOULD LOOK INTO SITUATION THESE TWO CHINESE STUDENTS AND GIVE ACCOUNTING OF THEM AND IMMEDIATELY STOP THOSE UNJUST ACTS, OR ELSE BEAR ALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR BREAKING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. (HERE WANG HANDED ME LIST TWO NAMES, TRANSMITTED IN SEPARATE TEL).

77. WANG SAID SO FAR US HAS FAILED GIVE ACCOUNTING OF

CHINESE PREVENTED

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CHINESE PREVENTED FROM RETURNING AND WHOSE NAMES HE GAVE ME IN FIVE SEPARATE LISTS WITH REQUEST THAT I GIVE ACCOUNTING.

78. WANG SAID MOREOVER, EVEN IN CASES THOSE 103 CHINESE STUDENTS WHOM US ADMITTED IT HAD PREVENTED FROM RETURNING, SO FAR 32 THEM NOT YET RETURNED. THESE PEOPLE ALL BEEN SUBJECTED OBSTRUCTION BY US AND RETURN WAS PREVENTED. HE WANTED SAY MOST EMPHATICALLY ONCE AGAIN THAT US HAS ALL RESPONSIBILITY TO GIVE ACCOUNTING FOR EVERY ONE THESE PEOPLE.

79. WANG SAID I HAD ASSERTED THAT INDIAN EMBASSY SO FAR NOT MADE REPRESENTATIONS WITH US GOVT CONCERNING ANY OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE CHINESE AND THAT INDIAN EMBASSY SO FAR HAD NOT INDICATED ITS ABILITY PERFORM ITS FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BEEN INTERFERED WITH. HE MUST POINT OUT THAT US SO FAR FAILED SUBMIT LIST CHINESE NATIONALS IN US SO THAT INDIAN EMBASSY FINDS IT DIFFICULT PERFORM ITS FUNCTIONS. US HAD EVEN REFUSED PERMIT INDIAN EMBASSY MAKE ANNOUNCEMENT ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SETTING FORTH INFORMATION THAT ALL CHINESE IN US INCLUDING THOSE WHO BEEN COMPELLED APPLY PERMANENT RESIDENCE OR BEEN COMPELLED SECURE ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN ARE ALL ENTITLED RETURN. WAS THIS NOT GRAVE ACT IN VIOLATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT?

80. WANG SAID HE WANTED RAISE QUESTION CHINESE IN PRISON IN US IN ALL SERIOUSNESS. ALTHOUGH HE HAD MADE REPEATED REF REGARDING CHINESE IN PRISON, MY SIDE HAD SO FAR NOT TAKEN ANY MEASURES REGARDING CHINESE IN PRISON US. THIS SITUATION NOT SATISFACTORY.

81 WANG SAID I HAD ONCE ASSERTED THAT IN MY KNOWLEDGE THERE NO CHINESE IN US PRISONS. FACT IS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH REPORTS FROM CHINESE WHO RETURNED RECENTLY THERE MANY INNOCENT CHINESE IN PRISON

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-6- 1479, FEBRUARY 9, 11 P.M. (SECTION FIVE OF SEVEN), FROM GENEVA.

IN PRISON US. AS TO EXACTLY HOW MANY CHINESE NATIONALS BEING IMPRISONED BY US AND EXACTLY WHAT THEIR STATUS AND CONDITION, US SIDE MUST SPEEDILY GIVE ACCOUNTING FOR ALL OF THEM.

GOWEN

GWL

Advance copies to Mr. Wadell (FE) and SS/RO. 2/10/56, 11:58 a.m. MG

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1956 FEB 10 PM 1 30
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1479, FEBRUARY 9, 11 P.M. (SECTION SIX OF SEVEN).

Action Assigned to

Control: 5853

Rec'd: FEBRUARY 10, 1956 5:05 A.M.

1956 FEB 10 PM 2 32

Date of Action

Init. of Officer

82. WANG SAID THERE MANY POINTS IN MY STATEMENT RE LIU YUNG-MING WHICH AT VARIANCE WITH FACTS. AS MATTER FACT, LIU SENT US TO FURTHER HIS STUDIES AND WHEN HE WENT HE WAS IN NORMAL HEALTH. HE EVEN COMPLETED HIS STUDIES AND OBTAINED DEGREE, WHICH ALSO INDICATES THAT DURING THAT PERIOD HE ENJOYING NORMAL HEALTH.

83. WANG SAID LIU SUFFERED ILLNESS OF MIND SIMPLY BECAUSE US PREVENTED HIS RETURN WHICH CAUSED HIS NERVOUS BREAKDOWN. WANG MUST STRONGLY PROTEST TO US AGAINST SUCH ACTS OF PERSECUTION LIU.

84. WANG SAID IN BRINGING UP CASE LIU US GOVT HAS MADE MANY FALSE AND DISHONEST STATEMENTS ABOUT LIU. FIRST, IT WAS STATED LIU IN HOSPITAL AND NOT FIT TRAVEL. THEN US STATED LIU COULD NOT OBTAIN TRANSIT VISAS HONG KONG. ALL THIS FALSE. ALL THIS AT VARIANCE WITH FACTS, AND FABRICATIONS.

85. WANG SAID WHEN LIU BEGAN JOURNEY HOME, STATE OF MIND WAS NORMAL. HOWEVER, ON WAY HOME AND WHILE HE ON BOARD SHIP, AMERICANS OFTEN CAME TO TALK WITH HIM AND TERRORIZE HIM. THIS RESULTED IN FRESH NERVOUS BREAKDOWN ON PART LIU. EVEN WHEN SHIP ANCHORED YOKOHAMA, SOMEBODY CAME ABOARD WITH FAKE LETTERS FROM FAMILY WITH WHICH THEY TRIED DECEIVE LIU AND CHANGE HIS MIND. SIMILAR INCIDENTS ALSO TOOK PLACE WHILE LIU IN REFUGEE CAMP IN HONG KONG.

86. WANG SAID US AUTHORITIES AND US RED CROSS ORIGINALLY INFORMED PRC SIDE THAT LIU WOULD BE ESCORTED OR SENT TO BORDER TOWN OF SHUMCHUN ON FEB 1. CHINESE RED CROSS SPECIALLY SENT DOCTOR TO ACCOMPANY MRS LIU AND OTHER MEMBERS FAMILY TO PROCEED TO BORDER AND RECEIVE LIU.

87. WANG

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87. WANG SAID HOWEVER SOON AS LIU ARRIVED HONG KONG, FRESH FABRICATION AGAIN MADE TO EFFECT LIU DID NOT DESIRE RETURN CHINA AND ATTEMPTS MADE KEEP HIM IN HONG KONG. ATTEMPTS WERE THUS MADE DETAIN LIU AGAIN. IF ONE TO SPEAK ABOUT REPUGNANT OR INHUMAN ACTS THIS MOST REPUGNANT AND INHUMAN ACT OF ALL. MAN HAS ALREADY BEEN TERRORIZED INTO BECOMING CRAZY MAN AND STILL ATTEMPTS BEING MADE PERSECUTE THIS UNFORTUNATE PERSON.

88. WANG SAID EXPERIENCE LIU SUFFICES SHOW HOW CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN SUBJECTED TO THAT SORT OF TREATMENT. THIS COULD NOT FAIL TO ADD ALL MORE TO INCREASING CONCERN OF CHINESE PEOPLE OVER VAST NUMBER CHINESE REMAINING IN US.

89. WANG SAID CHINESE HAD NOT YET SEEN ANY ACTION TAKEN BY US TO WITHDRAW REQUIREMENT FOR CHINESE IN US TO SECURE TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS. AS INDICATED ON LIST HE HAD GIVEN ME, FRESH ATTEMPTS BEEN MADE CAUSE CHINESE IN US TO APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN US. THIS UNHEARD OF IN HISTORY INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, VIOLATES HUMAN RIGHTS AND VIOLATES AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH SIDES.

90. WANG SAID FROM STORIES GIVEN BY CHINESE WHO RECENTLY RETURNED FROM US, PICTURE CAN BE DRAWN OF HOW USINS AUTHORITIES GONE WILD IN THEIR TREATMENT OF CHINESE. IN EYES OF CHINESE NATIONALS, INS BECOME SYMBOL OF HELL.

91. WANG SAID CHINESE NATIONALS HAVE FULL LAWFUL RIGHT ASK FOR RETURN THEIR COUNTRY. THIS BEEN MADE PROVISION IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPT 10 LAST YEAR. WHAT RIGHT HAD US COMPEL THESE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE OBTAIN AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND STAY IN US FOR SO LONG? IF US THOUGHT ITS POPULATION NOT BIG ENOUGH, EVEN IN THAT CASE IT COULD NOT RESORT TO THIS MEANS OF INCREASING ITS POPULATION.

92. WANG

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92. WANG SAID THIS CONTRASTS STRONGLY WITH TREATMENT OF AMERICANS IN CHINA BY CHINESE AUTHORITIES. EVEN IN CASE AMERICAN WHO REFUSED TO RETURN TO US FOR MOMENT AND EVEN IF IT HAPPENED THAT IN FUTURE HE CHANGES MIND AND DESIRES RETURN TO US, CHINESE GOVT WOULD NOT ATTEMPT DETAIN HIM THIS ATTITUDE OF CHINESE GOVT BEYOND COMPARISON WITH ACTION OF US GOVT IN FORCIBLY DETAINING CHINESE IN US.

93. WANG SAID I HAD SAID THAT NUMBER OF CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN AS GIVEN ME BY HIM WERE WHAT I TERMED EMPTY, FANCIFUL, UNSUPPORTED BY FACTS. MIGHT HE ASK ABOUT 103 CHINESE STUDENTS WHO US ADMITTED HAD BEEN PREVENTED FROM RETURNING, WAS IT NOT FACT THAT 32 OF THEM STILL NOT BEEN ABLE RETURN? WAS IT NOT FACT THAT 27 PERSONS INCLUDING THOSE NAMED ON TODAYS LIST NOT YET RETURNED?

94. WANG SAID IT QUITE TRUE THERE ARE STILL 13 AMERICANS IN CHINESE PRISONS. BUT HOW MANY CHINESE ARE LOCKED UP BEHIND BARS IN US PRISONS AND WHOSE NAMES US HAS FAILED SUBMIT TO WANGS SIDE?

95. WANG SAID IF US REFUSES TAKE MEASURES IMPROVE TREATMENT CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BETWEEN TWO SIDES, AND IF US REFUSES MAKE ACCOUNTING OF CHINESE OF WHOM HE HAD ASKED ACCOUNTING, THEN US HAS NO RIGHT ASK ABOUT THESE 13 AMERICANS.

96. WANG SAID AGREEMENT MUST BE CARRIED OUT BY BOTH SIDES. IT IMPERMISSIBLE, WHILE ONE SIDE CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT, FOR OTHER SIDE TO BE VIOLATING IT.

97. I SAID I HAD ONLY FEW SIMPLE THINGS SAY. FIRST IS, HE

STATED PEOPLE

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STATED PEOPLE WRITING TO HIS COUNTRY ALLEGING THEY BEING OBSTRUCTED IN RETURNING. I NOT SEEN ANY CASE YET IN WHICH THERE ANY DEFINITE FACTS THEY BEING OBSTRUCTED.

98. I SAID HOWEVER OVER AND BEYOND THAT I NOT SEE HOW HE COULD ALLEGE THAT PEOPLE FEEL FREE TO AND ARE WRITING HIS COUNTRY AND IF GENUINELY DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY AND FEEL OBSTRUCTED, WHY THEY DO NOT COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. ON VERY FACT OF IT, THIS INCREDIBLE.

99. I SAID NEXT LET ME SAY HIS ALLEGATIONS HERE ON ONE HAND SEEM TO RELATE TO CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN AND ON OTHER HAND TO THOSE WHO DESIRE REMAIN US OR DO NOT DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY. I WANTED POINT OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNED ONLY THOSE WHO WANTED RETURN HIS COUNTRY. THOSE WHO DESIRE STAY US OR GO OTHER DESTINATIONS ARE NOT PROPER SUBJECT OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE.

100. I SAID HOWEVER WITH REGARD PERSONS WHO DO DESIRE STAY US, I WANTED POINT OUT FEW SIMPLE FACTS. I MENTIONED THESE BEFORE, BUT APPARENTLY HE NOT UNDERSTOOD.

101. I SAID UNDER US IMMIGRATION LAWS, PERSON COMING US FOR TEMPORARY VISIT IS ADMITTED FOR CERTAIN DEFINITE PERIOD TIME. IF ADMITTED AS STUDENT -- IN STUDENT STATUS, WITH WHAT WE CALL STUDENT VISA -- HIS STAY THERE DEPENDENT ON MAINTAINING STUDENT STATUS. IN ANY EVENT, WHEN HE APPLIES FOR VISA, MUST BE ABLE SHOW THAT AT END TEMPORARY STAY HE ABLE PROCEED ANOTHER DESTINATION. IF TEMPORARY VISITOR, AND END APPROACHES OF TIME FOR WHICH HE ORIGINALLY ADMITTED AND HE DESIRES EXTEND STAY, HE MUST BE ABLE PROCEED ANOTHER DESTINATION AT END HIS EXTENDED STAY. IF HE DESIRES CHANGE STATUS FROM THAT OF TEMPORARY VISITOR OR THAT OF STUDENT AND WISHES REMAIN US TO ACCEPT EMPLOYMENT, HE MUST CHANGE STATUS TO THAT OF PERMANENT RESIDENT.

102. I

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102. I SAID THIS ALL MATTER PERFECTLY FREE CHOICE OF INDIVIDUAL. IN GENERAL, THESE LAWS BEEN IN EFFECT US OVER LONG PERIOD YEARS. APPLY EQUALLY ALL NON-AMERICANS.

103. I SAID AS FAR AS BECOMING AMERICAN CITIZEN CONCERNED, PROCESS IS LONG AND SURROUNDED MANY SAFEGUARDS BOTH FOR INDIVIDUAL AND COUNTRY. US NEVER HAS, AND I SATISFIED NEVER WILL, FORCE ANYONE BECOME US CITIZEN. SUCH POLICY WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE AGAINST OUR SELF INTEREST. OUR INTEREST IS THAT PERSONS WHO DO BECOME CITIZENS BE ATTACHED TO PRINCIPLES OUR GOVT. WE CERTAINLY DO NOT WANT ANY RELUCTANT CITIZENS.

104. I SAID TO RETURN TO SUBJECT ALIENS. REGARDLESS STATUS UNDER IMMIGRATION LAWS -- WHETHER TEMPORARY VISITOR, STUDENT, PERMANENT RESIDENT, OR WHATEVER STATUS -- HE AT ALL TIMES FREE DEPART US FOR ANY DESTINATION HIS CHOICE. THIS APPLIES ALL ALIENS IN US, CHINESE AS WELL AS OTHERS.

GOWEN

GWL

NOTE: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) and SS/RO 12:40 p.m. 2/10/56 MG

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Control: 5865
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 10, 1956
5:36 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

1956 FEB 10 PM 2 31

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1479, FEBRUARY 9, 11 P.M. (SECTION 7 OF 7)

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Action Assigned to
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Date of Action
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105. I SAID HE ALSO CONTINUED SPEAK OF SUPPOSED 32 CHINESE OUT OF THE 103, WHO STILL NOT RETURNED. AS SAID MANY TIMES BEFORE, AND SEEMS NECESSARY SAY AGAIN: I NEVER SAID THOSE 103, AGAINST WHOM PREVENTIVE DEPARTURE ORDERS ISSUED, DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY. SOME MAY HAVE, AS SHOWN FACT THEY RETURNED; SOME MAY NOT HAVE. THOSE PREVENTIVE DEPARTURE ORDERS, AS I HAD EXPLAINED, WERE ISSUED WITHOUT REGARD WHETHER INDIVIDUAL DESIRED RETURN. ISSUANCE PREVENTIVE DEPARTURE ORDER WAS NO EVIDENCE ONE WAY OR OTHER INDIVIDUAL WANTED DEPART OR NOT. EACH PERSON CONCERNED THIS ORDER INDIVIDUALLY INFORMED WHEN ORDER WITHDRAWN THUS, APART FROM QUESTION THEIR KNOWLEDGE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, EACH KNOWS HE ENTIRELY FREE DEPART. IF DOES NOT DO SO, IT MATTER OWN CHOICE. IF FEELS BEING OBSTRUCTED, CAN COMMUNICATE FREELY INDIAN EMBASSY AT ANY TIME.

106. I SAID I WOULD NOT TAKE OUR TIME FURTHER DISCUSS CASE MR. LIU. HE AND I BOTH BEEN AT UNIVERSITIES. ILLNESS LIU SUFFERED FROM, AS WE BOTH KNEW, IS UNHAPPILY NOT ABSENT ANY GROUP STUDENTS. MY EXPERIENCE, EXPECT IN HIS ALSO, IT OFTEN MOST BRILLIANT STUDENTS WHO OFTEN SUSCEPTIBLE THIS ILLNESS. LIU EVIDENTLY VERY BRILLIANT PERSON OF THIS TYPE.

107. I SAID LIU VERY UNFORTUNATE YOUNG MAN AND WE HAD DONE OUR BEST CARE FOR HIM AND CURE HIM. REGRETTED HE NOT FULLY RECOVERED BEFORE HE RETURNED HIS COUNTRY. HOPED THAT RECOVERY WHICH HE HAS STARTED WILL BE COMPLETED AND HE WILL BE ENTIRELY RESTORED HIS FACULTIES.

108. WANG SAID IN ANY CASE, COULD NOT FIND ACCEPTABLE EXPLANATION REGARDING LIU BY EXPLAINING ILLNESS AS FREQUENT OCCURANCE AMONG BRILLIANT STUDENTS. ALL THIS IS DEVICE INTENDED OBSCURE TRUE RESPONSIBILITY.

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109. WANG SAID I HAD ASKED WHY, IF PERSONS DESIRE RETURN, THEY NOT COMMUNICATING INDIAN EMBASSY. ANSWER IS BECAUSE THESE STUDENTS AND NATIONALS NOW RESIDING IN US. CONFRONTED BY MEASURES TAKEN BY US GOVT, DIFFICULT FOR THESE PEOPLE EXPRESS OWN FREE WILL. FACT THAT INDIAN EMBASSY, AS FOREIGN MISSION IN US, IS PREVENTED FROM MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT IT ASKED TO MAKE -- THIS HELPS MAKE THEM UNDERSTAND SITUATION CHINESE STUDENTS.

110. WANG SAID I HAD ENUMERATED LAWS OF INS. I HAD SAID SOME LAWS AND REGULATIONS INS OF LONG STANDING. BUT SUCH IMMIGRATION LAWS AND REGULATIONS MUST NOT PREJUDICE AGREEMENT BETWEEN US. IF ANY SUCH IMMIGRATION LAWS CAN BE USED TO PREJUDICE AGREEMENT, WHAT IS USE OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES?

111. WANG SAID I HAD REPEATED STATEMENT THAT CHINESE IN US FREE DEPART. HOWEVER AS FAR AS THEIR INFORMATION CONCERNED, 27 CHINESE IN ADDITION TO 32 WHO DESIRED RETURN ARE STILL UNABLE DO SO. UNLESS THESE 32 AND 27 RETURN, THEY CANNOT BRING THEMSELVES BELIEVE ASSERTION THEY FREE RETURN.

112. WANG SAID I HAD STATED US DOES NOT FORCE ANYONE ACQUIRE US CITIZENSHIP. HOWEVER CASES TWO STUDENTS WHOSE NAMES GIVEN ME THIS MORNING SHOW TO CONTRARY THAT PEOPLE BEING FORCED REMAIN IN US. UNTIL THESE TWO PERSONS ACCOUNTED FOR, THEY CANNOT BELIEVE US NOT FORCING PEOPLE ACQUIRE US CITIZENSHIP.

113. WANG SAID AS HE ALREADY SUGGESTED, IT NECESSARY BOTH SIDES FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN US. HE AGAIN ASKED US GOVT CHANGE AND IMPROVE TREATMENT CHINESE DESIRING RETURN.

114. WANG SAID UNTIL REQUIREMENT FOR TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS WITHDRAWN, UNTIL REQUIREMENT FORCED PERMANENT RESIDENCE WITHDRAWN, UNTIL ALL CHINESE DESIRING IT ARE RETURNED, UNTIL ACCOUNTING CHINESE IN US PRISONS IS GIVEN, THEY CANNOT SAY US IS FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENT.

115. I SAID HE SEEMED BE TALKING ABOUT CHINESE WHO WISH REMAIN US, NOT THOSE DESIRING RETURN.

116 WANG SAID BE HE GIVEN ME NAMES 27 PERSONS, ALL DESIRING

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INCOMING TELEGRAM CONFIDENTIAL file CORRECTED PAGE 3

31-X
Action
FE -3- 1479, February 9, 11 p.m, (SEC 7 of 7) from Geneva Cn 5865 1/4

Info RMR SS G SP C L

RETURN. HE REQUIRES ME LOOK INTO SITUATION THESE PEOPLE. COULD I SAY ALL THESE DID NOT DESIRE RETURN?

117. I SAID I DID NOT UNDERSTAND HIM. HE SEEMED BE SAYING IN SOME MYSTERIOUS WAY, I DID NOT KNOW HOW, US WAS SELECTING PEOPLE, PERMITTING SOME RETURN, SOME NOT. I DID NOT UNDERSTAND. TO BEST MY KNOWLEDGE, NO WAY KNOW EXACTLY WHERE THEY GO AFTER LEAVING US AT LEAST 189 TRAVELLED HIS COUNTRY SINCE JAN LAST YEAR.

118. I SAID IT MY UNDERSTANDING THAT 35, OR ABOUT 35, OF PERSONS WHO ARRIVED FEB 1, ON PRES WILSON AT HONG KONG HAD PROCEEDED HIS COUNTRY. I DID NOT KNOW HOW MANY OTHERS MAY HAVE GONE BY OTHER ROUTES.

119. WANT SAID WHAT HE HAD SAID QUITE CLEAR: US WAS OBSTRUCTING RETURN. HE ASKED THAT US CHANGE SITUATION. WHAT HE SAYING TO ME CONCERNS THOSE DESIRING RETURN WHO NOT YET RETURNED. DID I MEAN SAY 32 OF 103 WHOSE NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME, AFTER I HAD MADE INVESTIGATION I ABLE ESTABLISH ALL 25 DID NOT DESIRE RETURN NOW? HAVE THEY DECIDED THEY DO NOT WANT RETURN?

120. I SAID I HAD NEVER SAID 103 WANTED RETURN. THEY MAY HAVE, THEY MAY NOT HAVE. ONLY TEST IS WHETHER THEY DO RETURN. ALL FREE RETURN.

121. WANG SAID WHAT ABOUT 25? DID ID SAY THEY FREE.

122. I SAID I DID.

123. WANG ASKED DID I CARRY OUT INVESTIGATION?

124. I SAID I SAID THEY FREE RETURN.

125. WANG SAID WAS THIS FORMAL REPLY AFTER INVESTIGATIONS.

126. I SAID I HAD NOTHING ADD.

127. WANG SAID IT CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED THESE ABLE RETURN. HE RECALLED I HAD STATED I WOULD ACCOUNT FOR ONE OF THE CHINESE

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Date of Action 2/15

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BUT HE HAD SEEN NO ACCOUNTING.

128. I SAID I HAD NO REPORT AS YET BUT WOULD GIVE IT HIM WHEN AVAILABLE. WANTED POINT OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PROVIDED THERE BE NO OBSTRUCTION DEPARTURE PEOPLE. DID NOT SAY THERE WOULD BE SCREENING ALL NATIONALS TO DETERMINE WHAT THEY WANTED TO DO. I SAID THEY FREE DECIDE WHAT WANTED DO. EVERY CHINESE NATIONAL IS FREE DECIDE.

129. WANG SAID AS MATTER FACT, IN SPITE WORDS OF US SAYING THEY FREE GO, ON OTHER HAND THERE ARE OBSTRUCTIONS. I HAD INDICATED I NOT YET OBTAINED INFORMATION REGARDING YUAN JUI-HSIANG AND NOT ABLE TODAY GIVE ANY ACCOUNTING. YET HOW COULD I HAVE INFORMATION THAT ALL THESE 25 FREE RETURN?

130. I SAID I KNEW THAT UNDER LAWS AND REGULATIONS MY COUNTRY THERE NO OBSTRUCTIONS DEPARTURE.

131. WANG SAID I SAID THERE NO OBSTRUCTIONS, BUT HE HAD LIST HERE 25 BEEN OBSTRUCTED AND NOT YET ABLE RETURN. HE ASKED US CEASE ALL OBSTRUCTIONS. BEFORE RETURN THESE CHINESE, CANNOT REALIZE US HAS CEASED OBSTRUCTION. SAID HAD NOTHING MORE.

132. I SAID I HAD NOTHING MORE, AND SUGGESTED MEETING ON THURSDAY, FEB 16.

133. WANG REFERRED TO NEXT WEEK BEING A CHINESE HOLIDAY AND SUGGESTED FOLLOWING MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12. ON MY HESITATING AND CONSULTING CALENDER, WANG SUGGESTED ALTERNATE OF NEXT SATURDAY, FEB 18.

GOWEN

WDR

(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

STANDARD FORM NO. 64 (486)

This document consists of 4 pages

Number 1 of 6 copies, Series A

Office Memorandum · UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SECRET

TO : FE - Mr. Robertson

DATE: February 9, 1956

FROM : CA - Walter P. McConaughy

SUBJECT: Recent Reactions to Continuance of the Johnson-Wang Talks in Geneva.

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Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs 1956 Secretary Department of State

CHI.93/2-956

Summary

Adverse reaction to continuation of the talks has been noted in

1. Thailand
2. Hong Kong
3. Taiwan
4. Japan
5. Viet Nam
6. Republic of Korea

No reaction was noted in

1. Australia
2. Austria
3. Belgium
4. Cambodia
5. France
6. Italy
7. Laos
8. New Zealand
9. Philippines

No survey of reactions was taken in countries that have recognized Communist China.

Thailand

Quoted from Bangkok's telegram of January 12, 1956.

"In recent conversation acting Foreign Minister Ran (repeat Ran) told me Thai Government concerned over fact that Thailand Chinese becoming increasingly pro-Chinese communist. He attributed this shift primarily to impact U. S.-Chinese Communist Geneva talks, suggested U. S. use all (repeat all) means possible counteract.

"Comment: Chinese Communist star has been rising here as result of Geneva talks as well as other developments of which Department is aware... It is highly unlikely that our explanations can offset impact of fact that U. S. is talking with Chinese Communists. Even if talks should collapse, it would be most

difficult

FE:CA:WPMcKahmann:aft

difficult erase effects of developments last six months on attitude local Chinese. So long as Chinese Communists continue play their propaganda cards as cleverly as they have been doing, they stand to hold if not increase gains already made."

Hong Kong

Letter dated January 23, 1956 from Consul General Everett F. Drumright.

"...Already the tide is running against us, partly because of our own hobnobbing with the Chinese Communists at Geneva and partly because of the weak-kneed attitudes being shown by our allies out here. I am afraid the trend of drift to the other side is likely to continue and even to be accelerated unless we and our allies dig in and truly convince the uncommitted people out here that we are not seeking accommodations with the Communists and that we really mean business in pushing back Communist expansionism which has become much more dangerous, subtle and varied during the past year."

Letter dated January 30, 1956 from Consul General Everett F. Drumright.

"...So long as we continue negotiations with the Chinese Communists, it is going to be impossible to convince people out here that we are not seeking some accommodation which will be at their expense. In such a climate, no matter how good our information program may be, it cannot be expected to achieve any measurable success among those we want to influence."

Taiwan

Aide Memoire transmitted by Taipei's telegram of January 26, 1956. The Chinese Foreign Minister said in part:

"The Chinese Government views with particular concern the offer made by the U. S. to enter into a bilateral declaration with the Chinese Communist regime concerning the renunciation of the use of force. Such a declaration would be tantamount to an admission by the U. S. to equal responsibility for the existing situation in the Taiwan Strait, for which the Chinese Communists should and must be held solely responsible. In the form now proposed by the U. S. it might be understood to imply a tacit de facto recognition of the Chinese Communist regime. It would be

construed

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construed by the free peoples in Asia and elsewhere as a further retreat of the U. S. position and would consequently weaken their determination of resisting Communist inducement...

"It has been the consistent view of the Chinese Government that the Geneva talks, once permitted to go beyond the practical question of civilian repatriation, would inevitably degenerate into a favorable platform for Communist propaganda and provide opportunities for neutralist countries to further exert pressure on the U. S. toward appeasement. This view has unfortunately been borne out by recent events.

"It is the considered opinion of the Chinese Government that, in the interests of the U. S. and the Republic of China as well as the free world as a whole, the Geneva talks on the renunciation of the use of force should be brought to an end as soon as possible."

The point of view stated in this aide memoire was also expressed by several Taipei newspaper editorials and articles as reported in January Weekas from Taiwan.

Japan

Quoted from Tokyo's telegram of January 31, 1956.

"...In spite of all which has been said publicly by the Secretary and others, there is still a large body of opinion in Japan which believes that American policy towards Red China is changing and there is considerable concern lest an abrupt change be made without Japan knowing in advance so that she can adjust her own policy accordingly.

"I assured Mr. Kishi that I had seen no evidence of any coming change in our policy toward Red China and while obviously no one could say what would be the situation after passage of several years, nevertheless I could assure him that our policy in fact was the same that it has been stated to be time after time by our public leaders. I emphasized that the Ambassadorial level talks in Geneva were purely for the purpose of obtaining release of Americans imprisoned in Red China and for the purpose of obtaining if at all possible a commitment on the part of Red China not to use force in the Formosa area but that these talks in no way implied any recognition of Red China or any intention to recognize Red China in the future."

Viet Nam

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Viet Nam

Newspaper editorial comment in Viet Nam has consistently criticized the Geneva talks and has recently stepped up demands for breaking off the negotiations. (Saigon's telegram of February 4, 1956.)

Republic of Korea

Light newspaper editorial comment in the Republic of Korea has been skeptical of the value of the Geneva talks.

Austria, France, Belgium, Italy, Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, Australia, and New Zealand

No comment indicating concern by these governments over continuance of the Geneva talks has been received recently by the respective desk officers.

In countries that have recognized Communist China no survey has been made of reactions to continuance of the Geneva talks.

cc: FE/P - Mr. Lockhart
L - Mr. Phleger

FE:CA:WJKahmann:apt

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (487)

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FOR JOHNSON

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

Origin

Guidance for February 18 meeting.

1. Refer to your statement at October 27 meeting, repeating reasons US believes Communists have information concerning 450 missing servicemen. Wang stated at November 3 meeting he did not consider this proper subject for discussion at Geneva. He said such information should be sought from MAC in Korea. US accepted this suggestion in good faith and presented list again at Panmunjom on November 26. Communist representative declared that individuals held outside Korea do not come under authority of MAC and therefore irrelevant to discuss them in MAC. Also declared MAC has no connection with POW's disposed of by PRC. Communist representative accepted list but to date has provided no information. US is entitled to reply either from MAC or from Wang, for this is one of practical matters at issue which Ambassadorial talks were convened to consider.

2. Inform Wang that in reviewing record of past several meetings, we still do not understand Chinese Communist position on renunciation of force. They agree neither side should go to war over its differences with other

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CS/A SECRET FILE

611.93/2-1356

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11149

Drafted by: L:HPhleger 2/13/56
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/LHPhleger:ek

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
The Secretary - in draft
FE - Mr. Sebald

SECRET
Classification

FEB 13 1956 P.M.

1215 pm

FOR EASTERN AFFAIRS
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

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other. But it appears that if hostilities should break out, Chinese Communists would expect deprive US of natural right of self-defense. Would not Chinese Communists exercise their right of self-defense if US should go to war in violation its commitment? Then how can Chinese Communists seek deny US identical right? Would not Chinese Communists consider that their forces stationed outside their borders had right to defend themselves if attacked?

3. Point out that Wang does not seem to understand US draft does not require either party to give up its position with respect to merits of its claims. Any draft declaration must be couched in such terms as not to discredit or prejudice claims of other side. Therefore Wang's tirade at last meeting about alleged US occupation of Taiwan and lack of any US right defend itself individually or collectively in Taiwan area has no relevance to proper substance Agreed Announcement about renunciation of force. Wang's tirade deals with merits of respective positions. It is premature to take up this issue of merits of respective positions before Agreed Announcement on renunciation force is issued. A discussion of merits of issues can only come after renunciation force by both sides.

4. FYI Our present draft is product of long and careful consideration and we are not disposed to alter it. If, however, Wang proposes amend renunciation force draft along lines suggested your 1476, state only that you

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you will receive his proposed amendment, give it careful and serious study, and state US view of it later. Make certain Wang submits his formulation in precise and specific terms indicating where in draft his revised language would appear, so we will have complete text in form Communists would be willing sign. END FYI.

5. Again protest vigorously continued Chinese Communist failure to live up to their obligations under Agreed Announcement. If Chinese Communists should release any of imprisoned Americans on occasion of Chinese New Year moderation of tone might be desirable.

6. Inform Wang that Immigration Service has now received replies from all its field offices and none is able to identify Yuan Jui-hsiang. Request additional information from Wang to assist further investigation, including date and place Yuan allegedly taken into custody by Immigration and alternate spellings Yuan's name.

Hoover
ACTING HOOVER

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11151

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488

230 Geneva Reg CA

CA Subject

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February 13, 1956

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/9/5

SECRET

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

Letter No. 30

Dear Alex:

We expect to be forehanded with your guidance for the February 18 meeting. We had a meeting with the Secretary on your instructions at his home on Saturday the 11th on the eve of his departure for his vacation in the Bahamas. Early in the week we had a meeting with the Secretary on the guidance for your February 9 meeting. Judge Phleger expedited his return from a visit to Puerto Rico in order to participate in drafting the guidance for the February 9 meeting.

You have received some very fine bouquets all along the line for your superior handling of the meetings. Gratification has been expressed by all who are in on this subject at the way you have handled both your prepared presentations and the give and take of the impromptu exchanges. Your tactics have been superb and your approach precisely in line with the prevailing thinking here.

We believe that you have Wang on a pretty weak wicket now. He is close to being on the prongs of a dilemma if we hold steady. His choices are (1) to accept our formulation; (2) to continue the talks

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

indefinitely with all the inhibitions which that places on aggressive action by them; or (3) assume the responsibility for breaking off the talks, which would be a considerable onus and one which they presumably are reluctant to assume. The danger which the Secretary feels that we must avoid is the appearance of extreme inflexibility. If we appeared to adopt an absolutely rigid stance, the Communists after a break off might be able to transfer a good part of the onus to us arguing that our unyielding attitude on phraseology was deliberately designed to provoke a break. We want to avoid giving any plausibility to this sort of allegation. I would characterize the Secretary's attitude toward the stance you should take as "firmness without rigidity". He does not feel that it is necessary or desirable for your to propose any amendment or transposition in our proposal, but you do not close the door to serious consideration of any amendments proposed by Wang which do not do violence to the basic principles on which we stand.

You will be interested in a view which was expressed in the Saturday meeting and which did not encounter any challenge. This was to the effect that a renunciation of force declaration by the Chinese Communists which specifically included the general area of Taiwan would tend to compound the seriousness of the implication of any subsequent attack by them on Kinmen or Matsu.

You probably have been impressed with the paucity of information in our telegrams on the issue of Chinese prisoners in Federal and State

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penitentiaries in this country. As you have probably gathered the sparse guidance reflects not a lack of awareness or concern, but a feeling that if we get into this subject we "open a can of worms". We have explored the problem in a cautious way with the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the I.& N.S. We know there are at least 30 Chinese aliens in Federal penitentiaries. There is no estimate of the number in State institutions, although Judge Phleger is sure there are a lot of Chinese in San Quentin for murder and other felonies. If we enter into correspondence on this subject with all the wardens and State Governors, there is no telling where we will come out. A few of the prisoners might want to go to the Mainland, or claim that they did. It is by no means certain that pardons or paroles for deportation could readily be obtained in all cases. It could be argued that any Chinese Communist agent in this country would in effect be given immunity if he could be sure of immediate deportation to his home base after the commission of a crime in this country. The Indian Embassy would probably get into the act in a big way once we started polling Chinese prisoners. We fear that the issues would become confused, our compliance with the Agreed Announcement might become clouded, the right of the CRC to represent Chinese in this country might appear compromised, and a propaganda field day might be afforded the Communists. So all in all it seems better to play our cards close to our chest on this, relying on the fact that probably all Chinese inmates of jails have heard about

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the Agreed Announcement and could write to the Indian Embassy if they wanted to. We know that some prisoners on their own initiative stated they would prefer remaining in prison to being sent to Communist China. If the Indians receive a request from a prisoner, we will cross that bridge when we get to it. In the meantime we are not pressing any further inquiries into the subject. We hear there are 50 known Chinese aliens in mental institutions in this country. We are keeping our fingers crossed on that.

We will give you any interesting information we may receive in the course of our private checks with the I.& N.S. on the names handed you by Wang. So far the information is mostly negative. Of course in cases where there is no allegation of obstruction, we are not going beyond the information already on hand in Washington on these cases and the check is only for our own background illumination.

We are enclosing a number of documents which may be of interest to you as follows:

1. Full record of O'Neill's conversation of Jan. 11 with Chang Hsm-fu.
2. Round up of reports from our Far Eastern Posts on the effects of the talks.
3. Exchange of correspondence with the Indian Embassy on the Taiwan entry question.

Doug Forman has sent Dave a copy of the study by Spielman of the Historical Division on the course of the talks to date. I wish you would tell Dave that we would like for him to check this over during his spare time, if any. We feel he is unusually well qualified to do it. This work of course is on a contingency basis and is not intended for any current declassification unless there should be a break off.

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SECRET

We hear that DRF has funds to keep Stanley in Geneva until the end of March when he is slated to go to Taipei. This is no immediate problem but I wanted you to be alerted to the fact that the question will arise in about five weeks as to whether we should try to extend his detail with you, send another specialist or try to make do with the part time services of a Geneva Vice Consul. I hope you have no stenographic problem with the unfortunate departure of Helenka Osborn. Let us know if you are in a jam.

I was glad to get your letter No. 21. It was passed around as usual and was read with interest.

Congratulations on that successful Porgy and Bess party in Prague Saturday night. It was played up in the New York Times this morning as something pretty special and just about without precedent in Prague. You are juggling two pretty tricky balls with phenomenal success.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

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489

Ans'd. Feb 24

39

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
FEB 21 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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American Embassy
concurs
Prague, Czechoslovakia
February 16, 1956
Basis-1-301

CONFIDENTIAL

PERSONAL - INFORMAL

Dear Walter:

I am writing this from Prague as it looks as if my plane is going to be very late today. I do not know if I will get a chance to write to you this week end from Geneva.

I would hope that before the Secretary departs for his SEATO and Far Eastern trip you will raise the question and let me know what I should do to keep him informed concerning Geneva developments. I also presume that Phleger and Robertson will be accompanying him and that this may complicate the problem of instructions for a meeting or two. I would think it might be wise for me directly to repeat to them a fairly full summary of whatever meetings take place during their trip. The problem will be how I could best and most quickly reach them.

I have had almost a full week here in Prague which has been most helpful and useful and enabled me to handle the Porgy and Bess visit to the best advantage.

It later occurred to me that it may not have been clear from my messages concerning the last meeting as to why I hesitated about agreeing to the Monday meeting. However as he put the question it was clear to me that what he had in mind was a Monday meeting as a substitute for this week's meeting and then another meeting during the week. This of course I did not want to accept or get in to an argument about and I therefore took his

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire
Director of Chinese Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

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suggestion of a Saturday meeting. I hope that I can now get us back on the regular Thursday schedule.

All the best, I remain

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
Ambassador

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February 17, 1956

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Letter No. 31

SECRET

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

Dear Alex:

This letter is mainly to transmit a number of documents for your background illumination, some of which I believe you will find of more than ordinary interest. If you don't go back to Prague after the February 18 meeting (assuming there will be no break-off), you may have time to study these at some length before the following meeting. They are listed with brief identification below:

1. Paper on Chinese Communist Treatment of Imprisoned Americans Civilians.

This is the projected "white paper" on maltreatment of jailed Americans by the Chinese Communists from 1949 to date. It has been prepared on a contingency basis for possible release to the press in the event of a break-off at Geneva. The study is mainly the work of John Lindbeck of FE/P who has been working on it almost full time for several weeks. The individual case summaries which are to be attached as a sort of appendix are not completed yet and they are not being sent to you. There will be over a hundred of these. We would like the frank reaction of yours and Dave Osborn to the general approach

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

and the contingent of the study as it now stands. It is not firmed up yet and there is still time for amendments, either broad or of the nit-picking variety. As you will see Lindbeck has taken a fairly restrained line while still seeking to get considerable impact. I believe it is objective and on a sound factual basis. Frank Harris the American from Hong Kong who used to run rediffusion there and has made himself quite an authority on the subject of imprisoned Americans, is reading over the material and making some helpful suggestions from the standpoint of informed private American citizen. His comments are all the more helpful because he has recently talked to Harriett Mills and Malcolm Berschn and other ex-prisoners. We will welcome criticism of either the constructive or the destructive variety, from you and Dave.

2. DRF Intelligence Report entitled ""Communist China's Interest in a Foreign Ministers' Conference with the United States".

This study by DRF is based on their full access to the Geneva reports and the presence of one of their men on your staff. Herman thinks it is a good job. He mentioned it to the Secretary at the meeting on the 11th. If you have any comments on this, both FE and R will be glad to have them.

3. Report of Secretary's discussion with Selwyn Lloyd on China matters on Jan. 31 during Eden visit.

This is the record of the China portion of the discussion with the British at the Foreign Minister level on the morning of Jan. 31. It is an excerpt from the full record of the Eden visit to Washington.

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It has not been officially cleared by the Secretary yet. I had to get special permission to send this to you and of course it should be very closely held by you. This meeting took place in the Department and practically all the chief participants on both sides were present except the President and the Prime Minister. You will be particularly interested in the Secretary's discussion of the conversations on the first two pages, and in the Secretary's exposition of the reasoning behind our China policy, stated in very broad terms, from page eight through the middle of page eleven. The discussions of trade controls against Communist China and the off-shore islands issue were also of more than ordinary interest.

4. Contingent Press Release in the Event of a Break-Off.

Early last week we decided that we should have a carefully drafted press release ready for instant use if Wang should break off the Geneva talks. Our early draft was considerably revised by the Secretary. The enclosed statement which was approved by the Secretary on February 9, is substantially his original draft with some very slight amendments which he accepted. This statement represents an effort to strike a just balance of strength and restraint. You will see the various touches designed to show up the weakness in the Communist position without burning all the bridges. If you have any suggestions on this, it will not be too late to consider them, again assuming that the talks will continue.

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5. Robertson-Koo Conversation of February 1.

You will be interested in reading the record of the long conversation of February 1 between Amb. Koo and Mr. Robertson. Koo had returned the day before from consultations in Taipei and, stimulated by the strength of the sentiment he had encountered in Taiwan, he gave the most vigorous presentation of the GRC objections to the Geneva talks that we have yet had from him. I believe you will find much of interest in the tact that Mr. Robertson took in answering Koo's arguments and questions.

In connection with the foregoing you will also want to study the reassurances which we gave to the Chinese Government in our Aide Memoire of Feb. 13 in answer to their Aide Memoire of Jan. 25. The Chinese Aide Memoire was repeated to you from Taipei as their 159 to Geneva. Our Aide Memoire went to Taipei as the Department's 481 and has been repeated to you by pouch. It should arrive at the same time as this letter. Our Aide Memoire was personally approved by the Secretary on Feb. 11.

We are working on a talking paper on the Geneva conversations to be used by our representative at a forthcoming session of the NATO Deputies sometime early in March. It seems that Amb. Perkins will have to make this presentation. Livy Merchant feels that it is important to give our NATO allies a fairly full confidential briefing on the current situation in the talks right away. He feels it cannot wait until the next ministerial level NATO session in April which will be attended by the Secretary. It is unfortunate that the presentation to the Deputies will have to be made by the representative who has had no opportunity to acquire any particular background on the talks, especially since there

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will be a discussion period during which some fairly tricky questions will be asked. We will arm Amb. Perkins as well as possible, but this may not be sufficient. It is possible that you will be asked to go to Paris to brief Amb. Perkins some time before the Deputies meeting. We feel this would be invaluable to our spokesman. We are assuming that you could work this short trip into your schedule without too much difficulty unless the Prague demands on you are unusually heavy. No orders have been issued yet and there might be a change in the thinking. This is merely to alert you to the possibility and give you a chance to react in advance if you want to.

I will be standing by for your first report of the meeting on Saturday afternoon and earnestly hope that all goes well.

Regards and good wishes,

Walter P. McConaughy

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☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/6/78

R

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

CONFIDENTIAL

February 17, 1956

Dear Dave:

I enclose copies of a number of memoranda dealing with the paper I have been working on relative to Chinese Communist treatment of imprisoned American civilians. Walter McConaughy is transmitting a copy of this paper to Alexis Johnson today. I was too tardy to get this material included in the packet so I am sending it on to you for his information and yours.

Sincerely,

John M. H. Lindbeck

Mr. David L. Osborn
American Consulate General
Geneva, Switzerland

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Lot 72 D 415

(492)

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1509, FEBRUARY 18, 3 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

1. THREE HOUR FORTY FIVE MINUTE MEETING TODAY. NO PROGRESS WHATEVER.

2. I DEVELOPED THEME OF PARAGRAPHS TWO, THREE, DEPARTMENT'S 1619, TAKING INCREASINGLY EXPLICIT POSITION THAT PROPER INTERPRETATION SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IS SIMPLY THAT EACH SIDE IS, ON OWN BEHALF, MAKING CLEAR THAT DECLARATION IS MADE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO WHAT IT CONSIDERS ITS INHERENT RIGHT INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE, AND DOES NOT IN ANY WAY REQUIRE OTHER SIDE RECOGNIZE OR ACCEPT MERITS OF CLAIMS.

3. WANG ENTIRELY FAILED MEET MY POINT THIS REGARD, CONFINED SELF TO REITERATING PREVIOUS POSITIONS, HOWEVER WITH INTIMATION OF PLEA WE OFFER REFORMULATION SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE.

4. WANG TOOK INITIATIVE ON IMPLEMENTATION, CONFINING SELF TO AND PRESSING HARD ON CHINESE IN UNITED STATES PRISONS, THEIR ALLEGED LACK INFORMATION ABOUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, ET CETERA. ALLEGED WE HAD REFUSED INDIAN REQUEST TRANSMIT TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT TO IMPRISONED CHINESE.

5. I REPLIED BY REITERATING PREVIOUS POSITION ON NO CHINESE BEING OBSTRUCTED IN RETURN AND CONTRASTED SITUATION 13 AMERICANS.

SHILLOCK

GEM

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1512, FEBRUARY 18, 8 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING.

1. NOTHING PARTICULARLY NOTEWORTHY TO ADD ABOUT TODAY'S MEETING EXCEPT THAT ATMOSPHERE EVEN EASIER THAN LAST MEETING. FROM FULL RECORD DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE THAT WANG GAVE NO SIGNS OF IMPATIENCE AND THAT I DID MY BEST TO CONTRIBUTE TO BUSINESS LIKE ATTITUDE AND KEEP DISCUSSION TO TEXT DECLARATION. HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO SIGN OF ANY CHANGE WHATEVER IN THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD SELF DEFENSE CLAUSE.

2. WITH RESPECT IMPLEMENTATION HE SENSES HE MAY HAVE STRUCK SOFT SPOT WITH REGARD IMPRISONED CHINESE AND IS PRESSING IT TO MAXIMUM. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS AS TO WHAT IF ANYTHING FURTHER IT BELIEVES I COULD USEFULLY SAY THIS REGARD NEXT MEETING.

3. DEPARTMENT WILL ALSO NOTE DETAILS OUR EXCHANGE RE LIU YUNG-MING MEDICAL RECORDS. WOULD APPRECIATE INSTRUCTIONS THIS REGARD FOR NEXT MEETING. SPITE THEIR ATTITUDE ON THIS CASE I FEEL WE HAVE NOTHING LOSE SOMETHING GAIN BY MAKING RESPONSE THEIR REQUEST TO EXTENT HOSPITAL ABLE AND WILLING.

4. HIS RESPONSE ON MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL WAS AS EXPECTED BUT I HOPE OUR EXCHANGE WILL EXPEDITE SOME REPLY IN MAC. HIS THOUGHT THAT I WAS LINKING THIS WITH CHINESE PRISONERS IN US WAS UNDERSTANDABLE IN CONTEXT MEETING AND I THOUGHT IT WELL IMMEDIATELY CORRECT ANY IMPLICATION WE PREPARED GIVE THEM

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GIVE THEM LIST IMPRISONED CHINESE IN EXCHANGE THEIR ACCOUNTING FOR MISSING MILITARY PERSONNEL.

SHILLOCK

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1513, FEBRUARY 18, 9 P M (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

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1. WANG OPENED 37 MEETING WITH PREPARED STATEMENT SAYING HE WOULD LIKE MAKE FURTHER OBSERVATIONS REGARDING STATEMENT I MADE AT LAST MEETING. FIRST, IT WAS US USE FORCE AGAINST CHINA IN TAIWAN AREA WHICH CREATED SERIOUS DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND US. NEVERTHELESS DURING AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE CHI A PROPOSED CHINA AND US SIT DOWN AND ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT DISPUTE. THAT PROPOSAL GAVE EXPRESSION TO CHINA'S DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

2. WANG SAID IN COURSE THESE TALKS US SIDE ASKED THAT BOTH SIDES MAKE ANNOUNCEMENT RENOUNCING USE FORCE AND THREATS. PRC SIDE AGREED TO THIS IDEA OF MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT AND TOOK INITIATIVE IN PRESENTING DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT, WHICH PRC SIDE LATER AMENDED AFTER CONSIDERING US VIEWS.

3. WANG SAID THUS PROBLEM CONFRONTING US EVIDENTLY NOTHING ELSE BUT HOW DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES, AS SPECIFIED IN PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT, CAN BE REALIZED. AS US ALREADY USED FORCE AND THREATS AGAINST CHINA, DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES CANNOT BE REALIZED UNLESS PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS ARE SOUGHT FOR.

4. WANG SAID IF US SIDE GENUINELY SINCERE IN DESIRING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES, SHOULD MAKE HONEST EFFORT FOLLOW ANNOUNCEMENT OF DECLARATION BY SEEKING PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS REALIZE THIS. FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE IS PRECISELY SUCH PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS.

5. WANG SAID

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5. WANG SAID SECONDLY IT OUT OF QUESTION FOR US TO TALK ABOUT ANY SORT OF SELF-DEFENSE RIGHTS ON CHINA'S TERRITORY TAIWAN AND COASTAL ISLANDS. NO AMOUNT OF ARGUMENTS SUCH AS PUT FORWARD AT LAST MEETING, ALLEGING TAIWAN AND COASTAL ISLANDS NEVER BEEN THEIR TERRITORY COULD ALTER FACTS.

6. WANG SAID AGGRESSIVE ACTS OF US IN SEIZURE OF TAIWAN AND INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHINA COULD IN NO WAY BE TURNED INTO SELF-DEFENSIVE ACTS BY TREATIES BETWEEN US AND CHIANG CLIQUE, WHICH LONG BEEN OVERTHROWN BY CHINESE PEOPLE. CHINA ABSOLUTELY WOULD NOT RENOUNCE ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHT OVER TAIWAN AND COASTAL ISLANDS. TO REQUIRE THEIR SIDE IN MAKING THIS ANNOUNCEMENT TO GIVE RECOGNITION TO US RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE ON CHINA'S TERRITORY, TO GIVE RECOGNITION TO CHIANG TREATY, TO GIVE RECOGNITION TO AMERICAN SEIZURE TAIWAN, IS ASKING IMPOSSIBLE.

7. WANG SAID THIRDLY AS TO BY WHAT MEANS CHINA WOULD ACCOMPLISH LIBERATION TAIWAN, THAT ENTIRELY INTERNAL MATTER OF CHINA IN WHICH US HAS NO RIGHT WHATSOEVER INTERFERE. DESIRE EXPRESSED BY CHINA TO STRIVE FOR PEACEFUL LIBERATION TAIWAN IF CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH US.

8. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING US SIDE ASKED THAT CHINA UNDERTAKE TO USE PEACEFUL MEANS FOR LIBERATING TAIWAN. SUCH IS UNSCRUPULOUS INTERVENTION IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS WHICH CHINA ABSOLUTELY WILL NOT TOLERATE.

9. WANG SAID I HAD REPEATEDLY INDICATED THAT US HAD NO INTENTION PREJUDICING POSITION PRC SIDE REGARDING OUR DISPUTES. AS MATTER FACT EVER SINCE DISCUSSION ON MAKING THIS ANNOUNCEMENT BEGAN US SIDE ALL ALONG HAS CLUNG TO DEMAND THAT CHINA RENOUNCE ITS CLAIMS. US SIDE HAS NEVER INDICATED SLIGHTEST CHANGE IN ITS POSITION. US SIDE HAS EVEN DEMANDED PRC RECOGNITION SEIZURE TAIWAN BY US. HOW COULD I EXPLAIN THIS AS OTHER THAN DEMANDING THEIR SIDE RENOUNCE ITS POSITION?

10. WANG SAID, OUTSIDE CONFERENCE ROOM, MOREOVER, US CONTINUOUSLY STEPPING UP MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN TAIWAN AREA. RECENTLY US OPENLY DECLARED IT WOULD STAGE LARGE SCALE MILITARY

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MILITARY MANEUVERS WITH CHIANG FORCES IN TAIWAN AREA. OBVIOUSLY THIS FURTHER ACT OF PROVOCATION.

11. WANG SAID HE ASKED THAT US MAKE EXPLICIT ANSWER AS TO WHETHER IT INTENT OF US, AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT OF DECLARATION, TO MAINTAIN STATUS QUO OF ITS SEIZURE TAIWAN AND INTERVENTION CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND ITS INTERFERENCE IN CHINA'S LIBERATION TAIWAN AND COASTAL ISLANDS, MEANWHILE REFUSING HOLD FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE.

12. WANG SAID IF THAT IS INTENT OF US, THEN IS IT NOT LOT OF EMPTY WORDS TO TALK ABOUT "NOT PREJUDICING POSITION AND RIGHTS" OF PRC? WOULD THIS NOT BE MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE TO REALIZE DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES?

13. I REPLIED THAT IT DIDN'T SEEM ME STATEMENT WANG HAD MADE HELPED ADVANCE US IN TASK WE FACING IN ATTEMPT REACH AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. IT SEEMED ME HIS STATEMENT TENDED AGAIN LEAD US DOWN SIDE ROAD OF DISCUSSING SUBSTANCE OUR DISPUTES.

14. I SAID IN ATTEMPT TO SEE WHETHER OR NOT WE COULD NOT ADVANCE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US, I HAD ASKED HIM AT LAST MEETING TWO SIMPLE QUESTIONS WHICH I THOUGHT WOULD HELP CLARIFY SITUATION. AS I RECALLED IT, FIRST QUESTION WAS WHETHER WE WERE IN AGREEMENT THAT ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS WOULD BE USED SETTLE OUR DISPUTES.

15. I SAID OTHER QUESTION WAS WHAT HE THOUGHT SHOULD HAPPEN IF IN VIOLATION DECLARATION ONE SIDE SHOULD INITIATE HOSTILITIES.

16. I SAID HE HAD AGAIN REFERRED THIS MORNING TO HIS INTERPRETATION OF DRAFT WE DISCUSSING AS REQUIRING HIM TO RENOUNCE HIS POSITION AND RECOGNIZE POSITIONS WHICH HE DID NOT DESIRE RECOGNIZE. I HAD TRIED TO DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION AT LAST MEETING, JUST AS PLAINLY AS I COULD. I HAD HOPED I MADE MYSELF CLEAR, BUT APPARENTLY I HAD NOT.

17. I SAID I

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17. I SAID I HAD TRIED MAKE CLEAR DRAFT WE DISCUSSING INCLUDING SELF DEFENSE CLAUSE DID NOT REQUIRE EITHER SIDE GIVE UP POSITION WITH RESPECT MERITS ANY DISPUTES. WHAT I HAD BEEN TRYING DO WAS PLACE SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IN THAT DECLARATION, TO WHICH WANG OBJECTED, IN ITS TRUE RELATIONSHIP TO REMAINDER OF DECLARATION AND SHOW THAT IT MEANT ONLY THIS: PROPOSITION I SET FORTH WAS THAT IF EITHER SIDE SHOULD VIOLATE DECLARATION AND INITIATE HOSTILITIES AS MEANS OF ATTEMPTING MAKE ITS VIEWS PREVAIL OVER OTHER, OR IF EITHER SIDE SHOULD BE ATTACKED FROM ANY OTHER QUARTER, IT WOULD BE CLEAR THAT SIDE ATTACKED WOULD NOT BY DECLARATION HAVE RENOUNCED ITS RIGHT SELF DEFENSE.

18. I SAID I HAD GIVEN MUCH THOUGHT TO THIS, AND HAD TRIED THINK OF SOME WAY IN WHICH I COULD MAKE THIS PERFECTLY CLEAR. THEREFORE, IT NOT WITH ANY INTENT OF GETTING INTO SUBSTANCE OUR DISPUTES, OR SAYING THINGS THAT WOULD LEAD US DOWN BYROADS, BUT WITH INTENT OF MAKING OUR INTERPRETATION AND UNDERSTANDING OF THIS JUST AS EXPLICIT AS POSSIBLE THAT I WANT TRY AGAIN EXPLAIN MY POSITION.

19. I SAID LET ME PUT IT THIS WAY. WANG DISPUTED POSITION OF US WITH REGARD TO TAIWAN AREA, AND DID NOT RECOGNIZE MERITS, NOR DID HE WISH TO SAY ANYTHING THAT GAVE APPEARANCE (WE) RECOGNIZING MERITS OF POSITION OF US IN THAT REGARD.

20. I CONTINUED FROM PREPARED STATEMENT THAT WANG SAID HE DID NOT DISPUTE MERITS OF ASSERTION BY US OF RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE AT SOME PLACES BUT THAT HE DID DISPUTE MERITS OF US CLAIMS THIS REGARD WITH REGARD TAIWAN AREA. HE SAID US MUST ABANDON ITS CLAIM WITH RESPECT RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA. I BELIEVED THAT THIS WAS HONEST SUMMARY HIS POSITION, AS I UNDERSTOOD IT.

21. I SAID ON OTHER HAND THEY HAD CLAIMED AND STILL CLAIMED FOR THEMSELVES RIGHT INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN AREAS ADMITTEDLY BEYOND BORDERS THEIR COUNTRY AND WHERE US CONSIDERS THEY HAVE UTTERLY NO BASIS FOR CLAIMING THAT RIGHT. I DID NOT AND WOULD NOT SAY ANYTHING IN THIS DECLARATION THAT WOULD RECOGNIZE OR GIVE APPEARANCE OF RECOGNIZING MERITS THEIR CLAIMS THIS REGARD, AND I DID NOT BELIEVE DRAFT WE CONSIDERING DID THIS.

22. I SAID

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22. I SAID SURELY HE DID NOT WISH ISSUE A DECLARATION IN A FORM THAT WOULD IMPLY THAT IF THEIR FORCES ATTACKED THEY WOULD NOT DEFEND SELVES. SURELY IF AFTER MAKING DECLARATION US SHOULD IN VIOLATION ITS COMMITMENT INITIATE HOSTILITIES, THEIR FORCES WOULD EXERCISE WHAT THEY WOULD CONSIDER THEIR RIGHT INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE AND DEFEND SELVES. IT WAS DIFFICULT ME TO UNDERSTAND HOW THEN HE COULD ATTEMPT TO DENY TO FORCES OF MY COUNTRY VERY SAME RIGHT.

23. I SAID WANG HAD SAID HE WOULD NOT DENY OUR FORCES THAT RIGHT IN SOME PLACES BUT DID DENY THEM THAT RIGHT IN TAIWAN AREA. MY POINT WAS THAT DRAFT WE DISCUSSING DID NOT IN any WAY AND SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT DENY OTHER'S VIEWS OR EMBODY AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AS TO MERITS RESPECTIVE CLAIMS. CONFRONTATION OUR RESPECTIVE CLAIMS DOES NOT BELONG IN PRESENT STAGE OF DISCUSSION.

SHILLOCK

MGG

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1513, FEBRUARY 18, 9 PM (SECTION 2 OF 5)

24. I SAID ALL I HAD SUGGESTED WAS THAT IN MAKING THIS DECLARATION NOT TO EMPLOY FORCE TO SETTLE OUR DISPUTES EACH OF US SIMPLY STATE THAT IN DOING SO WE WERE NEITHER OF US RENOUNCING WHAT WE CONSIDERED TO BE OUR INHERENT RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE. IN AGREEING JOIN WITH WANG IN MAKING SUCH STATEMENT I DID NOT CONSIDER I WAS IN ANY WAY SACRIFICING OR PREJUDICING MY VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO MERITS THEIR CLAIMS WITH REGARD TO PLACES AT WHICH THEY ASSERTED THAT RIGHT.

25. I SAID, SIMILARLY, I DID NOT THINK THAT IT SACRIFICED THEIR VIEWS WITH REGARD TO MERITS OF CLAIMS OF MY GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THAT RIGHT.

26. I SAID I THOUGHT THIS ENTIRELY PROPER AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF NOT ATTEMPTING IN THIS DECLARATION TO DISCREDIT OR PREJUDICE VIEWS OF EITHER. DIERUSSION OF MERITS OF RESPECTIVE CLAIMS AND WORKING OUT BY PEACEFUL MEANS OF SOLUTIONS TO THOSE PROBLEMS WHERE OUR POLICIES CONFRONT EACH OTHER CAN ONLY BE ACCOMPLISHED AFTER WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS WILL BE USED IN FINDING THOSE SOLUTIONS.

27. I SAID QUESTION WANG HAD ASKED THIS MORNING WAS ONE I COULD ONLY TERM AS PREJUDGING SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS FACING OUR TWO COUNTRIES. AS SUCH, I DIDN'T BELIEVE IT PROPER OR CONSTRUCTIVE QUESTION TO ASK AT THIS STAGE OUR DISCUSSIONS.

28. I SAID THE US EARNESTLY HOPES FOR AND WILL DO EVERYTHING ITS POWER TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL SOLUTION THESE QUESTIONS. THE US HAD NO RESERVATIONS IN ITS DETERMINATION THAT ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS WOULD BE USED IN THEIR SOLUTION.

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29. I SAID IF WANG AGREED TO ISSUANCE OF DRAFT WE DISCUSSING, US WOULD HAVE NO RESERVATIONS IN ITS DETERMINATION THAT WE SEEK TOGETHER, AS SET FORTH IN DRAFT, "PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS REALIZING THIS COMMON DESIRE." US CONTINUES HOPE WE CAN REACH THAT STAGE. US CONTINUES HOPE WE WILL NOT BE LONGER DELAYED IN REACHING THAT STAGE BY USELESS ATTEMPTS GET US AGREE THAT IF ITS FORCES ATTACKED THEY WOULD NOT DEFEND SELVES.

30. WANG SAID HE NOTED THAT I HAD EXPRESSED HOPE WE WOULD BE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ISSUANCE OF ANNOUNCEMENT QUICKLY SO THAT WE COULD ENTER INTO DISCUSSION OTHER MATTERS. HE SHARED THIS CONCERN THAT WE HAD SPENT MUCH TIME IN DISCUSSION THIS ANNOUNCEMENT WITHOUT REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON THIS UP TO PRESENT MOMENT.

31. WANG SAID THAT IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT THIS MORNING HE HAD POINTED OUT REPEATED EFFORTS THEIR SIDE TO REACH AGREEMENT BY PUTTING FORTH VARIOUS DRAFTS WHICH EMBODIED POINTS OF VIEW COMMON TO BOTH SIDES AND WHICH ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. IT INDEED MY VIEW THAT WE SHOULD QUICKLY REACH AGREEMENT ON AN ANNOUNCEMENT, IT HARD FOR HIM TO SEE WHY US STILL CONTINUES NOT TO ACCEPT THEIR DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT SO THAT WE CAN ADVANCE TO DISCUSSION OTHER MATTERS.

32. WANG SAID HE HAD REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR THAT OUR DRAFT UNACCEPTABLE TO THEIR SIDE BECAUSE OUR DRAFT ONLY SERVES VIEW OF US SIDE. BECAUSE US DRAFT ONLY GIVES CONSIDERATION TO US INTERESTS AND PREJUDICES POSITION THEIR SIDE, THEREFORE IT UNACCEPTABLE TO THEIR SIDE. THIS VIEW OF THEIR SIDE HAD BEEN MADE CLEAR REPEATEDLY IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS.

33. WANG SAID IT ENTIRELY UNJUSTIFIABLE FOR US TO INCLUDE CLAUSE ON SELF-DEFENSE OF US IN TAIWAN, WHICH WAS WHAT THEIR SIDE WOULD NOT ACCEPT. OBSERVATIONS I HAD MADE THIS MORNING, IT SEEMED TO HIM, IN MAIN CONTINUED TO DEFEND POSITION OF US REGARDING US SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. THAT, AS HE HAD SAID, WAS PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE IN WAY OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON ISSUANCE OF ANNOUNCEMENT. HE DID NOT SEE HOW THIS REPE-

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TITION OF THIS POSITION COULD ADVANCE IN ANY WAY DISCUSSION BY BOTH SIDES ON ISSUANCE OF ANNOUNCEMENT.

34. WANG SAID WITH REGARD TO STATEMENT I MADE THIS MORNING, THERE SEEMED TO BE THREE POINTS ON WHICH WE MUST BE CLEAR. IN FIRST PLACE, MY STATEMENT TENDED TO CONFUSE AGGRESSION WITH SELF-DEFENSE.

35. WANG SAID IT QUITE TRUE THAT THEY ENDORSE AND DO NOT DISPUTE RIGHT EVERY COUNTRY, IN ACCORDANCE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, TO INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE, AND THAT THIS INCLUDES UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, SUCH RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE CAN ONLY BE USED IN PROTECTING AND DEFENDING TERRITORY OF OWN COUNTRY AGAINST EXTERNAL AGGRESSION AND ATTACK. THIS RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH ARMED AGGRESSION AGAINST OTHER COUNTRIES. SO THESE TWO THINGS MUST NOT BE CONFUSED WITH EACH OTHER.

36. WANG SAID I HAD POINTED OUT THAT THEY HAD SELF-DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS BEYOND THEIR BORDERS. IT TRUE THAT THEY HAVE EXERCISED THAT RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE. IF THERE HAD NOT BEEN FOREIGN FORCES THREATENING THEIR BORDER AND FOREIGN MILITARY AIRCRAFT VIOLATING THEIR AIRSPACE, THEY WOULD NOT HAVE EXERCISED THAT RIGHT. CHINESE EXERCISED THAT RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE SIMPLY IN ORDER PROTECT THEIR TERRITORY FROM BEING VIOLATED BY FOREIGN POWERS. HOWEVER, ACTION OF FOREIGN FORCES IN STARTING AGGRESSIVE ACTS ON FOREIGN TERRITORY CANNOT BE TERMED EXERCISE OF SELF-DEFENSE.

37. WANG SAID LET HIM PUT IT MORE CONCRETELY AND WITH RESPECT DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND US IN TAIWAN AREA. PRESENT GRAVE HOSTILITIES BETWEEN CHINA AND US IN TAIWAN AREA CHIEFLY RESULT OF US ACTION IN FORCIBLE SEIZURE TAIWAN, WHICH CHINESE TERRITORY. NO AMOUNT TALK, ARGUMENT, OR SOPHISTRY CAN TURN TAIWAN INTO STATE OR TERRITORY OF AMERICA. THEREFORE ACTION OF US IN FORCIBLE SEIZURE OF TAIWAN CAN ONLY BE TERMED AGGRESSIVE ACTION AND CAN NEVER BE TERMED ACT OF SELF-DEFENSE. SAME IS TRUE OTHER WAY AROUND -- CHINESE FORCES WOULD HAVE NO RIGHT SPEAK ABOUT SELF-DEFENSE IF THEY SHOULD FORCIBLY OCCUPY AMERICAN TERRITORY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

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38. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THIS MORNING THAT IF AMERICAN FORCES WERE ATTACKED THEY WOULD NOT FOREGO RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE. HOWEVER, PRESENT SITUATION IS NOT ONE IN WHICH US FORCES BEING ATTACKED, BUT IS ONE IN WHICH US FORCES HAVE USED FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN AND HAVE ATTACKED CHINA. FTNMY LOGIC SEEMED TO BE EQUALLY ABSURD AS THAT OF MAN WHO BEATS UP ANOTHER AND WHILE BEATING HIM STILL CLAIMS IT IS SELF-DEFENSE. HOW CAN THIS ACTION BE TERMED SELF-DEFENSE?

39. WANG SAID FROM THIS IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT WE SHOULD NOT TRY CONFUSE AGGRESSIVE ACTS WITH SELF-DEFENSE. THESE TWO ACTS SHOULD BE CLEARLY SEPARATED FROM EACH OTHER. BY THIS HE MEANT WE SHOULD NOT TRY EXPLAIN AGGRESSIVE ACTION AS ACTION OF SELF-DEFENSE.

40. WANG SAID AS HE HAD SAID, THEY HAVE FULL RIGHT TO EXPEL PRESENT OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN BY US FORCES. NEVERTHELESS, THEY STILL PROPOSE SETTLE THIS QUESTION BY MEANS PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. THIS DEMONSTRATES PEACEFUL INTENTION OF CHINESE REGARDING SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES.

41. WANG SAID SECOND POINT HE WANTED MAKE WAS THAT WE SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT CONFUSE INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE WITH INTERNAL MATTER. THIS QUESTION HAS ALWAYS REMAINED BEFORE US.

42. WANG SAID I HAD ASKED WHETHER OR NOT CHINA WOULD ONLY USE PEACEFUL MEANS IN SETTLEMENT TAIWAN PROBLEM. IT SEEMED HIM THIS QUESTION WENT BEYOND TERMS OF REFERENCE PRESENT TALKS. IT ENTIRELY MATTER FOR CHINESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES AS TO BY WHAT MEANS THEY WOULD ACCOMPLISH LIBERATION TAIWAN. THIS MATTER IN WHICH US HAS NO RIGHT INTERFERE. THEY WOULD OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT INTERFERE THIS MATTER.
SAME IS TRUE IN OTHER RESPECT: THAT IS, CHINA HAS NO RIGHT INTERFERE IN INTERNAL MATTER OF DISPUTES BETWEEN POLITICAL PARTIES IN US. THEY HAD MADE CLEAR IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS THIS POINT OF VIEW: THAT SUCH MATTERS, WHICH ESSENTIALLY INTERNAL MATTERS OF CHINA, BEYOND SCOPE THESE TALKS.

43. WANG SAID THAT WE SHOULD DISCUSS IN THESE TALKS IS QUESTION OF GRAVE TENSION CREATED TAIWAN AREA AS RESULT

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US OCCUPATION CHINESE AREA OF TAIWAN, AND WE SHOULD ATTEMPT FIND SOLUTION TO THIS SITUATION.

44. WANG SAID THIRDLY HE WANTED DEAL WITH QUESTION OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT AND SUBSTANCE OF OUR DISPUTES. THEY HAD ALWAYS PROPOSED THAT THESE TWO QUESTIONS SHOULD BE SEPARATED IN THIER ORDER OF SOLUTION, AND THIS IS GIVEN EXPRESSION IN DRAFT PUT FORWARD BY THEIR SIDE. IT IS A PRACTICAL WAY -- TO TRY TO SOLVE DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES STEP BY STEP.

45. WANG SAID THAT WAS WHY THEY DID NOT IN THEIR DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT RAISE ANY PREREQUISITES OR RAISE ANY MATTER WHICH US COULD NOT FIND ACCEPTABLE. WHEREAS IN US PROPOSAL, US HAS ATTEMPTED CONFUSE THESE TWO STEPS AND RAISE SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE, WHICH TANTAMOUNT TO PREREQUISITE. THAT IS WHERE OBSTACLE IN WAY PROGRESS OUR TALKS LIES.

SHILLOCK

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol _____

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NO: 1513, FEBRUARY 18, 9 P M (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

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46. WANG SAID THEREFORE PROBLEM CONFRONTING TWO OF US SEEMED TO HIM VERY CLEAR. IT QUITE CLEAR ALSO WHY WE NOT REACHED AGREEMENT ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT UP TO PRESENT MOMENT. PRESENT FACT IS THAT WE HAVE NOT REACHED AGREEMENT ON A PROPOSED ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS NOT WHAT THEIR SIDE DESIRED. QUESTION OF WHAT WOULD FOLLOW ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS NOT ONE I HAD ASKED -- WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF DECLARATION WERE VIOLATED -- BUT THE PROBLEM WAS RATHER THAT BOTH SIDES WOULD ATTEMPT FIND WAYS AND MEANS FOR REALIZATION OF PROVISIONS WHICH STATED IN DECLARATION.

47. I SAID I WAS SORRY WE JUST DID NOT SEEM ABLE ARRIVE AT MEETING OF MINDS ON THIS. WE SEEHED BE ARGUING SOMEWHAT AT CROSS PURPOSES HERE. I BEEN TRYING VERY HARD KEEP SIMPLY TO SUBSTANCE OF OUR DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT. WHEREAS HE SAID HE AGREED WITH MY VIEW THAT WE HAD TO KEEP OUR SEPARATE STEPS APART FROM EACH OTHER, YET HE CONTINUALLY ATTEMPTING BRING US BACK TO MERITS OUR DISPUTES. HE KEPT REFERRING TO HIS VIEWS REGARDING OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREAWN TERMING IT CONTINUOUSLY A MATTER OF US TCCUPATION OF TAIWAN. I HAD IN PAST AND CONTINUE RESOLUTELY TO REJECT VALIDITY ANY SUCH CHARACTERIZATION OF QUESTION. HOWEVER, I DID NOT INTEND REPEAT THAT THIS MORNING. BECAUSE THAT, I FELT, AGAIN GETS US DOWN UNPRODUCTIVE SIDE ROAD OF DISCUSSION MERITS OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS.

48. I SAID HOWEVER WHATEVER TERM IS USED CHARACTERIZE OUR DISPUTE THAT AREA, SEEMED ME THAT POSITION HE TAKING WAS THAT SOLUTION OF THAT SHOULD PRECEDE OR ACCOMPANY ISSUANCE OUR DECLARATION.

49. I SAID HE SPOKE AGAIN THIS MORNING OF WHAT HE TERMED THEIR

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THEIR RIGHT EXPEL AMERICAN FORCES FROM TAIWAN AREA. HIS GOVERNMENT HAS IN ITS PUBLIC STATEMENTS ALSO OFTEN SPOKEN ALONG SAME LINE. THIS IS, AND CAN BE INTERPRETED AS, NOTHING ELSE THAN A THREAT TO INITIATE HOSTILITIES IN ORDER TO RESOLVE QUESTIONS AT DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA IN THEIR FAVOR. THIS IS PRINCIPLE REASON WE ARE HERE DISCUSSING WHETHER OR NOT HIS GOVERNMENT WILLING GIVE UP THREAT OR USE OF FORCE TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES.

50. I SAID THIS ONE OF REASONS I ASKED HIM AT LAST MEETING AND AGAIN ASKED THIS MORNING THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER IN ISSUING THIS DECLARATION THEY CONSIDERED THAT ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS WERE TO BE USED TO SETTLE OUR DISPUTES.

51. I SAID THERE NO CONFUSION MY MIND IN THIS REGARD. I RELATING MY QUESTION EXACTLY TO TEXT OUR DECLARATION. IN SPITE MY EXPLANATIONS THIS MORNING, HE STILL INSISTS IN INTERPRETING AMENDMENTS I HAD SUGGESTED AS ATTEMPT BY US TO TRICK HIM INTO PREJUDICING THEIR POSITION. THAT NEITHER MY INTENT NOR IS IT IN PLAIN LANGUAGE OF DRAFT WE DISCUSSING. LET ME READ THAT. "THE USA AND THE PRC ARE DETERMINED THAT THEY WILL SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS -- AND IF I MAY HERE LEAVE OUT THE SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE -- , AND THAT THEY WILL NOT RESORT TO THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE IN THE TAIWAN AREA OR ELSE-WHERE." HOWEVER IN SAYING THIS, EACH OF US IS ALSO SAYING IN OWN BEHALF SIMPLY THAT WE DOING THIS AND SAYING THIS WITHOUT PREJUDICING WHAT EACH OF US CONSIDERS HIS INHERENT RIGHTS TO INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. AS I SAID MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING, NEITHER US BY SAYING THAT IS RECOGNIZING OR GIVING APPEARANCE RECOGNIZING MERITS POSITION OF OTHER IN THIS REGARD. (AT THIS POINT LAI HAD WHISPERED CONFERENCE WITH WANG OVER CHINESE DECEMBER 1 DRAFT.) BOTH US ARE SIMPLY MAKING CLEAR FACT THAT IF EITHER US IS ATTACKED WE INTEND DEFEND OURSELVES. IT SIMPLY SAYS, WHEN WE IN DECLARATION SAY WE NOT GOING USE FORCE, THAT WE NOT CARRYING IT TO POINT OF SAYING WE NOT INTEND DEFEND OURSELVES IF ATTACKED. IT APPLIES EQUALLY TO BOTH OF US AND, AS PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT, I WOULD THINK THEY WOULD CONSIDER IT OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE.

52. I SAID IT JUST DIDN'T SEEM TO ME THAT THEIR OBJECTIONS TO IT HAD ANY VALIDITY; AND THAT THEIR DEMAND THAT IT BE WITHDRAWN

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WITHDRAWN CONSTITUTED, I EFFECT, DEMAND THAT US SAY THAT IF ITS FORCES ARE ATTACKED THEY WILL NOT DEFEND THEMSELVES. THAT OF COURSE IS ABSURD ON FACE OF IT.

53. I SAID I EARNESTLY HOPED THAT HE COULD RECONSIDER HIS POSITION ON THIS IN LIGHT OUR DISCUSSIONS AND MY EXPLANATIONS THIS MORNING SO THAT WE COULD SEE WHETHER IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS AT OUR NEXT MEETING. I SINCERELY HOPED WE COULD DO SO.

54. WANG SAID THEY COULD NOT BUT WANT MAKE CLEAR THEIR POINT VIEW REGARDING ISSUANCE OF AGREEMENT. THEY COULD NOT BUT EXPLAIN THEIR VIEWS REGARDING WHAT THEY CONSIDER TO BE INCORRECT VIEWS CONCERNING ANNOUNCEMENT.

55. WANG SAID THEY SAY US IS OCCUPYING CHINESE TERRITORY OF TAIWAN TODAY. ONLY AFTER AMERICAN FORCES IN TAIWAN AREA -- SUCH AS SEVENTH FLEET AND SO ON -- ARE WITHDRAWN COULD I ARGUE THAT US NOT OCCUPYING TAIWAN. THAT WOULD BE MATTER WHICH EVERYBODY WOULD WELCOME AND BE GLAD SEE CARRIED OUT.

56. WANG SAID I HAD TALKED MUCH ABOUT ALLEGED THREATS. AS LONG AS US FORCES NOT WITHDRAWN FROM TAIWAN AREA, AMERICAN THREAT WILL ALWAYS EXIST IN THAT AREA. THIS NOT THREAT ON PART CHINESE AGAINST US, BUT ON CONTRARY IS US THREAT AGAINST CHINA. THIS PLAIN FACT.

57. WANG SAID IN SPITE ALL THIS THEIR SIDE STILL WILLING NEGOTIATE WITH US IN PEACEFUL MANNER IN ATTEMPT ARRIVE AT SOLUTION THIS DISPUTE. IS NOT THIS ATTITUDE CHINESE SIDE VERY CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE? CERTAINLY WE ARE STILL IN PRESENT STAGE OF DISCUSSING ISSUANCE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

58. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT WE SHOULD CONFINE OUR DISCUSSION AT PRESENT STAGE TO ISSUANCE OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT. IN COURSE OF DISCUSSION WE SHOULD CONTINUOUSLY OVERCOME OBSTACLES IN OUR WAY AND KEEP ADVANCING. IF, AS I HAD SAID WE SHOULD CONFINE DISCUSSION STRICTLY TO QUESTION OF ANNOUNCEMENT ITSELF, WAS I WILLING ACCEPT THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT, WHICH HE CONSIDERED VERY REASONABLE? HIS DRAFT SAYS THAT "PRC AND USA ARE DETERMINED THAT THEY SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES

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DISPUTES BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT RESORTING TO THREAT OR USE OF FORCE." THIS SAYS BOTH SHOULD USE PEACEFUL MEANS, RATHER THAN MEANS OF WAR, TO SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM.

59. WANG SAID CERTAINLY HE WOULD BE PREPARED LISTEN TO ANY SUGGESTIONS OR OPINIONS I MIGHT HAVE REGARD TO THIS DRAFT.

60. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTED THAT WHEN I READ FROM MY JANUARY 12 DRAFT I HAD LEFT OUT PHRASE REGARDING "WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO INHERENT RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE." HE WONDERED IF I MEANT THAT I WOULD OMIT THIS CLAUSE FROM DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT. HE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF I WOULD CLARIFY THESE TWO POINTS HE HAD JUST RAISED..

61. I SAID FIRST I WOULD NOT TAKE OUR TIME TO REVIEW MY PREVIOUS COMMENTS REGARDING HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT. I HAD PREVIOUSLY SET FORTH REASONS I FELT IT WAS DEFECTIVE AS MEANINGFUL DECLARATION.

62. I SAID IN READING PARAGRAPH I HAD REFERRED TO THIS MORNING, I HAD NOT LEFT OUT CLAUSE ON SELF DEFENSE. I WAS SIMPLY TRYING TO READ IT IN CONTEXT SO AS TO MAKE EXACTLY CLEAR MEANING AND INTERPRETATION THAT APPEARS THERE.

63. I SAID WHAT I WAS SAYING WAS THAT IN MAKING DECLARATION EACH OF US WAS SAYING ON OWN BEHALF SIMPLY THAT WE WERE DOING THIS AND SAYING THIS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO WHAT EACH OF US CONSIDERED TO BE OUR INHERENT RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE. BY THAT MEANS I WAS ATTEMPTING TO MAKE JUST AS CLEAR AS I COULD WHAT THIS IN FACT SAYS, AT LEAST INSOFAR AS ENGLISH IS CONCERNED.

64. I SAID I WAS DOING THIS IN ORDER TRY CLEAR UP APPARENT CONFUSION THAT STILL EXISTED AS TO EXACT MEANING AND OUR INTENTION IN INCLUDING IT. I HOPED THAT WANG WOULD RECONSIDER IT IN THIS LIGHT,BECAUSE I FELT WANG MIGHT NOT HAVE FULLY UNDERSTOOD IT.

65. WANG SAID(AFTER CONSULTATION WITH LAI) I HAD STATED THAT I DID NOT CONSIDER THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT MEANINGFUL DECLARATION.

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DECLARATION. HOWEVER, I WOULD RECALL THAT ON DECEMBER 1, WHEN HE PUT FORTH THAT DRAFT, I HAD STATED THAT I WELCOMED THEIR ACTION IN PUTTING THAT DRAFT FORWARD, AND SAID THAT IT REPRESENTED PROGRESS IN TALKS. MY REMARKS ON THAT OCCASION SERVED TO PROVE THAT DECEMBER 1 DRAFT OF THEIR SIDE WAS MEANINGFUL DECLARATION.

SHILLOCK

MGG/JJ

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RMR
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Action Assigned to 1-6
Action taken
Control: 10883
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 18, 1956
8:40 PM
Date of Action
Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1513, FEBRUARY 18, 9 PM (SECTION 4 OF 5)

66. WANG SAID IF I DID CONSIDER THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT A CONSIDERABLE ADVANCE IN OUR DISCUSSION ON ISSUANCE OF ANNOUNCEMENT, HE DID NOT SEE WHY WE COULD NOT CONTINUE OUR PROGRESS ALONG THAT LINE.

67. WANG SAID WITH REGARD JANUARY 12 DRAFT OF USISIDE, HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS THAT AS REGARDS SELF DEFENSE CLAUSE INCLUDED IN THAT DRAFT, IT OT QUESTION OF WHAT SORT OF WORDS TO USE TO EXPRESS THAT IDEA. HE HAD SAID THAT IT WAS SUBSTANTIVE QUESTION WITH WHICH WE MUST DEAL.

68. WANG SAID IF I GENUINELY HOPED THAT WE SHOULD MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS IN TALKS, THEN HE WOULD HOPE I WOULD BE ABLE SET FORTH MORE CONCRETE OPINIONS ON BASIS THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT AT NEXT MEETING.

69. WANG SAID IF IT MY INTENTION TO INSIST ON THIS CLAUSE REGARDING SELF DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, AND KEEP HECKLING ABOUT THIS CLAUSE IN OUR DISCUSSIONS, HE JUST DIDN'T SEE HOW WE COULD MAKE ANY PROGRESS IN OUR DISCUSSIONS.

70. I REPLIED THAT I HAD ONLY TWO BRIEF THINGS. FIRST, I DID SAY THAT I WELCOMED THEIR DRAFT OF DECEMBER 1 AND DID CONSIDER IT ADVANCE OVER POSITION WANG HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN MAINTAINING.

71. I SAID I NOT ONLY SAID THIS, BUT I HAD SHOWN THAT I THOUGHT THIS WAS CASE BY MY TAKING HIS DRAFT AS BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION AND BY AGREEING ACCEPT IT AS DECLARATION WITH TWO SMALL AMEDMENTS THAT WE HAD SUGGESTED. IT FRANKLY JUST HAD NOT OCCURRED TO ME THAT WANG WOULD FIND THIS SELF

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DEFENSE CLAUSE OBJECTIONABLE OR THAT HE WOULD MAKE ISSUE OF IT.

72. I SAID I CERTAINLY HAD NO INTENTION OR DESIRE TO BUILD IT UP INTO ISSUE, BUT WANG HAD INSISTED ON DOING SO. AGAIN, WANG HAD JUST SAID HE CONSIDERED THIS MATTER OF SUBSTANCE. HOW ELSE COULD I INTERPRET HIS STATEMENTS THAN AS SUBSTANTIVE DEMAND ON HIS PART THAT US RENOUNCE ITS VIEWS REGARDING MERITS OF OUR DISPUTES. I HAD NOTHING MORE TO SAY.

73. WANG REPLIED THAT I HAD TERMED BY AMENDMENTS TO HIS DRAFT AS VERY SMALL CHANGES, BUT HE DID NOT THINK THEY WERE VERY SMALL CHANGES. HE CONSIDERED THEM TO BE STILL INSISTING ON MY ORIGINAL POSITION. HE DID NOT CONSIDER THEM AMENDMENTS IN TRUE SENSE OF WORD. THEY WERE RATHER A FORM OF INSISTENCE ON MY ORIGINAL POSITION.

74. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT IN MAKING THESE CHANGES I DID NOT INTEND BUILD UP ISSUE OVER SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE. IF, AS I STATED, IT NOT MY INTENT TO BUILD UP INTO ISSUE, THEN HE DIDN'T SEE WHY I HAD INSISTED ON THIS ISSUE.

75. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO SAID THAT IT NOT MY INTENT DEMAND OR REQUIRE PREREQUISITE. IN VIEW OF FACT THAT SELF DEFENSE CLAUSE HAD BECOME ISSUE BETWEEN US AND CONSTITUTES PREREQUISITE ON US PART, THIS SELF DEFENSE CLAUSE HAD BECOME OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS OF TALKS.

76. WANG SAID IT WAS TO BE HOPED THAT AT NEXT MEETING I WOULD BE ABLE PUT FORTH SUGGESTIONS AND OPINIONS THAT WOULD HELP PROGRESS OF TALKS.

77. WANG SAID IF I HAD NOTHING ELSE, HE WOULD LIKE BRING UP ANOTHER MATTER. ON MY ASSENT, HE READ PREPARED STATEMENT SAYING THAT CHINESE SIDE HAD AT VERY START THESE TALKS SUBMITT COMPLETE LIST OF ALL AMERICANS IN PRISON IN CHINA. THEY HAD ALL ALONG BEEN CONCERNED WITH STATUS OF CHINESE IN PRISON IN US. IN SPITE OF REPEATED REQUESTS THAT WE SUBMIT LIST CHINESE IN US PRISONS, US SIDE NOT ONLY FAILED SUBMIT SUCH LIST BUT DECLARED IT HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF CHINESE IN PRISON.

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78. WANG SAID HE HAD LONG AGO POINTED OUT THAT THAT ASSERTION DID NOT TALLY WITH FACTS. ACCORDING INFORMATION OFFERED BY RETURNED CHINESE THERE ACTUALLY MANY CHINESE UNJUSTIFIABLY KEPT US PRISONS. HE WOULD AGAIN CALL MY ATTENTION TO QUESTION OF CHINESE IN US PRISONS AND WOULD APPRECIATE EXPLICIT ANSWER FROM ME.

79. WANG SAID HE FAILED SEE WHY MY SIDE HAD THUS FAR NOT TAKEN ANY APPROPRIATE MEASURES IN REGARD TO THESE IMPRISONED CHINESE, NOR COULD HE UNDERSTAND WHY US SO FAR REFUSED PROVIDE EITHER THEIR SIDE OR INDIAN EMBASSY WITH INFORMATION ABOUT THESE PEOPLE, OR WHY US WOULD NOT PERMIT INDIAN EMBASSY ADVISE THESE IMPRISONED PEOPLE OF CONTENTS OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN CHINA AND US OF SEPTEMBER 10, 1955. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, HOW COULD INDIAN EMBASSY BE EXPECTED FULLY CARRY OUT FUNCTIONS PROVIDED IN AGREEMENT. THIS WAS SITUATION HIGHLY DISSATISFACTORY THEIR SIDE.

80. WANG SAID CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT SITUATION OF 27 CHINESE WHOSE NAMES HE GAVE ME IN SIX SEPARATE LISTS WITH REQUEST THAT I LOOK INTO CASES AND GIVE ACCOUNTING FOR THEM. LAST MEETING, WITHOUT MAKING ANY INVESTIGATION, I HAD MADE CASUAL REMARK THAT THEY ALL FREE DEPART. THAT REMARK NOT MADE WITH SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY. ALL THESE PEOPLE BEING SUBJECTED OBSTRUCTION, NOT ABLE RETURN. US SIDE HAD EVERY RESPONSIBILITY LOOK INTO THEIR CASES IN EARNEST, AND GIVE ACCOUNTING FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL.

81. WANG SAID THIS MORNING HE WOULD AGAIN HAND ME LIST OF FOUR CHINESE WHOSE RETURN BEING PREVENTED AND REQUEST ME LOOK INTO THEIR CASES AND GIVE ACCOUNTING OF THEM. PARTICULARS ABOUT THEIR SITUATION WERE SET FORTH IN PAPERS HE HANDING ME. (HANDED OVER LIST, TRANSMITTED BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM).

82. I SAID I THOUGHT IT WAS NECESSARY TO RECALL THAT WE CAME HERE TO DISCUSS CIVILIANS WHO DESIRED RETURN. WANG WOULD RECALL THAT WE DISCUSSED SUBJECT OF LISTS, AND THAT WHEN WE BEGAN TALKS I HAD GIVEN HIM LIST OF AMERICANS WHO WE HAD POSITIVE EVIDENCE DESIRED RETURN AND WERE BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO, INCLUDING THOSE IMPRISONED IN WANG'S COUNTRY.

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83. I SAID IT NO PART OF TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THESE TALKS OR OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO INVESTIGATE STATUS ALL CHINESE IN UNITED STATES. THERE WAS ONLY ONE QUESTION BETWEEN US, ONE QUESTION THAT IS CONCERN OF INDIAN EMBASSY IN US. THAT IS, US HAS UNEQUIVOCALLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY STATED THAT CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRE RETURN PRC ENTITLED DO SO. SOLE QUESTION IS WHETHER US HAS AND IS CARRYING OUT THAT OBLIGATION.

84. I SAID I HERE AND MY GOVERNMENT ALSO HAD CATEGORICALLY WITHOUT CONDITION STATED THAT WE HAVE CARRIED OUT OBLIGATION. IN EVENT THAT ANY CHINESE IN US DESIRING RETURN FEELS HE BEING OBSTRUCTED, OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SETS UP DEFINITE CLEAR AND SIMPLE PROCEDURE. US HAD EVEN GONE BEYOND TERMS OF THAT ANNOUNCEMENT AND INVITED ANYONE WHO EVEN KNEW OF ANY CHINESE BEING OBSTRUCTED IN HIS DESIRE DEPART, OR WHO FELT HE BEING OBSTRUCTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY OR STATE DEPARTMENT.

85. I SAID THUS FAR, IN MORE THAN 5 MONTHS THAT HAD PASSED SINCE ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED NEITHER THESE PROCEDURES NOR ANY OTHER SOURCE HAD GIVEN ANY SPECIFIC EVIDENCE OF ANY KIND THAT ANY CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRED RETURN BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM DOING SO.

86. I SAID RAISING DEMANDS AND MAKING REQUESTS ENTIRELY OUTSIDE TERMS REFERENCE TALKS AND AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DID NOT OBSCURE THIS FACT. NONE OF THIS COULD EXCUSE CONTINUED FAILURE WANG'S GOVERNMENT CARRY OUT ITS COMMITMENTS WITH REGARD PRECISE AMERICANS WE WERE DISCUSSING AT TIME THIS ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED. THERE NOTHING HYPOTHETICAL OR THEORETICAL ABOUT THOSE AMERICANS. THERE NOTHING HYPOTHETICAL OR THEORETICAL ABOUT WHO IS INTERFERING WITH THEIR RETURN.

87. I SAID IN ONLY ONE CASE THAT HE HAD THUS FAR BROUGHT MY ATTENTION DID THERE APPEAR BE ANY SUBSTANTIAL ALLEGAT ON THAT US COULD BE OBSTRUCTING HIS RETURN. THAT WAS CASE OF MR. YUAN JUI-HSIANG, WHICH I HAD TOLD HIM I WAS LOOKING INTO,

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AND WHOSE NAME HE HAD GIVEN ME JANUARY 12. WANG'S STATEMENT REGARDING HIM WAS TO EFFECT HE BEEN SUMMONED BY IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES, INTERROGATED IN JULY 1954, AND TAKEN INTO CUSTODY.

88. I SAID I HAD HAD VERY THOROUGH CHECK MADE OF ALL OUR IMMIGRATION OFFICES AND HAD NOT BEEN ABLE CONFIRM HE BEEN TAKEN INTO CUSTODY AT ANY TIME, NOR BEEN ABLE POSITIVELY IDENTIFY THAT HE HAD HAD ANY BUSINESS WITH IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES. HOWEVER, I WOULD BE GLAD TRY TO GO FURTHER INTO THIS IF WANG WOULD FURNISH ME FURTHER DETAILS. WANG'S STATEMENT SAID HE SUMMONED IN JULY 1954. IF WANG COULD GIVE ME EXACT DATE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL. IT WOULD ALSO BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL IF WANG COULD GIVE ME PARTICULAR PLACEI WHERE THIS TOOK PLACE. I SHOULD PRESUME THIS INFORMATION SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FROM SOURCES WANG HAD USED. IT WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL IF WANG COULD GIVE ME ANY INFORMATION ON HOW HE SPELLED HIS NAME IN ENGLISH LETTERS. WE HAD LOOKED INTO POSSIBLE ALTERNATE SPELLINGS UNDER VARIOUS DIALECTS THAT MIGHT BE GIVEN TO HIS CHINESE CHAPACTERS, BUT HAD BEEN UNABLE TO IDENTIFY HIM. AS WANG ALSO KNEW, IT ENTIRELY POSSIBLE HE MIGHT HAVE ADOPTED A PERSONALIZED SPELLING OF NAME -- A SPELLING OF HIS OWN FOR HIS NAME. OR HE MIGHT HAVE PARTIALLY ANGLICIZED HIS NAME. ANY INFORMATION WANG COULD GIVE ME IN THIS REGARD WOULD BE HELPFUL IN LOOKING INTO THIS MATTER.

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Action Assigned to

Action Taken

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Action
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Control: 10887
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 18, 1956
9:53 PM

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1513, FEBRUARY 18, 9 PM (SECTION 5 OF 5)

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

90. WANG SAID I HAD SAID I CAME HERE TO DISCUSS AND RESOLVE QUESTION OF CIVILIANS BOTH SIDES WHO DESIRE RETURN. I HAD REFERRED TO DECLARATION BY US THAT ALL THOSE CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN FREE DO SO. I HAD SAID THERE NO OBSTRUCTION WHATEVER ON PART US AGAINST THEIR RETURN. IT ONE THING TO SAY THIS IN ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT IT IMPORTANT TO LOOK INTO FACTS. THEY HAD ALWAYS WELCOMED ANY NEWS GIVEN HIM REGARDING RETURN OF CERTAIN BATCH CHINESE AND WHENEVER THEY ALSO HAD KNOWLEDGE ANY RETURN CHINESE THEY ALWAYS EXPRESSED WELCOME.

91. WANG SAID HOWEVER ON OTHER HAND, THEIR ATTENTION REPEATEDLY BEEN CALLED TO FACT MANY CHINESE DESIRE RETURN BUT IN FACT UNABLE DO SO. THAT CONCERNS NAMES THOSE PEOPLE HE HAD GIVEN ME AND REQUEST I LOOK INTO THOSE CASES.

92. WANG SAID WITH REGARD YUAN, THEIR HOPE WAS US AUTHORITIES WOULD CONTINUE LOOK INTO THIS MATTER. WHEN HIS SIDE RECEIVED FURTHER INFORMATION, HE WOULD CERTAINLY BE GLAD INFORM ME.

93. WANG SAID HE NEXT WANTED CALL MY ATTENTION TO QUESTION OF CHINESE IN US PRISONS. THESE PEOPLE WHO DESIRE RETURN HAVE NOT BEEN INFORMED OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BETWEEN US AND THEIR SIDE VERY CONCERNED REGARD WELFARE THESE PEOPLE. NOW QUESTION OF THOSE CHINESE IN US PRISONS IS NOT QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THERE ARE CHINESE IN US PRISONS, BUT IS QUESTION OF HOW MANY THEM IN US PRISONS. I HAD REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO IMPRISONED AMERICANS IN CHINA. HE SURE I ABLE UNDERSTAND SIMILAR CONCERN THEIR PART REGARDING CHINESE IN PRISON IN US. THEY WOULD LIKE LEARN ABOUT INFORMATION ON THEIR SITUATION.

94. I SAID I HAD NOTHING MORE ON THAT SUBJECT BUT DID HAVE ANOTHER BRIEF SUBJECT.

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95. I SAID HE WOULD RECALL THAT AT OUR 23RD MEETING ON OCTOBER 27 I HAD RAISED WITH HIM AND DISCUSSED AT THAT MEETING AS WELL AS AT 24TH MEETING OCTOBER 3, THE QUESTION OF AMERICAN PERSONNEL MISSING DURING KOREAN HOSTILITIES FOR WHOM NO ACCOUNTING BEEN MADE FROM HIS SIDE. I WOULD NOT REVIEW REASONS SET FORTH THAT TIME REGARDING REASONS WHY WE THOUGHT HIS SIDE HAD INFORMATION CONCERNING THEM.

96. I SAID HE WOULD RECALL THAT HE HAD SAID HE FELT THAT MAC IN KOREA WAS PROPER PLACE FOR DISCUSSION THIS QUESTION AND I HAD ASKED WHETHER HE WOULD RECOMMEND HIS AUTHORITIES THAT THEY AGREE DISCUSS THIS QUESTION THERE. MY GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED THIS SUGGESTION IN GOOD FAITH AND IN MEETING OF MAC NOVEMBER 26TH RAISED THIS QUESTION. ALTHOUGH REPRESENTATIVES HIS SIDE MADE SOME STATEMENTS REGARDING INDIVIDUALS HELD OUTSIDE KOREA AS NOT COMING UNDER AUTHORITY OF MAC, I PLEASED NOTE THAT THEY DID ACCEPT LIST. I WANTED POINT OUT THAT ALTHOUGH ALMOST THREE MONTHS HAD PASSED SINCE LISTS RECEIVED AND DISCUSSED IN MAC, NO INFORMATION YET RECEIVED AND NO INDICATION OF INTENT HIS SIDE PROVIDE INFORMATION. I SIMPLY WANTED STATE AT THIS TIME THAT MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED ITSELF ENTITLED TO REPLY WITHER IN MAC OR HERE, BECAUSE MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THIS STILL TO BE ONE OF PRACTICAL MATTERS BETWEEN US WHICH THESE TALKS WERE CONVENED TO CONSIDER.

97. WANG SAID I DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE REPLIED TO QUESTIONS HE HAD PUT TO ME.

98. WANG SAID AS TO US MILITARY PERSONNEL MISSING IN KOREA, HE HAD AT BEGINNING POINTED OUT THIS NOT MATTER TO BE DISCUSSED THESE MEETINGS. IT WAS PROPER FOR US TO RAISE QUESTION AT MAC IN KOREA. IT SHOULD EXPECT ANY REPLY IN SAME PLACE -- THAT IS, IN KOREA.

99. WANG SAID HE WOULD LIKE REMIND ME NOT TO CONFUSE THOSE MATTERS IN KOREA WITH PRESENT TALKS BETWEEN CHINA AND US. HE DID NOT CONSIDER IT PROPER OR WISE RAISE THIS MATTER AT THIS CONFERENCE.

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100. WANG SAID AS HE HAD SAID, IF US WAS CONCERNED OVER IMPRISONED AMERICANS IN CHINA, HIS SIDE ALSO ENTITLED KNOW ABOUT SITUATION OF CHINESE BEING IMPRISONED IN US. THEIR REQUEST FOR INFORMATION REGARDING IMPRISONED CHINESE IN US WAS EXACTLY WITHIN SCOPE OUR TALKS AND WAS MATTER WHICH CONCERNED IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

101. I SAID IT NOT NECESSARY RAISE MATTER HERE IF HIS REPRESENTATIVES IN KOREA WOULD BE INSTRUCTED GIVE REPLY. I HOPED THIS WOULD BE DONE.

102. WANG SAID HE DID NOT SEE HOW ISSUES IN KOREAN WAR COULD HAVE CONNECTION WITH CHINESE IN PRISON IN US.

103. I SAID I HAD NEVER SAID THERE WAS.

104. WANG SAID IF I NOT MAKING SUCH A CONNECTION, THEN WHY DID I NOT REPLY HIS QUESTIONS REGARDING IMPRISONED CHINESE IN US?

105. I SAID I DID NOT INTEND CONNECT TWO PROBLEMS.

106. WANG SAID HE HAD NO SUCH INTENTION, BUT HE HAD RAISED QUESTION IMPRISONED CHINESE IN US BUT I IN REPLY WAS TRYING EXCUSE MYSELF BY BRINGING UP MATTER MISSING PERSONS IN KOREA. COULD ONLY GIVE IMPRESSION I WAS TRYING CONFUSE THESE TWO MATTERS. HE HAD NO INTENTION DOING THIS.

107. I SAID I RECOGNIZED THAT BOTH QUESTIONS SEPARATE.

108. WANG SAID HE AGREED WITH ME THAT THEY SEPARATE.

109. I SAID WE WERE AGREED.

110. WANG SAID BUT QUESTION OF CHINESE IMPRISONED US STILL REMAINS.

111. I SAID I HAD NOTHING MORE.

112. WANG SAID IF I HAD NO ANSWER FOR HIM ON THIS QUESTIONR HE WOULD HOPE I WOULD DO SO NEXT MEETING. HE HAD STILL ANOTHER MATTER TAKE UP.

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- 4 - 1513, FEBRUARY 18, 9 PM (SECTION 5 OF 5) FROM GENEVA.

113. WANG SAID THIS CONCERNS MR. LIU YUNG-MING. AFTER HIS RETURN CHINA AND AFTER DIAGNOSIS, IT CONFIRMED LIU A VICTIM OF SCHIZOPHRENIA AND THIS HAD SOMETHING DO WITH ILL TREATMENT RECEIVED HANDS US. HIS GOVERNMENT NOW HAS DECIDED CURE HIM SO HE WILL BE RESTORED HIS HEALTH AT EARLY DATE. LIU WAS IN AMERICAN HOSPITAL FOR SIX YEARS, HOWEVER WHEN RETURNED HOSPITAL DID NOT GIVE HIM RECORDS AND INFORMATION REGARDING HIS DISEASE -- THE DIAGNOSIS AND ETIOLOGICAL INFORMATION CONCERNING HIS DISEASE. IN ORDER GIVE LIU EFFECTIVE TREATMENT, NECESSARY FOR HOSPITAL THEIR SIDE GET AND REFER TO SUCH INFORMATION. HE WOULD HOPE OUR SIDE WOULD RENDER ASSISTANCE AND GIVE NECESSARY MATERIALS SO LIU COULD BE CURED EARLY DATE.

114. I SAID I BE GLAD LOOK INTO MATTER. HAD REQUEST BEEN MADE THROUGH OTHER CHANNELS?

115. WANG SAID NO.

116. I ASKED IF DOCTOR HAD WRITTEN HOSPITAL?

117. WANG SAID NO.

118. I ASKED WHERE HE WANTED INFORMATION SENT, TO DOCTOR OR TO HOSPITAL?

119. WANG SAID PERHAPS WE COULD MAKE FURTHER ARRANGEMENTS IN DUE COURSE.

120. I SUGGESTED WE RETURN TO REGULAR SCHEDULE FOR NEXT MEETING.

121. WANG SUGGESTED THAT IN ORDER MAINTAIN AN INTERVAL IT BE FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24TH. I AGREED.

SHILLOCK

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☑ Reviewer ... Date 7/9/8

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
FEB 27 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secret
No. 22

February 19, 1956

Dear Walter:

A very cold Sunday afternoon and a chance to write you as it was not practical for me to go back to Prague this week. With the plane schedules and all it would have meant I would only have had Monday there. I hope I can get back onto the Thursday meeting schedule which works out best for me. However, I must confess I do not have much stomach for flying the kind of weather we have been having here. Last week I went up in the teeth of what can only be described as a real howling blizzard and it took us three hours for the Zurich-Prague leg which is normally about 1 3/4 hours flying time. There is no GCA at the Prague airport, and while I have lots of faith in Swissair I just do not enjoy this roaming around in a snowstorm feeling for the airport between the hills

As you can see, I am writing this myself, so please excuse the typing. We have heard nothing concerning Miss Howard's arrival except for the Department's message to Canberra, but I very much hope that she will show up next week. Fortunately both Dave and John type so that between them they managed to turn out yesterday's meeting.

Thanks very much for your helpful and I fear all too generous letter of Feburary 13. Frankly, I am finding it increasingly difficult to think up any new approaches, and I find it constitutionally repellent to just say the same old things. Tactically I also think it is not good. As you have also noted the less that is done the longer the meeting, and these straight five hour sessions are really wearing. Yesterday, I tried to keep it down to a reasonable length, and keep it to the point. There is a great temptation to try to answer everything every time, but it seems to me that it serves little purpose. At times I have feared I was somewhat ahead of the Department, but was particularly glad to note that your 1619 fully confirmed the line I have been building toward and which I fully developed yesterday.

I presume that everyone is very aware that we have now gone a long ways towards agreeing to talk with them about "tension in the Taiwan area" and much related thereto at such time as agreement may be reached on a declaration. It will be very difficult later to say that we cannot talk about it because it involves third parties. You will recall I raised this in para 4 of my 1241 back in December. It worries me a great deal as I just do not see what we say or do when, or perhaps, if we reach that stage.

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I was a little puzzled by your remark concerning the effect of any renunciation of force on the offshore islands. I have always assumed that when we said "Taiwan area" we were including the offshore islands and I believe that Wang thinks we do. It never occurred to me that we thought otherwise, and I do not believe I have ever given Wang any grounds for any other interprstation.

As you can see from yesterday's meeting I fear the "can of worms" of Chinese prisoners in the U.S. is finally opening up. I sure hope you have some good answers to suggest to me for the next meeting.

As a few minor matters. They are obviously keeping Wang very well informed here, and he has often been ahead of me in such matters as the details of the correspondence from the hospital concerning Liu Yung-ming, your conversations back there with the Indians etc. I certainly do not want the load the wires with any more telegraph traffic, but I believe on some of these matters it would be better to give me fairly complete summaries by telegram rather than rely on the pouch which is again very slow. On Liu Yung-Ming for example I had to build much of my argument around inference and deduction, and at the preceding meeting he knew all about Robertson's exchange with Mehta when I had no information at the time of the meeting. Nothing serious in the way of harm has happened thus far, but I would be in a much better position in such exchanges if I was sure I knew everything there was to be known on the subject, and there is always the chance I may some day stub my toe very badly, if I do not have fully current information.

I have been thinking about the question of Stanley's detail and have discussed it with him also. First, he is entirely willing to do anything the Department desires, although we is naturally loath to stay here for a prolonged period separated from his family. Next, I would, of course, be loath to lose him, but if I can be assured of keeping Dave would be willing to make a change. Next, the Consulate here is very hard pressed and I doubt very much they could spare a man for the approximately two full days a week that he would be occupied with the meetings. Stanley's knowledge of Chinese is also a very valuable asset and as an FSO he should get started in his career. All this brings me to a thought I throw out for you to work on. Why not assign him here to the Consulate over-complement? This would mean that he could start learning the consular ropes three days a week while working for me two days a week. He could bring over his family. Whatever happens to my talks there is likely to be some continuing contact here and it would be very useful to have some one stationed here with his back-

ground and knowledge of Chinese. It seems to me that it has much to recommend it. He could take his FSI training whenever the situation here permitted. I have not talked to Gowen about this.

Regards to all

Alex

P.S. Is there any basis for my theory that shift in Wang's attitude toward continuation of the meetings has resulted from something passed from New Delhi to Peiping, and Nehru anticipating his talks with the Secretary next month? That is, Nehru has told Peiping that if they do not upset the applecart by breaking off these talks. he will bring pressure on the Secretary when he sees him to agree to the Fomin meeting.

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496

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574

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38-L

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Control: 11872

Rec'd: FEBRUARY 21, 1956

8:53 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1526 FEBRURY 21, NOON

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DO/R

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FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING LIST FOUR NAMES HANDED ME BY WANG 37TH MEETING FEBRUARY 18 (MY TELEGRAM 1513, PARAGRAPH 81):

Privas

611.93/2-2156

PA

RECORD OFFICIAL USE ONLY FEB 27 1959

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GOWEN

GEM

Note: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) 11 a.m. 2/21/CWO-JRL.

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1954 FEB 21 PM 3 39

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

OUTGOING (497)
TELEGRAM
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Department of State

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575
10233
1956 FEB 21 PM 7 11
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1663
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

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Guidance for February 24 meeting.

1. Continue to affirm established US position both on renunciation force and implementation Agreed Announcement of September 10. Further repetition is necessary in present situation and you need not hesitate employ it. It is incumbent upon Chinese Communists to act both on our draft proposal on renunciation of force and on implementation Agreed Announcement. In absence new move by Wang, we must continue press our strong case for immediate affirmative action by Chinese Communists in both fields.

2. Draw attention to frequent Communist statements last meeting which dealt with substance disagreement between US and Communists in Taiwan area, such as "US has used force against Taiwan and has attacked China," and Communists "have full right to expel present occupation of Taiwan by US forces." Point out all these are one-sided Communist contentions which demonstrably false and involve the very points at issue between us. Problem at this stage is not to debate these contentions, but

DC/R
Mail 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RWClough/WFMcConaughy:ek 2/21/56 telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger - cleared in draft

11157

FEB 21 1956 P.M.

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Mr. Phleger
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but simply for each side to declare that it will not use force to impose its will.

3. Remind Communists that latest revision renunciation of force declaration was presented by US in effort arrive at acceptable formulation.

4. Remind Communists that we presented list detained Americans at outset of talks and that thirteen these Americans still held in Communist jails, despite Communist pledge September 10 take appropriate measures so they could return expeditiously. We did not demand or use any Chinese Communist list of Americans nor did we at any time agree to provide any list Chinese in US. Such demands are beyond scope Agreed Announcement. Latter provided that civilians both sides entitled return and that individual who believed he was being obstructed might appeal to representative of third power. US has scrupulously carried out all its commitments contained in Agreed Announcement including provision for wide publicity in US. No case of individual claiming obstruction has been brought to US Government's attention by Indian Embassy or anyone else, despite publicity given Announcement. Specific US obstruction alleged by Wang regarding only one of thirty-one Chinese named in recent Communist lists and information given this case so meager that US government unable trace or identify. Other names obviously supplied as part of propaganda effort to gloss over Communist failure carry out their part Agreed Announcement and to hide from world unpalatable fact that most Chinese in US

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US do not wish to return Communist China. (FYI Believe position outlined above will be sufficient reply to Communist pressure for information regarding Chinese in prisons and names Wang has submitted. No Chinese alien in prison has applied for repatriation and we do not wish to open up any hypothetical question in this regard. Discussion could prejudice release imprisoned Americans, even though latter held on political rather than ordinary felony charges and their desire for repatriation not disputed. END FYI)

5. Inform Communists US Government will inquire whether Liu Yung-ming hospital records available and supply if possible. Request Communists supply similar records for Wilma Bradshaw and Dilmus Kanady, who both suffering from mental illness at time release.

6. This guidance not yet seen by Secretary who returns to Washington 22nd. In absence supplementary instructions on 23rd you may assume his concurrence.

/Hoover, ACTING (cvg) HOOVER

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498

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40

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
FEB 27 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

February 22, 1956

SECRET

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

Letter No. 23

Dear Walter:

I tremendously appreciated your letter No. 31 transmitting various documents which I have found most useful and helpful, and this letter is primarily for the purpose of replying thereto.

I was greatly disappointed to receive a telegram from Bonn this morning, saying that Miss King could not arrive here until next Monday, so that means we will go through another meeting session without a secretary. Miss Ferguson, who formerly worked for me and is now Mr. Gowen's secretary, has most generously volunteered to forego her holiday today in order that I could get this reply off to you.

1. We all feel that Lindbeck's Paper on Treatment of Imprisoned American Civilians is a most admirable piece of work. It strikes an excellent note and, except for the last page where I have fairly substantial suggestions for rewriting conclusions, we only have nit picks. For your convenience in handling, I am enclosing a separate sheet giving our suggestions and I am retaining here the copy of the Paper which you transmitted to us.

2. The DRF Intelligence Report on the Foreign Ministers' Conference. This is also an excellent piece of work and except for the following I concur with it.

In the abstract and again on page 3 the paper gives the impression that the United States supports the CRC "legal" closure of the mainland ports. I had always understood, and Dave confirms that it was also his understanding up to the time he left the Department, that we had never taken a position in support of this port closure. In fact it is my recollection that we protested it at the

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

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Lot 72 D 415

at the time it was imposed and I do not recall that we have ever withdrawn our protest. In any event I feel certain that Chou would never raise with us the question of GRC termination of this measure which he would regard as a "domestic", that is GRC-PRC matter. He might raise the question of U.S. material aid to the GRC in maintaining this policy and, thus, the U.S. "interference" in a Chinese "domestic" matter.

With respect to the general thesis of Section IV, particularly the bottom of page 7 and page 8, it seems to me most unlikely that the Chinese Communists would attempt an invasion of Taiwan (as opposed to the Offshore Islands) as a means of coercing the United States into a Foreign Ministers' conference. If the Chicoms had reached the point of being able to mount such an invasion, they would be shooting for the complete elimination of the GRC and the possession of Taiwan. They would certainly not be prepared to suspend any such invasion for a Foreign Ministers' conference or have any interest in such a conference until the battle had been decided.

While not disagreeing with any of the listed motives under Section III of the Chinese Communists pressing for a Foreign Ministers' conference, it seems that this Section slights a very major element. One of the reasons Chou made his bid for negotiations at Bandung was his appreciation of the strong world and neutralist sentiment for peaceful negotiations and the avoidance of war. On the positive side, the Chicoms want to enlist this sentiment behind their claims and policies. On the negative side, the Chicoms appreciate that it would be politically most unwise for them to initiate military action, even against the Offshores, without first having established the impression that they had exhausted all avenues of peaceful negotiation. By pressing for a Foreign Ministers' meeting they are able to capitalize on this sentiment whether or not we agree to such a meeting. If we do not agree, they consider they will be able to reinforce their pose of willingness to negotiate being rebuffed by the United States. If we do agree to such a meeting and no "reduction of tensions in the Taiwan area" is accomplished, they will similarly hope to reinforce their pose of "reasonableness" being frustrated by U.S. "unreasonableness". In each of these situations they will hope to capitalize on the almost general absence of international support for the GRC position on the Offshore Islands and the deteriorating international position of the GRC as the de jure government of China, further to isolate the United States in its position with respect to the GRC.

3. Contingent Press Release in Event of Break-Off. I think that the Department's statement is excellent and it well avoids the danger of slamming doors and accentuating any crisis atmosphere that may be created. I have no suggestions.

In this

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In this regard I am enclosing a copy of the contingent break-off statement which I drafted prior to the February 9 meeting on the basis of the Department's 1591. I am keeping this in the brief case for use, if necessary, and would appreciate any comments or suggestions the Department may have. Of course, both of these statements may require some modification to fit them to the situation. As far as my statement is concerned, for maximum effectiveness, it would have to be given out as I left the meeting room and would have to appear largely extemporaneous. In any event I suggest that you keep the text handy on meeting days so that if a break does unexpectedly come, it can be used as a basis for a telephone call from me letting you know exactly what I have said.

4. White Paper Summarizing Talks. Both Dave and I have carefully gone over the Historical Division's draft paper summarizing the talks to date. Our intention was to transmit our detailed suggestions as with Lindbeck's paper. However, we both found that this was not practical as, frankly, we feel the paper is in need of complete rewriting. I do not feel that it effectively presents our case, and its shifting back and forth between the chronological and subject approach can only leave the reader very confused. I certainly would not want it to represent the official summary of our talks. Dave is starting to work on an entirely new draft which we will go over together and try to get to you as quickly as possible.

I particularly appreciated the memorandum on the China portion of the discussions with the British as well as Robertson's conversation with Koo. I especially felt that Robertson's comments to Koo on Chiang's recent statements were very well taken and I was glad to see this said.

I will, of course, be glad to go over to Paris if it is thought that it would be useful and I would hope to hear one way or another as soon as possible in order that I may make my plans. I have made an engagement in Prague for Sunday, March 4, which I would be loath to break but could fit in almost any other time.

I should have previously called your attention to the "question" Wang asked me at the last meeting (paragraph 11 mytel 1513). This is the best and frankest thumbnail summary of their position that he has given to date.

I expect to go back to Prague Saturday morning and return here on Tuesday.

All the best to everyone.

Sincerely,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Enclosures:

1. Comments on Draft 1/30/56
2. Break-Off Statement

COMMENTS ON DRAFT (1/30/56) WHITE PAPER "AMERICAN CIVILIANS IMPRISONED BY CHINESE COMMUNISTS 1949 - 1956".

Page 1 - Introduction

The following is suggested as possibly somewhat preferable wording for paragraph 5: "The two purposes of this policy that have emerged most clearly are: first, to utilize these defenseless Americans as hostages to attempt to obtain political concessions from the United States; and, secondly, to force these Americans to make spurious confessions designed to discredit the United States."

Page 8

Omit "apparently on the contention that he was a prisoner of war" in penultimate sentence of first full paragraph. I am not clear that this was in fact Chicom's contention and its inclusion tends to give an impression of some justification for Buol's detention when in fact there was none.

Page 9

Typographical error in footnote - should be spelled Shih instead of Chih.

Page 14

Delete "civilians" in last line of paragraph ending at top of page. My talks at that time actually also dealt with military personnel.

Suggest that last sentence beginning at bottom of page would read clearer if worded "They were, in other words, expected to build a case against their own country out of their own lives and actions in support of Communist charges, etc."

Page 22

Suggest second sentence, second paragraph, would be somewhat strengthened by insertion "public" preceding "information o' local political and economic conditions, etc.".

Page 25

Suggest last sentence, penultimate paragraph, be reworded so as to make it clear it refers to rights of communication with U.K. Charge, etc., covered by Agreed Announcement and not right of release which is not "trivial". Suggest some wording along following lines: "Most of them have even been denied the meager privilege of communicating with the United Kingdom Charge at Peiping and receiving visits from him pending their release as was provided for in the Communist pledge of September 10, 1955."

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Page 30

It seems to me we need to find some better conclusion than giving currency to the ostensibly plausible Communist proposition that there is a difference between those who have "committed offences against the law and those who have abided by the law". As it stands I do not think that we make a convincing case for the valid conclusion of the last paragraph. My suggestion would be something along the following lines as a substitution for the last three paragraphs:

"This commitment clearly applies to all Americans, and particularly to those in prison. As the Chinese Communists had finally on September 6, 1955 agreed to grant exit permits to those Americans who, although not in prison, had up to that time also been denied permission to leave the country, only the cases of Americans in prison were under discussion at the time the Chinese Communists made this public commitment. It will be noted that the Announcement states and it was clearly understood that the Chinese Communists had committed themselves 'further to adopt appropriate measures' so that these remaining imprisoned Americans could 'expeditiously' return.

"Nevertheless the pattern of continued Chinese Communist efforts to use these innocent and unfortunate victims of Chinese Communist 'justice' for political purposes is clear. On the date of the Announcement, September 10, 1955, and four days before making their demand for a meeting with the Secretary of State, the Chinese Communists announced the release of ten of these imprisoned Americans. On October 27, 1955, the date of the opening of the 4-Power Foreign Ministers' meeting in Geneva, and also the date the Chinese Communists embodied their demand for a meeting with the Secretary of State in a formal document, the Chinese Communists announced the release of two more imprisoned Americans. On November 17, 1955, the day following the close of the 4-Power Foreign Ministers' meeting, the release of three imprisoned Americans was announced by Peiping. Since that time only one American, Dr. Homer Bradshaw, has been released, it being clear even to Peiping that in his case Mrs. Bradshaw would shortly pass away in China as a result of the treatment she had received in prison unless Dr. Bradshaw, who is a physician, could accompany her from the country.

"In the meanwhile the Chinese Communists have tried hard to assert that the remaining thirteen Americans imprisoned, ~~actually~~ EQUALLY covered by their September 10 commitment, are somehow not entitled to return because they have 'committed offences against the law', and, on the other hand, to intimate that their return depends on 'improvement in relations', that is, the granting to Communist China of political concessions by the United States.

"Thus the Chinese Communist failure to honor its pledge of September 10, 1955 to release all imprisoned Americans, and its pattern of action with regard to those prisoners who have been released, again conclusively establish the continued efforts of Peiping to use innocent Americans as political hostages and propaganda pawns."

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Geneva

, 1956

PRESS RELEASE

I regret to announce that Ambassador Wang has rebuffed my efforts to continue to seek with him agreement on a declaration which would renounce the threat or use of force generally and particularly in the Taiwan area, and which would unqualifiedly provide that differences between the United States and Communist China be settled only by peaceful means.

Ambassador Wang made it clear that his refusal further to meet with me was based upon the Chinese Communists' unwillingness to drop the demand that the U.S. give up its right to self-defense against armed attack in the Taiwan area, and in fact concede to them the very goals for which they would use armed force.

* Ambassador Wang also informed me of the Chinese Communists' intent to denounce our Agreed Announcement of September 10 with respect to the return of civilians. Such unilateral action cannot relieve the Chinese Communists from the obligation which they assumed in that Agreement expeditiously to release all detained Americans, and the U.S. continues to expect them to fulfill that obligation and promptly to release the thirteen Americans still detained in Communist Chinese prisons.

*This paragraph to be used and penultimate paragraph deleted if Wang denounces Agreed Announcement.

Chinese in the United States continue to be entirely free to return to mainland China and the U.S. offers no obstruction whatever to their departure. The Indian Embassy in the U.S. has not brought to the attention of my Government any case of a Chinese who claims he is being

prevented from leaving, nor has Ambassador Wang here presented any factual evidence of obstruction.

* In spite of the Chinese Communist commitment of September 10 last year expeditiously to release all detained Americans, thirteen Americans still remain in Chinese Communist prisons. The US continues to expect the Chinese Communists to fulfill that commitment and promptly release those unfortunate people.

*This paragraph to be used and second paragraph deleted unless Wang denounces Agreed Announcement.

I have informed Ambassador Wang that any further communications between the two sides can be transmitted through our respective consular offices here in Geneva.

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54-H
Action

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1547, FEBRUARY 24, 4 PM

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1 - 6

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FROM JOHNSON

FOUR AND ONE HALF HOUR MEETING THIS MORNING. NO PROGRESS WHATSOEVER.

RENUNCIATION TOOK FAMILIAR LINES FOR THREE AND HALF HOURS WITH DISCUSSION BECOMING VERY DIFFUSE WANG REITERATING USUAL LINES OF FOREIGN VERSUS DOMESTIC NATURE DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. ALSO TRIED HARD TO SOUNE ME OUT 1) ON U.S. WILLINGNESS HOLD FONMIN MEETING AS "PRACTICABLE AND FEASIBLE MEANS" MENTIONED IN DECLARATION AND 2) ON LINKED QUESTION WHETHER ANY FLEXIBILITY OUR POSITION RE STATUS QUO TAIWAN. CONTEXT THIS LINE CARRIED IMPLICATION THEY CONCERNED OUR INTENT IS TO REGARD DECLARATION END IN ITSELF IN MAINTAINING STATUS QUO AND RELIEVING US ANY OBLIGATION CONTINUE SEEK "RELAXATION TENSIONS TAIWAN AREA".

I REPLIED ALONG LINES OUR FIRM INTENT FULLY CARRY OUT ALL TERMS DECLARATION AND THAT UNDER LAST PARA DRAFT DID NOT EXCLUDE ANY "MEANS" BUT AT SAME TIME ENTIRELY UNWILLING AGREE FONMIN MEETING ONLY SUCH MEANS. IN ANY EVENT SUCH DISCUSSION WAS PREMATURE AND CHICOM ATTEMPT ESTADLISH UNACCEPTABLE CONDITION PRECEDENT TO DECLARATION.

DID NOT MEET MY REITERATED CHARACTERIZATION SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE AS UNILATERAL RESERVATION BY EACH RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE ALONG LINES IT TOOK AT LAST MEETING. HE ALSO REFUSED MY REPEATEDLY PROFFERED OPPORTUNITIES DENY THEIR INTENT

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IN DEMANDING WITHDRAWAL SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WAS MOTIVATED BY DESIRE REPRESENT THIS AS RENUNCIATION BY US ITS POSITION WITH RESPECT TAIWAN, STICKING TO LINE THIS REQUIRED THEM RECOGNIZE OUR POSITION THERE. CHARACTERIZED OUR INSISTENCE ON SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE AS RAISING QUESTION WHETHER U.S. REALLY WANTED ANY DECLARATION. SOME SUGGESTION THEY NOW UNWILLING INCLUDE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TAIWAN.

HE LED OFF ON IMPLEMENTATION WITH BRIEF STATEMENT GIVING ME THREE MORE NAMES AND I REPLIED WITH LONG STATEMENT ALONG USUAL LINES STRESSING NOT SINGLE FACT OR SOLID EVIDENCE SHOWING ANY CHINESE OBSTRUCTED IN DEPARTURE FROM U.S. HE AGAIN PUSHED PRISONER QUESTION IMPLYING KNOWLEDGE "MORE THAN HUNDRED" CHINESE IN U.S. PRISONS.

NEXT MEETING THURSDAY MARCH 1.

DEPARTING FOR PRAGUE SATURDAY MORNING, RETURNING TUESDAY.

GOWEN

OW

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577

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57-D

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Action FE

Info RMR

Control: 14025
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10:43 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1554, FEBRUARY 24, 9 PM (SECTION 1 OF 8)

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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 38 MEETING WITH FOLLOWING PREPARED STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE:

A. MR. AMBASSADOR, WE HAVE NOW SPENT MUCH TIME IN DISCUSSING AND ATTEMPTING TO ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT TO A DECLARATION ON THE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE THAT WOULD ENABLE US TO PROCEED TO THE NEXT STAGE OF OUR TALKS IN AN ATMOSPHERE FREE FROM THE THREAT OF WAR. AS I UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION THE ONLY OBJECTION YOU HAVE HAD TO THE DRAFT WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING WAS TO THE CLAUSE RELATING TO SELF-DEFENSE. YOUR STATED OBJECTIONS TO THIS CLAUSE HAVE BEEN BASED ON THE ASSERTION THAT IT PREJUDICED THE VIEWS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO THE MERITS OF OUR DISPUTE IN THE TAIWAN AREA, REQUIRING YOUR GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNIZE THE VALIDITY OF THE U.S. POSITION THERE AND THUS PREVENTING YOUR GOVERNMENT FROM PEACEFULLY MAINTAINING AND ASSERTING ITS POSITION IN THIS REGARD. IF THIS WERE A FACT YOUR OBJECTIONS WOULD CERTAINLY HAVE VALIDITY AND I WOULD BE ENTIRELY PREPARED TO RECOGNIZE THEM.

B. HOWEVER, AS I HAVE REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT, I HAVE NO SUCH INTENT, AND THE PLAIN LANGUAGE OF AT LEAST THE ENGLISH TEXT HAS NO SUCH MEANING OR CONNOTATION. I HAVE REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT THAT ALL THAT THE TEXT SAYS IS THAT IN MAKING THIS DECLARATION EACH OF US STATES THAT HE IS DOING SO WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO WHAT EACH OF US CONSIDER OUR INHERENT RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL AND

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FEB 27 1956

COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. AS I POINTED OUT AT OUR LAST MEETING, THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT IS RECOGNIZING THE MERITS OF ANY AND ALL U.S. CLAIMS IN THIS REGARD ANY MORE THAN MY GOVERNMENT IS RECOGNIZING THE MERITS OF ANY AND ALL CLAIMS OF YOUR GOVERNMENT IN THIS REGARD. I HAVE TRIED TO MAKE THIS JUST AS CLEAR AS I COULD AND PARTICULARLY AT OUR LAST MEETING EXPLAINED IT IN VERY SIMPLE TERMS. THEREFORE, IF THIS WAS IN FACT THE BASIS OF THE OBJECTION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO THIS CLAUSE, I HOPE THAT IT HAS RECONSIDERED ITS POSITION IN THE LIGHT OF MY EXPLANATIONS.

C. I HOPE THAT IT IS NOT THE INTENTION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO DEMAND AS PRIOR TR CONCOMITANT CONDITION FOR THE ISSUANCE OF OUR DECLARATION THAT MY GOVERNMENT AGREE TO A RESOLUTION ON YOUR TERMS OF ANY OF THE DISPUTES BETWEEN US. IF THIS IS NOI THE INTENT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT I SEE NO REASON YOU CANNOT PROMPTLY AGREE TO THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT DECLARATION WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING AND PASS ON TO THE DISCUSSION OF OTHER MATTERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THESE TALKS AND THE TEXT OF THAT DECLARATION.

2. WANG, READING FROM HIS NOTES, SAID I HAD PROPERLY STATED THAT WE INDEED HAVE SPENT SO MUCH TIME ON DISCUSSION OF DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE OF FORCE. IT ALL THE MORE UNSATISFACTORY THAT IN SPENDING SO MUCH TIME WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE REACH AGREEMENT.

3. CHIEF REASON FOR THIS DELAY HAS BEEN FACT THAT THERE STILL EXISTS DIFFERENCE OF PRINCIPLE BETWEEN TWO OF US ON THIS QUESTION. IT NOW FOR BOTH US TRY OVERCOME AND RESOLVE DIFFERENCES EXISTING BETWEEN US. IT ALSO NECESSARY FOR US TO CLARIFY SOME OF POINTS WE ENCOUNTERING IN DISCUSSION SUCH A DECLARATION.

4. WANG, TURNING TO PREPARED STATEMENT, SAID I HAD REPEATEDLY STATED AT LAST MEETING THAT IN MAKING DECLARATION IT NOT THE INTENTION TO DISPUTE OR PREJUDICE VIEWS OF EITHER SIDE NOR TO ABANDON EITHER'S POSITION IN ANY OUR DISPUTES. I HAD AGAIN MADE STATEMENT ALONG THAT LINE TO EFFECT DECLARATION DOES NOT

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REQUIRE ANY SIDE TO PREJUDICE ITS POSITION OR TO GIVE UP ITS VIEWS IN REGARD OUR DISPUTES. AT LAST MEETING I HAD ALSO STATED THAT MY SIDE ALREADY HAD ACCEPTED DECEMBER 1 DRAFT HIS SIDE AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSION WITH ONLY TWO SMALL AMENDMENTS.

5. WANG SAID HOWEVER THE TWO AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED BY ME ACTUALLY CONTAINED THE ENTIRE DEMANDS OF MY SIDE WITHOUT ANY MODIFICATION, WHICH REQUIRES HIS SIDE TO ABANDON ITS POSITION AND WHICH MY SIDE HAD INSISTED UPON ALL ALONG SINCE BEGINNING TALKS. AS HIS SIDE HAS LONG AGO CATEGORICALLY STATED, THAT WAS WHAT HIS SIDE ABSOLUTELY CAN NEVER ACCEPT.

6. WANG SAID IN FIRST PLACE, MY JANUARY 12 DRAFT REQUIRES HIS SIDE TO RECOGNIZE U.S. CLAIM TO RIGHT INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. I HAD STATED THAT U.S. IS IN TAIWAN AREA PURELY FOR SELF-DEFENSE AND THAT PRESENCE OF U.S. FORCES ON TAIWAN ALLEGEDLY WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS. IN OTHER WORDS, INTENTION MY SIDE IN INCLUDING SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IN DRAFT WAS TO REQUIRE HIS SIDE TO RECOGNIZE VALIDITY OF CONTINUED U.S. SEIZURE TAIWAN AND TO RECOGNIZE U.S.-CHIANG KAI-SHEK TREATY. HOW CAN THIS BE EXPLAINED AS OTHER THAN DEMAND THAT THEIR SIDE ABANDON ITS POSITION ON OUR DISPUTE?

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1554, FEBRUARY 24, 9 PM (SECTION 2 OF 8)

PRIORITY

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7. WANG SAID SECONDLY, MY DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT PROPOSED AND HE WOULD QUOTE "THEY WILL NOT RESORT TO THREAT OR USE FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA OR ELSEWHERE". THAT IS ATTEMPT TO CONFUSE INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE OF CHINA AND U.S. WITH A CHINESE INTERNAL MATTER. AS HIS SIDENHAD LONG POINTED OUT, IT WAS ENTIRELY MATTER CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIR AS TO WHATEVER MEANS CHINA USED TO LIBERATE TAIWAN, A MATTER IN WHICH U.S. HAD NO RIGHT INTERFERE. I HAD ONCE AND AGAIN INDICATED THAT DECLARATION BETWEEN US SHOULD NOT INVOLVE ANY THIRD PARTIES, YET VERY DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT PUT FORWARD MY SIDE PRECISELY TRIED INVOLVE INTERNAL MATTER OF CHINA AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK CLIQUE. HOW CAN THIS BE EXPLAINED AS OTHER THAN DEMANDING HIS SIDE ABANDON ITS POSITION?

8. WANG SAID HIS SIDE HELD THAT PURPOSE FOR MAKING DECLARATION COULD ONLY BE ONE OF GIVING EXPRESSION TO DESIRE BOTH SIDES FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES OF CHINA AND U.S., AS WELL AS TO GIVE EXPRESSION TO DETERMINATION BOTH SIDES SEEK MEANS REALIZATION THIS DESIRE. IT WAS PRECISELY WITH THIS PURPOSE THAT HIS SIDE'S DECEMBER 1 DRAFT WAS PRESENTED. IT CONTAINED NO PREREQUISITES NOR DID IT CONTAIN ANY POINTS WHICH MIGHT NOT BE ACCEPTABLE. HIS SIDE DID NOT INTEND TO MAKE USE OF DECLARATION TO ACCOMPLISH ANY ULTERIOR ENDS WHICH CANNOT STAND PUBLIC SCRUTINY.

9. WANG SAID HIS SIDE HAD PROPOSED AND WILL CONTINUE TO

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STAND FOR HOLDING FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE BETWEEN CHINA AND U.S. IN ORDER TO DISCUSS AND SETTLE QUESTION OF EASING AND ELIMINATING TENSION TAIWAN AREAS, BECAUSE THIS IS PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR REALIZATION DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND U.S. IN TAIWAN AREA.

10. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING HE HAD ASKED ME WHETHER IT INTENTION MY SIDE FOLLOWING MAUING OF OUR DECLARATION TO PRESERVE STATUS QUO OUR OCCUPATION TAIWAN AND OUR INTERFERENCE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS WHILE REFUSING A FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE. HE HAD NOT YET RECEIVED CLEARCUT REPLY THIS REGARD. HIS SIDE CONSIDERS THIS QUESTION VERY IMPORTANT TO PRESENT STAGE OUR TALKS. FOR IF IT SHOULD TURN OUT THAT MY INTENTION WAS INDEED SO, THEN HIS SIDE SEES NO POINT IN CONTINUING THESE TALKS. IF HOWEVER THIS NOT MY INTENTION THEN MY SIDE HAS NO JUSTIFICATION WHATSOEVER TO KEEP INSISTING HIS SIDE ABANDON ITS POSITION, THUS PREVENTING US FROM MAKING PROGRESS.

11. WANG, TURNING BACK TO HIS NOTES, SAID IN STATEMENT I HAD MADE THIS MORNING I HAD STATED THAT IF THEIR OBJECTIONS TO SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WERE BASED ON BELIEF THAT THIS SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE PREJUDICED THEIR POSITION AND THEIR VIEWS WITH RESPECT THE DISPUTES AND IF THIS THE FACT, THEN THEIR OBJECTIONS COULD CERTAINLY HAVE VALIDITY AND I WOULD BE ENTIRELY PREPARED RECOGNIZE THEM. IN OTHER WORDS, DID I MEAN THAT IN RECOGNIZING VALIDITY THEIR OBJECTIONS THAT I PREPARED WITHDRAW SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE FROM DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT?

12. I SAID HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING HERE, INCLUDING HIS QUESTION WHICH HE HAD ASKED AT LAST MEETING AND AGAIN REPEATED THIS MORNING, SEEMED TO ME TO BE STILL CONFUSING THE SITUATION. I HAD TRIED AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS AND HAD TRIED AGAIN THIS MORNING TO KEEP VERY STRICTLY TO IMMEDIATE AND FIRST TASK IN FRONT OF US. HE HAD SAID I HAD NOT CHANGED MY POSITION WITH RESPECT TO OUR DECLARATION. THAT WAS TRUE, INSOFAR AS PRINCIPLES WHICH I HAD ENUNCIATED FIRST HERE ON OCTOBER 8, WERE CONCERNED. THAT PRINCIPLE WAS SOUND AND COULD NOT BE CHANGED. I HAD THOUGHT AND HE HAD OFTEN STATED HERE, THAT HE

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HAD ACCEPTED THAT PRINCIPLE. THAT PRINCIPLE WAS THAT WE EACH MAKE CLEAR THAT WE RENOUNCED USE FORCE TO MAKE POLICIES OF EITHER PREVAIL OVER OTHER. I HAD CHARACTERIZED THAT AS AN ESSENTIAL FOUNDATION AND PRELIMINARY OF SUCCESS IN DISCUSSION OTHER ITEMS.

13. I SAID WE BOTH RECOGNIZED THAT AREA IN WHICH OUR POLICIES CONFRONTED EACH OTHER MOST SERIOUSLY WAS THE TAIWAN AREA. I HAD ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE ENUNCIATION THIS PRINCIPLE DID NOT MEAN EITHER US WERE GIVING UP WHAT WE CONSIDERED TO BE OUR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS SELF-DEFENSE. THAT IS, IF WE WERE ATTACKED WE WOULD DEFEND OURSELVES. ALL THIS COMES DOWN TO SIMPLY SAYING IN A CLEAR AND UNEQUIVOCAL FORM THAT WE WERE DETERMINED TO USE ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES.

14. I SAID RECOGNIZING THAT THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US REGARDING CHARACTER OF DISPUTE BETWEEN US IN TAIWAN AREA, AND RECOGNIZING THE INTERPRETATION PLACED BY HIS GOVERNMENT ON CHARACTER THAT DISPUTE, IN ORDER TO LEAVE NO POSSIBILITY DOUBT CONCERNING THAT AREA, IT WAS CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL THAT WE BOTH MAKE CLEAR THAT SUCH DECLARATION WOULD APPLY THAT AREA. AS I HAD OFTEN POINTED OUT, QUESTION IS NOT ONE OF OBTAINING SOME FORM OF WORDS THAT WOULD GIVE IMPRESSION OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN US, BUT ONE OF GENUINE UNDERSTANDING AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN US.

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1554, FEBRUARY 24, 9 PM (SECTION THREE OF EIGHT)

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15. I SAID HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT, THE EXPLANATIONS WITH WHICH HE ACCOMPANIED IT, AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS ISSUED BY HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT MAKE CLEAR THAT THERE WAS FULL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US THAT HE WOULD NOT, BY INTERPRETING SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA IN MANNER THAT HE DID, SUBSEQUENTLY ALLEGE THAT DECLARATION DID NOT APPLY THERE AND THAT HE FREE USE FORCE. HOWEVER THE DISPUTE THERE WAS CHARACTERIZED, A DECLARATION WHICH DID NOT CLEARLY COVER THAT SITUATITN WAS CERTAINLY OF LITTLE VALUE. IF WE GENUINELY RENOUNCE FORCE IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES, THAT RENUNCIATION CERTAINLY MUST COVER THE PRINCIPAL AND MOST URGENT DISPUTE BETWEEN US. SAYING THAT FORCE WOULD NOT BE USED CERTAINLY DID NOT REQUIRE ABANDONMENT BY EITHER SIDE ITS VIEW REGARDING CHARACTER DISPUTE.

16. I SAID HE HAD SAID THAT PURPOSE HIS DRAFT DECEMBER 1 WAS TO SET FORTH DESIRE BOTH SIDES FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. POINT I BEEN TRYING MAKE WAS THAT THERE WAS VAST DIFFERENCE BETWEEN, ON ONE HAND, SETTING FORTH PIOUS HOPE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND SAYING THAT IF SETTLEMENT IS NOT SATISFACTORY FORCE WOULD BE EMPLOYED, AND ON OTHER HAND UNEQUIVOCALLY SAYING THAT FORCE WILL NOT BE USED AS MEANS SETTLEMENT AND ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS WILL BE USED. AMENDMENTS WHICH I HAD SUGGESTED TO HIS DRAFT DECEMBER 1, I BELIEVED, WERE ESSENTIAL TO MAKE THIS CLEAR.

17. I SAID HE HAD AGAIN AID THIS MORNING THAT INTENT MY

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GOVERNMENT IN INCLUDING CLAUSE REGARDING SELF-DEFENSE WAS TO REQUIRE HIS GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZE U.S. CLAIMS REGARD OUR DISPUTE THAT AREA. HE HAD STATED THIS IN FACE MY REPEATED AND VERY CATEGORICAL STATEMENTS THIS NOT OUR INTENT. I HAD STATED THIS NOT ONLY IN MEETINGS HERE, I HAD STATED TO IN MY ORIGINAL STATEMENT THIS SUBJECT OCTOBER 8, AND I STATED IT VERY CLEARLY MY DRAFT NOVEMBER 10, WHICH HE HAD REJECTED.

18. I SAID QUESTION WAS WHO WAS TO BE MASTER IN THIS SITUATION? DID PLAIN WORDS HAVE SOME HIDDEN INTENT OF THEIR OWN? WERE WORDS TO BE MASTER IN SITUATION? OR DID WORDS SIMPLY SAY WHAT WE SAID THAT THEY SAY?

19. I SAID I HAD SAID THIS MORNING THAT IF HIS OBJECTIONS TO WORDS HAD VALIDITY I WOULD CERTAINLY BE PREPARED RECOGNIZE HIS OBJECTIONS. HOWEVER I DID NOT FEEL THAT HIS OBJECTIONS DID HAVE VALIDITY. I ENTIRELY FAILED UNDERSTAND WHY HIS GOVERNMENT INSISTED ON PUTTING THIS DISTORTED INTERPRETATION ON THESE WORDS, IF IN FACT IT THE INTENT HIS GOVERNMENT UNCONDITIONALLY TO RENOUNCE FORCE IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES.

20. I SAID QUESTION HE HAD ASKED AGAIN THIS MORNING SEEMED TO ME IN EFFECT TO BE WHETHER, WHEN WE CAME TO DISCUSSION OTHER MATTERS BETWEEN US, MY GOVERNMENT INTENDED TO CAPITULATE TO POSITION HIS GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD POINTS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN US. IF I UNDERSTOOD HIM RIGHTLY, HE SAYING THAT IN EFFECT THERE NO POINT IN CONTINUING THESE TALKS UNLESS I WOULD ASSURE HIM HERE AND NOW THAT WHEN WE CAME TO DISCUSSION THESE OTHER MATTERS I WOULD ENTIRELY CONCEDE TO HIS POSITION. THIS WAS HARDLY IN THE SPIRIT OF NEGOTIATION AND SEEKING PEACEFUL MEANS FOR SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES, SEEMED TO ME IT CAMENVERY CLOSE SAYING THAT HE NOT WILLING RENOUNCE USE FORCE IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES UNLESS HE FIRST ASSURED THAT OTHER SIDE WOULD CAPITULATE TO HIS VIEWS IN SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE.

21. I SAID THIS WAS AGAIN JUMPING OVER QUESTION OF OUR DECLARATION TO QUESTION OF MERITS OF OUR DISPUTES. AS SUCH I DID NOT CONSIDER QUESTION TO BE A PROPER ONE. IF HE HAD ASKED

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ME THE QUESTION IN RELATION TO OUR DECLARATION WHETHER IT MY INTENT IN ISSUANCE THIS DECLARATION THAT HE ABANDON HIS VIEWS WITH REGARD STATUS TAIWAN, OR RESPECTIVE MERITS OUR POSITIONS WITH REGARD THERETO, AND HIS VIEWS WITH REGARD TO MEETINL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS, MY ANSWER WOULD HAVE CERTAINLY BEEN A CATEGORICAL "NO."

22. WANG SAID STATEMENTS HE HAD MADE THIS MORNING WERE INTENDED TO CLARIFY OUR RESPECTIVE POINTS VIEW ON QUESTION ISSUANCE DECLARATION BETWEEN US. AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY STATED REPEATEDLY, IN MAKING SUCH DECLARATION IT NECESSARY BOTH SIDES INDICATE WILLINGNESS MAKE MUTUAL CONCESSIONS. AS HE HAD OFTEN POINTED OUT, AMENDMENTS PUT FORWARD MY SIDE TO DECEMBER 1 DRAFT TURNED OUT TO BE MERELY FURTHER PERSISTING IN MY ORIGINAL POINT ON WITHOUT DISPLAYING ANY DESIRE MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS OUR TALKS. STATEMENT I HAD JUST MADE HAD CONFIRMED THAT THIS ONE CASE -- THAT IS, AMENDMENTS PUT FORWARD BY MY SIDE DID NOT INDICATE ANY MODIFICATION PRINCIPLES MY SIDE PUT FORWARD AND THIS SHOWED U.S. SIDE HAD NOT MADE ANY CONCESSIONS WITH REGARD TO DECLARATION. IF ONE SIDE SHOULD HOLD ITS OWN VIEWS WHILE INSISTING INCESSANTLY THAT OTHER SIDE SHOULD GIVE WAY ON OWN VIEWS, THEN NO AGREEMENT COULD POSSIBLY BE REACHED BETWEEN TWO SIEDS.

23. WANG SAID HE WOULD POINT OUT PARTICULARLY THAT IT NOT TRUE AS I ALLEGED THAT HIS SIDE HAD ACCEPTED WHAT I TERMED PRINCIPLES MY OCTOBER 8 STATEMENT. COULD THERE HAVE BEEN ANY OCCASION IN WHICH IT COULD BE CLAIMED HIS SIDE HAD GIVEN RECOGNITION TO U.S. RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA? WAS IT NOT FACT THAT POINT ON SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IN TAIWAN AREA HAD ALWAYS BEEN POINT OF CONTROVERSY AND POINT OF OPPOSITION IN COURSE TALKS?

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1554, FEBRUARY 24, 9 PM (SECTION FOUR OF EIGHT)

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24. WANG SAID FROM OPENING THESE DISCUSSIONS HE REPEATEDLY HAD TRIED MAKE CLEAR THAT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES CHINA AND U.S. MUST BE SEPARATED FROM INTERNAL ISSUES OF CHINA. WAS IT NOT OUTRIGHT INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOVEREIGN COUNTRY IN TRYING TO MAKE HIS SIDE DO SOMETHING OR TO REFRAIN FROM DOING SOMETHING IN REGARD TO TAIWAN? WAS IT NOT FACT HIS SIDE HAD ALWAYS RESOLUTELY REJECTED SUCH A PROPOSITION?

25. WANG SAID QUESTION WE NOW DISCUSSING WAS QUESTION OF MAKING DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE FORCE. IN MAKING SUCH A DECLARATION, WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT ISSUANCE SUCH DECLARATION AND ACTUAL SOLUTION OF PRACTICAL MATTERS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES CHINA AND U.S. WERE TWO SEPARATE MATTERS. IT DID NOT SEEM TO HIM PRACTICAL FOR US TO THINK THAT ISSUANCE DECLARATION ITSELF RESOLVED PRACTICAL MATTERS BETWEEN US. HE BELIEVED I ALSO IN AGREEMENT WITH HIM THIS POINT. SUCH BEING CASE, WE SHOULD ATTEMPT RESOLVE ISSUES BETWEEN US STEP BY STEP.

26. WANG SAID SUCH DECLARATION BETWEEN US MUST NOT CONTAIN ANY PREREQUISITES. SUCH DECLARATION MUST NOT INVOLVE DOMESTIC MATTERS EITHER SIDE. AND POINTS SET FORTH IN SUCH DECLARATION MUST BE SUCH AS ARE ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES. IF WE HAD SUCH A COMMON UNDERSTANDING THEN WE WOULD BE ABLE SETTLE THIS QUESTION OF ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION. IT ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT ISSUANCE SUCH A DECLARATION MERELY GAVE EXPRESSION DESIRE TWO OF US TO RESOLVE DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IN PEACEFUL MANNER AND DECLARATION DID NOT PREJUDGE

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OUTCOME OF SETTLEMENT OF ISSUES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES OR HOW IT FINALLY WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED.

27. WANG SAID IF AS I HAD SAID SUCH DECLARATION SHOULD INCLUDE THE MOST IMPORTANT DISPUTE BETWEEN OUR TWO SIDES IT WOULD TEND GIVE IMPRESSION OF CONFUSING EXPRESSION OF THE DESIRE WITH THE RESULT OF THE FINAL SETTLEMENT. IF MY POINT VIEW ADOPTED, IT DIFFICULT AVOID SITUATION IN WHICH ONE SIDE WOULD ATTEMPT MAKE ITS POLICIES PREVAIL OVER THAT OF OTHER OR, IN OTHER WORDS, IMPOSE ITS VIEWS ON OTHER. IT DID NOT SEEM TO HIM THAT IF WE PUT MATTER IN THIS MANNER IT WOULD HELP BRING US CLOSER TO SOULTION THIS MATTER. THEREFORE, AS HE HAD SAID, PURPOSE IN MAKING SUCH DECLARATION MUST BE ONE OF MERELY GIVING EXPRESSION DESIRE BOTH SIDES FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND U.S. IN TAIWAN AREA. AT SAME TIME, SUCH DECLARATION SHOULD GIVE EXPRESSION DETERMINATION OF TWO SIDES TO RELAX THE CRISIS IN TAIWAN AREA.

28. WANG SAID I HAD CATEGORICALLY STATED THAT IT NOT INTENTION MY SIDE REQUIRE THEM ABANDON THEIR POSITION REGARDING DISPUTES TAIWAN AREA, OR TO GIVE UP THEIR VIEWS RESPECT RESPECTIVE MERITS POSITIONS BOTH SIDES THERETO, AND HAD CATEGORICALLY STATED IT NOT MY INTENTION DEMAND THEY GIVE UP OR ABANDON THEIR VIEWS REGARDING HOLDING FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE. BY MAKING SUCH CATEGORICAL STATEMENT, DID I MEAN SAY I PREPARED WITHDRAW SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE FROM DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT? COULD THIS STATEMENT BE INTERPRETED AS SAYING I WOULD NOT REQUIRE HIS SIDE, FOLLOWING ISSUANCE DECLARATION, TO PREJUDICE THEIR RIGHT OF LIBERATING TAIWAN IN EXERCISE THEIR SOVEREIGNTY IN THIS INTERNAL AFFAIR OF CHINA? COULD THIS STATEMENT BE INTERPRETED AS AGREEMENT ON MY PART TO SEEKING OF WHAT THEY TERMED PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR SETTLEMENT OF ISSUES BETWEEN OUR TWO STATES -- THAT IS, TO SEEK HOLDING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE"

29. I SAID FIRST, IF I UNDERSTOOD HIM RIGHTLY, HE HAD SAID

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IF WE WERE TO INCLUDE IN OUR DECLARATCON THE MOST IMPORTANT MATTER BETWEEN US IT WOULD GIVE IMPRESSION OF PREJUDGING RESULTS ANY SETTLEMENT. SHOULD I INTERVRET THAT AS MEANING THAT HE NOT WILLING MAKE CLEAR THAT OUR DECLARATION DID COVER THE MOST IMPORTANT DISPUTE BETWEEN US -- THAT IS, THE DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA?

30. I SAID NEXT HE SAID THAT OUR DECLARATION SHOULD NOT INVOLVE DOMESTIC MATTERS. OF COURSE WE BOTH RECOGNIZED, I BELIEVED, THAT QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA DID INVOLVE A DOMESTIC MATTER FROM STANDPOINT HIS GOVERNMENT OR AN INTERNATIONAL MATTER DID GO TO VERY HEART OUR DISPUTE THERE.

31. I SAID I HAD TOLD HIM THAT IT NOT MY INTENT TO PREJUDICE OR PREJUDGE HIS VIEW REGARD THAT MATTER. HOWEVER IF IT HIS INTENT THAT IN THIS DECLARATION THE U.S. RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT HIS VIEW OF ITS BEING SOLELY A DOMESTIC MATTER, WAS THAT NOT AGAIN JUMPING AHEAD OF OURSELVES AND ASKING U.S. TO CONCEDE TO HIS VIEWS ON THIS MATTER AT THIS STAGE?

32. I SAID WITH REGARD SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE, I HAD AGAIN POINTED OUT THIS MORNING THAT ALL IT SAID WAS THAT, IN MAKING THIS DECLARATION, EACH OF US WAS DOING SO WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO WHAT EACH US CONSIDERS INHERENT RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE.

33. I SAID NOW FOR MY OWN GOVERNMENT TO STATE THAT IN CONTEXT THIS DECLARATION DID NOT, AS I POINTED OUT THIS MORNING, MEAN THAT HE WAS ACCEPTING MERITS ANY AND ALL MY CLAIMS IN THIS REGARD ANY MORE THAN IT MEANT MY GOVERNMENT ACCEPTING MERITS ANY AND ALL HIS CLAIMS THAT REGARD. I THOUGHT THAT WAS KEEPING VERY STRICTLY TO PRINCIPLE OF NOT PREJUDGING MERITS OF ANY OUR DISPUTES IN ISSUING THIS DECLARATION.

34. I SAID HOWEVER IN LIGHT HIS STATEMENTS HERE AS WELL AS PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE BY HIS GOVERNMENT I COULD ONLY INTERPRET HIS DEMAND FOR WITHDRAWAL THAT CLAUSE TO MEAN RECOGNITION BY U.S. THAT ITS CLAIMS THIS REGARD IN TAIWAN AREA DID NOT HAVE MERIT. THAT WAS PREJUDGING QUESTION. IT WAS SOMETHING IT OBVIOUS MY GOVERNMENT COULD NOT ACCEPT.

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1:36 AM

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Action Taken ____
Date of Action ____
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Name of Officer ____
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1554, FEBRUARY 24, 9 PM (SECTION FIVE OF EIGHT)

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35. I SAID HE HAD QUOTED ME AS SAYING THAT IT NOT MY INTENT REQUIRE HIM ABANDON HIS VIEWS WITH REGARD DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA, REGARDING HOLDING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE, ETCETERA. WHAT I HAD SAID, AND I REPEATING, WAS THAT IT NOT MY INTENT IN THIS DECLARATION TO REQUIRE HIM ABANDON HIS VIEWS OR TO PREJUDICE THEM IN ANY WAY IN THESE REGARDS.

36. I SAID IT NOT MY INTENT INTERPRET DECLARATION, OR USE IT AS PRETEXT FOR INTERPRETING IT, THAT HE HAD ABANDONED HIS VIEWS IN ANY THESE REGARDS. I WAS SURE THAT NOBODY WOULD SO INTERPRET IT. DECLARATION WOULD BE INTERPRETED BY US, AND I SURE BY WORLD, TO MEAN ONLY EXACTLY WHAT IT SAID. AND WHAT IT SAID DID NOT PREJUDICE HIS VIEWS. I THEREFORE STILL FOUND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT SEE WHY HE NOT ABLE AGREE TO IT UNLESS HIS INTENT WAS THAT U.S. IN THIS DECLARATION ABANDON ITS VIEWS.

37. WANG SAID FIRST THING HE WOULD LIKE SAY WAS THAT WE STILL IN STAGE OF DISCUSSING PROPOSED DECLARATION. TODAY HE HAD MADE EFFORT TRY MAKE CLEAR PURPOSE MAKING SUCH DECLARATION, AND THAT IN MAKING SUCH DECLARATION DOES NOT MEAN THAT ISSUANCE DECLARATION ITSELF WILL RESOLVE OUR DISPUTES, NOR WILL ISSUANCE DECLARATION ITSELF CONSTITUTE FINAL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES.

38. WANG SAID IT MIGHT BE RECALLED THAT JOINT COMMUNIQUE BETWEEN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS ON JULY 25 LAST YEAR ONLY SET FORTH THAT WE WOULD DISCUSS SUCH OTHER MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN

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TWO SIDES. IT DID NOT SINGLE OUT EXACT MATTERS TO BE DISCUSSED.

39. WANG SAID WHAT WE DISCUSSING TODAY IS QUESTION OF MAKING DECLARATION IN VIEW OF EXISTENCE OF CONFRONTATION OF POLICIES TWO COUNTRIES IN TAIWAN AREA. DISPUTE BETWEEN US VERY GRAVE INDEED. THIS DISPUTE CAUSED SOLELY BY U.S. OCCUPATION TAIWAN. PROBLEM WE FACING IS TO INDICATE BY WHAT MEANS THIS DISPUTE MIGHT BE RESOLVED.

40. WANG SAID DECLARATION WE NOW DISCUSSING JUST SUCH A DECLARATION IN ORDER TO INDICATE DESIRE OF TWO SIDES FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. SUCH DESIRE VERY IMPORTANT THING. IMPORTANT THOUGH IT IS, YET IT NOT FINAL SOLUTION. WITH REGARD OUTCOME DISPUTE, WE HAD SET FORTH IN DECLARATION DETERMINATION OF TWO SIDES TO STRIVE SEEK MEANS FOR REALIZING SOLUTION.

41. WANG SAID PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS THEY HAD IN MIND WAS EXACTLY MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS US. AND CHINA.

42. WANG SAID HE BELIEVED BY SEPARATING THESE TWO MATTERS, COULD GREATLY FACILITATE CARRYING OUT OF TASK BEFORE US.

43. WANG SAID INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA, U.S. MUST BE SEPARATED FROM DOMESTIC ISSUES BETWEEN CHINA AND CHIANG. THESE TWO MATTERS WHICH DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT CAN BE SEPARATED. COULD IT BE SAID THAT U.S. INTENDS DISCUSS CHINA'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS IN TALKS BETWEEN CHINA U.S? THEY HAD CATEGORICALLY STATED IN PAST AND REPEATED OVER AND OVER AGAIN THAT THEY WOULD RESOLUTELY OPPOSE SUCH PROPOSITION.

44. WANG SAID TURNING NOW TO QUESTION OF SELF-DEFENSE, HE HAD STATED THAT EVERY COUNTRY ENTITLED TO RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN ACCORDANCE WITH SPIRIT OF U.N. CHARTER. BUT HE HAD ALSO POINTED OUT AT SAME TIME U.S. NOT JUSTIFIED IN CLAIMING RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA.

45. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO STATED IN PAST THAT THEY DID NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE. SHOULD HE INTERPRET

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THIS AS AGREEMENT ON MY PART, INSTEAD OF THIS CLAUSE, TO REWRITE DRAFT IN ACCORDANCE WITH U.N. CHARTER IN SAME MANNER AS THEIR FIRST DRAFT OF OCTOBER 27?

46. WANG SAID SITUATION CONFRONTING US ONE IN WHICH U.S. FORCE ALREADY BEING USED IN TAIWAN AREA. I HAD SAID THAT IN MAKING SUCH DECLARATION IT DID NOT PREJUDICE THEIR VIEWS OR REQUIRE THEIR SIDE ABANDON ITS VIEWS. HOWEVER, BY CONTINUED INSISTENCE MY SIDE ON SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE, WAS IT NOT OUR INTENT TO REQUIRE THEM ABANDON THEIR POSITION WITH REGARD DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA?

47. I ASKED WANG TO LET ME IMMEDIATELY ANSWER HIS LAST QUESTION. TO LET ME SAY AGAIN WHAT I HAD SAID OVER AND OVER AGAIN, THAT IT NOT OUR INTENT REQUIRE HIM ABANDON HIS POSITION REGARDING MERITS OUR DISPUTES THERE.

48. I ASKED WANG LET ME TURN QUESTION AROUND AND ASK IF IT NOT HIS INTENT IN REQUIRING ABANDONMENT THIS CLAUSE TO OBTAIN ACKNOWLEDGMENT FROM U.S. THAT IT DOES NOT HAVE RIGHT INDIVIDUAL COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA, AND THEREBY TO ACCEPT IN THIS DECLARATION HIS ONE-SIDED CONTENTIONS WITH REGARD OUR DISPUTE THERE, WHICH INVOLVE VERY POINTS AT ISSUE BETWEEN US.

49. I SAID ONLY OTHER POINT I WANTED MAKE WAS THAT HE HAD SAID THIS DECLARATION SHOULD INDICATE DESIRE OF TWO SIDES FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. MY CONTENTION FROM BEGINNING HAD BEEN AND STILL CONTINUED TO BE THAT IF THAT DESIRE HONEST AND UNEQUIVOCAL IT MUST GO BEYOND THAT AND SAY THAT WE DETERMINED SETTLE DISPUTES ONLY (REPEAT ONLY) BY PEACEFUL MEANS. IT SHOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR EITHER OF US BY GIVING ONE INTERPRETATION OR ANOTHER TO SITUATION WITH RESPECT THOSE DISPUTES IN FACT TO RESORT TO FORCE TO SETTLE THEM.

50. I SAID I THOROUGHLY AGREED THAT THIS DECLARATION WAS NOT THE FINAL RESULT. IT IN ITSELF SETTLED NOTHING, EXCEPT THAT WE DETERMINED OUR DISPUTES SHOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR, AND IN THAT ATMOSPHERE TO SEEK THEIR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. FROM VERY

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BEGINNING I HAD CHARACTERIZED DECLARATION AS PRELIMINARY TO DISCUSSION OUR DISPUTES.

51. I SAID AS I HAD SAID AT LAST MEETING AND AGAIN THIS MORNING, ONCE DECLARATION ISSUED, IT WAS INTENT U.S. TO CARRY IT OUT IN FULL AND IN GOOD FAITH. WE SAID IN DECLARATION THAT WE DETERMINED WE WILL SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN US THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. WE SAID THAT TWO OF US SHOULD CONTINUE OUR TALKS TO SEEK FEASIBLE AND PRACTICAL MEANS FOR REALIZATION THAT DESIRE. WANG COULD BE CERTAIN THAT U.S. WOULD CARRY THIS OUT TO FULL. HE COULD ALSO BE CERTAIN WHEN U.S. SAID IN DECLARATION IT WOULD NOT RESORT TO THREAT USE FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA OR ELSEWHERE, IT MEANT EXACTLY WHAT IT SAID AND THAT WE WOULD NOT BY SOME TWISTED INTERPRETATION OF SITUATION ATTEMPT TO GET AROUND IT.

GOWEN

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CONFIDENTIAL

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Control: 14068
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 25, 1956
2:50 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1554, FEBRUARY 24, 9 PM (SECTION SIX OF EIGHT)

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

52. WANG SAID IF THERE IS WILLINGNESS TO MAKE SUCH DECLARATION AND TO INDICATE THAT NEITHER SIDE WOULD BE REQUIRED ABANDON ITS POSITION THEN THEY FAILED SEE WHY U.S. WOULD NOT WITHDRAW ITS DEMAND WITH RESPECT SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE.

53. WANG SAID I HAD INDICATED I ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE THAT DECLARATION SHOULD BE ONE WHICH ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES. HOW COULD I EXPECT THEM TO ACCEPT CLAUSE IN DECLARATION WHICH ONLY IN ONE-SIDED INTERESTS OF U.S? DID THIS CONTINUED INSISTENCE ON UNREASONABLE CLAUSE MEAN THAT U.S. UNWILLING PUT OUT THIS DECLARATION AT ALL?

54. WANG SAID IF IN FACT I HAD SUCH A WILLINGNESS MAKE SUCH DECLARATION GIVING EXPRESSION TO DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND GIVING EXPRESSION DETERMINATION OF TWO SIDES SEEK PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR SOLUTION TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA, (AND BY THIS LAST PARAGRAPH OF DRAFT THEY HAD IN MIND HOLDING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE)--IF I HAD THIS WILLINGNESS, DID IT MEAN ALSO I HAD SAME WILLINGNESS WITH REGARD TO PRACTIIAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS SPECIFIED IN DRAFT, AS THEY UNDERSTOOD IT?

55. I REPLIED I THOUGHT WE AGAIN GETTING AHEAD SELVES. IF HE BY HIS QUESTION MEANT DID I AGREE HERE AND NOW BEFORE DECLARATION ISSUED THAT ONLY PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS WAS THROUGH FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING, MY ANSWER WOULD HAVE TO BE NO. WHEN I SAID

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PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS I WAS NOT EXCLUDING ANY MEANS, NOR WAS I AGREEING THAT THERE ONLY ONE MEANS.

56. I SAID IT SEEMED ME AT PRESENT STAGE QUESTION IS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT. QUESTION WAS WHETHER WE REALLY, HONESTLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY IN THIS DECLARATION SAY WE WILL USE ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS IN SETTLING DISPUTES AND THAT WE WILL NOT RESORT THREAT OR USE FORCE AND IN THAT ATMOSPHERE SEEK, AS DECLARATION SAYS, PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS REALIZE THAT DESIRE. I HAD TO CONFESS I STILL NOT CLEAR AS TO WHETHER OR NOT HE REALLY DID UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCE THREAT OR USE FORCE IN SEEKING THIS SETTLEMENT.

57. I SAID AS FAR AS PREJUDICING HIS POSITION CONCERNED, HE WOULD RECALL THAT BACK IN MY DRAFT OF NOVEMBER 10 IT WAS MY SUGGESTION WE MAKE SPECIFIC AND CATEGORICAL STATEMENT TO EFFECT WE NOT PREJUDICING OUR POSITIONS. IF THIS STILL GENUINELY HIS CONCERN, I DID NOT SEE WHY HE REJECTED THAT DRAFT.

58. I SAID AS I HAD SAID I STILL COULD ONLY INTERPRET HIS POSITION AS DEMANDING MY GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY PREJUDICE BUT IN FACT RENOUNCE ITS POSITION WITH RESPECT OUR DISPUTE. THAT STILL MY INTERPRETATION.

59. WANG SAID MY REMARKS DID NOT SEEM TO HAVE GIVEN REPLY HIS QUESTION. I HAD STATED THAT HE HAD ASKED ME TO AGREE BEFORE DECLARATION ISSUED THAT ONLY PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS WAS FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE, AND I HAD SAID I WOULD ANSWER NO. BUT HE HAD NOT ASKED ME TO SAY SO BEFORE DECLARATION ISSUED. HE WAS TALKING ABOUT WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN AFTER DECLARATION.

60. WANG ASKED IF BY REPLYING NO I MEANT THAT I WAS NOT AGREEING THAT HOLDING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE IS PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS.

61. WANG SAID HIS NEXT POINT WAS THAT I HAD ASKED WHETHER IN MAKING DECLARATION IT MEANT WE WOULD ONLY USE PEACEFUL MEANS SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN US. TEXT OF HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT HAD GIVEN ME VERY PRECISE AND CLEAR ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION.

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62. WANG SAID I HAD STATED I STILL NOT CLEAR ABOUT HIS INTENT THIS REGARD. IN TURN, HE WOULD LIKE SAY HE STILL NOT CLEAR WHETHER IT INTENT U.S. FOLLOWING ISSUANCE DECLARATION CONTINUE ITS SEIZURE TAIWAN.

63. I REPLIED IT SEEMED ME WANG STILL GETTING US DOWN BYROAD OF DISCUSSING WHAT HAPPENS WITH REGARD SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES AFTER DECLARATION ISSUED. I DID NOT SEE THAT THERE WOULD BE MUCH PURPOSE IN REPEATING ANSWERS I HAD CONSISTENTLY GIVEN THIS REGARD. I WISHED WE COULD GET AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION AND THEN WE COULD CARRY ON IN ACCORDANCE ITS SPECIFIC TERMS. I HAD NOTHING MORE SAY ON THIS THIS MORNING.

64. WANG SAID IT WAS BECAUSE HE HAD SOME QUESTIONS IN DOUBT THAT HE HAD PUT THEM FORWARD TO ME. BEFORE THESE POINTS MADE CLEAR, ISSUANCE DECLARATION WOULD BE OF NO MEANING.

65. WANG ASKED WHETHER I MEANT, AS I HAD JUST STATED, I WOULD NOT AGREE TO HOLDING FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING DECLARATION? DID I HAVE THIS IN MIND, OR PERHAPS HIS UNDERSTANDING NOT CORRECT.

66. I SAID IF HIS QUESTIONS WERE WHETHER U.S. WOULD, FOLLOWING ISSUANCE DECLARATION, CONCEDE TO ALL HIS VIEWS, THERE COULD ONLY BE ONE ANSWER. I COULD ONLY CHARACTERIZE THIS AS MOST REMARKABLE PREREQUISITE FOR ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION. I HAD SAID WITH REGARD TO HIS SPECIFIC QUESTION ON FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING THAT I DID NOT EXCLUDE ANY FEASIBLE MEANS FOR REALIZATION OUR COMMON DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES, NOR DID I AGREE THAT THERE ONLY ONE MEANS FOR REALIZATION THIS DESIRE. I DID NOT AND WOULD NOT GO BEYOND WORDS OF DECLARATION ITSELF, WORDS WHICH HE HAD SUGGESTED.

67. WANG ASKED IF WE THEN WERE AGREED THAT WE COULD ACCEPT THIS DRAFT THEY HAD PROPOSED.

68. I SAID I HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED LANGUAGE OF LAST PARAGRAPH THEIR DRAFT.

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69. WANG SAID BY THAT PARAGRAPH THEY PRECISELY HAD REFERENCE TO FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. DID I ALSO ACCEPT THAT? DID I MEAN WE HAD SAME UNDERSTANDING WITH REGARD THAT PARAGRAPH?

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 14160 CP/10/12 1/6
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 25, 1956
7:00 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1554, FEBRUARY 24, 9 P.M. (SECTION 7 OF 8)

Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DO/R

PRIORITY

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70. I SAID I COULDN'T SEE HOW I COULD GO BEYOND WHAT I HAD ALREADY SAID. I FULLY UNDERSTOOD THAT WANG HAD IN PAST AND PROBABLY WOULD IN FUTURE CONTEND THAT THERE SHOULD BE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING. I DID NOT SEE THAT ANYTHING HE SAID IN DECLARATION PREJUDICED HIS POSITION THAT REGARD.

71. I SAID WANG PERFECTLY AWARE OF MY POSITION THAT I CONSIDER SUCH DISCUSSION PREMATURE AT THIS TIME. I DID NOT SEE THAT ANYTHING SAID IN DECLARATION PREJUDICED MY POSITION.

72. WANG SAID REASON WHY HE HAD PUT FORWARD THAT QUESTION WAS BECAUSE THEY CONSIDERED DECLARATION THEY DISCUSSING CLOSELY RELATED TO PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS SPECIFIED IN DECLARATION. THEY HAD NEVER SAID FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE SHOULD TAKE PLACE BEFORE ISSUANCE DECLARATION NOR HAD THEY CONTENDED THAT WE SHOULD NOT DISCUSS DECLARATION AT THIS TIME BUT RATHER DISCUSS FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE AT THIS TIME. HE HAD ONLY SAID THAT ISSUANCE DECLARATION SHOULD BE CONNECTED WITH HOLDING FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. ONLY IN THIS WAY COULD WE EXPRESS DESIRE STATED IN DECLARATION AND AT SAME TIME HAVE PRACTICAL MEANS FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION OUR DISPUTES.

73. WANG SAID OF COURSE AT PRESENT STAGE MOST IMPORTANT

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QUESTION IS ISSUING OF DECLARATION. THEY HAD MADE PERFECTLY CLEAR THEIR VIEWS THIS REGARD. THEY HAD ALSO POINTED OUT WHAT THEY CONSIDERED UNACCEPTABLE. THEY WOULD HOPE THAT I WOULD RECONSIDER THIS WHOLE MATTER IN LIGHT OF WHAT WANG HAD SAID THIS MORNING AND THEY WOULD HOPE WE WOULD BE ABLE GET CLOSER IN THIS REGARD NEXT MEETING.

74. WANG SAID IF I HAD NOTHING FURTHER THIS MORNING, HE WANTED RAISE ANOTHER MATTER. HE WANTED DISCUSS WITH ME QUESTION OF CHINESE NATIONALS IN U.S. WHO DESIRED RETURN BUT BEING PREVENTED. HE RECALLED THAT IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS HE HANDED ME NAMES 31 CHINESE IN THIS CATEGORY. THEIR ATTENTION AGAIN BEEN CALLED TO FACT THERE THREE MORE CHINESE THIS CATEGORY WHO DESIRE RETURN BUT NOT ABLE DO SO. HE WOULD HAND ME LIST OF NAMES AND OTHER INFORMATION. (DID SO)

75. WANG SAID NEXT THING WAS HE WOULD APPRECIATE IF I HAD ANYTHING TO SAY OR ANY INFORMATION GIVE HIM REGARDING 31 WHOSE NAMES HE GAVE ME AND WHO DESIRE RETURN BUT UNABLE DO SO, AS WELL AS SITUATION THOSE CHINESE WHO IMPRISONED BY U.S.

76. WANG SAID WITH REGARD QUESTION OF MEDICAL INFORMATION ABOUT DISEASE OF LIU YUNG-MING WHICH HE DISCUSSED WITH ME LAST MEETING, HE WOULD APPRECIATE IT IF I WOULD KINDLY INFORM HOSPITAL SEND SUCH MATERIAL TO CHINESE RED CROSS IN PEKING.

77. I SAID LET US BE VERY CLEAR ABOUT THIS MATTER. NEITHER IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT NOR ELSEWHERE HAD U.S. ACCEPTED ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR INVESTIGATING EVERY INDIVIDUAL CHINESE IN U.S. U.S. SAID IT HAD NOT AND WOULD NOT OFFER ANY OBSTRUCTION TO DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE FROM U.S. TO WANG'S COUNTRY. VERY SIMPLE, CLEAR AND DEFINITE PROCEDURES TO WHICH WANG AGREED HAD BEEN SET UP TO INSURE THIS WAS CASE. U.S. HAS FULLY AND FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT ALL ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD SAID OVER AND OVER AGAIN NO CHINESE WHO DESIRES RETURN WANG'S COUNTRY BEING OBSTRUCTED IN HIS DEPARTURE.

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78. I SAID I HAD EXPLAINED TO WANG PROCEDURES FOR ASSURING THAT THIS IS CASE. IF CHINESE HAVE NOT LEFT U.S. FOR HIS COUNTRY, IT PURELY BECAUSE THEY DO NOT DESIRE DO SO. I COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY OBLIGATION TO POLL OR SCREEN EACH CHINESE TO DETERMINE WHY HE DIDN'T WANT RETURN. NEITHER WOULD I BE PARTY TO BRINGING ANY PRESSURE ON CHINESE TO DO SO. HE ENTIRELY FREE DO WHATEVER HE WANTS. IF HE FEELS HE IN ANY WAY OBSTRUCTED FROM LEAVING HE ENTIRELY FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY.

79. I SAID ANYBODY WHO AT ALL FAMILIAR WITH SITUATION IN U.S. KNOWS THAT THERE IS SUCH FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION. THERE ARE NO EXCEPTIONS.

80. I SAID I HAD PREVIOUSLY INDICATED AND STILL WOULD INDICATE TO WANG MY WILLINGNESS TO TAKE UP HERE, IF IT NOT TAKEN UP THROUGH PROPER CHANNEL OF INDIAN EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON CASES OF ANYBODY WHO IN FACT BEING OBSTRUCTED. ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION, CASES THAT WANG HAD BROUGHT UP HERE APPEARED TO BE SIMPLY THOSE OF PERSONS WHO HAD NOT WRITTEN HOME FOR SOME TIME OR MIGHT HAVE CHANGED MINDS ABOUT RETURNING, IF THEY EVER HAD GENUINE DESIRE RETURN.

81. I SAID VAGUE STATEMENTS SUCH AS THOSE CONTAINED IN LIST WANG HAD GIVEN ME TODAY, FOR EXAMPLE "CONTINUES DESIRE COME BACK BUT UNABLE DO SO DUE U.S. OBSTRUCTION", CONSTITUTE NOT SLIGHTEST SHRED OF EVIDENCE THAT THERE ANY OBSTRUCTION DEPARTURE.

82. I SAID IT TRULY REMARKABLE THAT IF ALL THOSE WHOSE NAMES WANG GIVEN ME DESIRED COME BACK AND WERE IN FACT BEING OBSTRUCTED, NOT EVEN ONE OF THEM, OR EVEN A FRIEND OF ANY OF THEM, HAD BROUGHT CASE TO ATTENTION INDIAN EMBASSY, OR THAT, IF INDIAN EMBASSY HAD THOUGHT THERE ANY MERIT TO THEIR COMPLAINTS, THAT IT HAD NOT BROUGHT THEM TO ATTENTION MY GOVERNMENT.

83. I SAID I COULD ONLY CHARACTERISE ALL THIS AS VERY

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TRANSPARENT AND DESPERATE ATTEMPT FIND SOME JUSTIFICATION FOR NOT PERMITTING RETURN OF AMERICANS STILL HELD BY WANG'S GOVERNMENT.

84. I SAID THERE NOTHING VAGUE ABOUT DESIRE THESE AMERICANS RETURN, OR ABOUT WHAT IS PREVENTING THEM.

85. I SAID I HAD VERY DEEPLY AND SINCERELY HOPED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD BE CARRIED OUT BY HIS GOVERNMENT. IF IT HAD BEEN, IT COULD HAVE CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO OUR RELATIONS. NO MATTER HOW IT REGARDED, BY NO STRETCH OF IMAGINATION COULD IT BE SAID THAT THAT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN CARRIED OUT.

86. I SAID WANG WOULD RECALL THAT WHEN WE WERE DISCUSSING THIS MATTER HE HAD SAID THERE WOULD BE NO COMPARISON BETWEEN TIME IT HAD TAKEN TO RETURN AMERICANS LET OUT EARLIER AND TIME IT WOULD TAKE TO RETURN THIS GROUP.

87. I SAID INSOFAR AS PRISONERS CONCERNED, WANG HAD TALKED ABOUT TIME REQUIRED TO REVIEW CASES AND OTHER SUCH MATTERS. APPARENTLY IN SIX WEEKS FROM BEGINNING TALKS UNTIL ANNOUNCEMENT SEPTEMBER 10, HIS AUTHORITIES ABLE COMPLETE REVIEWS AND RELEASE 10 THESE PEOPLE. TWENTY THREE WEEKS NOW PASSED TODAY SINCE WE MADE THAT AGREEMENT AND WANG ENTERED INTO THAT COMMITMENT. IN THOSE 23 WEEKS, SIX PERSONS BEEN ENABLED TO RETURN. I THOUGHT FACTS SPOKE FOR SELVES.

88. I SAID I WAS, AS I HAD PROMISED AT LAST MEETING, LOOKING INTO AVAILABILITY HOSPITAL RECORDS ON LIU YUNG-MING AND WOULD SUPPLY THEM IF POSSIBLE. I HAD TAKEN NOTE AND WOULD TRANSMIT TO MY GOVERNMENT WANG'S REQUEST THAT THEY BE TRANSMITTED TO RED CROSS IN PEKING. I PRESUMED THAT NO FURTHER ADDRESS THAN THAT WAS NEEDED.

89. WANG SAID THAT CORRECT; ONLY "CHINESE RED CROSS SOCIETY, PEKING."

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Control: 14070
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 25, 1956 1
Action Taken: 3:16 AM

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1554, FEBRUARY 24, 9 PM (SECTION EIGHT OF EIGHT)

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90. I SAID DOCTORS WHO ATTENDING MRS. BRADSHAW AND KANADY, WHO BOTH SUFFERING MENTAL ILLNESS AT TIME DEPARTURE WANG'S COUNTRY WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING SIMILAR MEDICAL RECORDS WITH REGARD ILLNESS AND TREATMENT. RECORDS COULD BE DELIVERED HERE TO ME AND I WOULD SEE THEY FORWARDED TO PROPER PEOPLE.

91. WANG SAID I HAD NOT YET GIVEN CLEAR REPLY TO QUESTIONS HE PUT REGARDING CHINESE WHOSE DEPARTURE PREVENTED AND WITH RESPECT CHINESE WHO IMPRISONED BY U.S. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT MY EXPLANATIONS AND REMARKS REGARDING SITUATION CHINESE IN U.S. AS SATISFACTORY.

92. WANG SAID THEY HAD NOT ASKED ME MAKE INVESTIGATION OF ALL CHINESE IN U.S. THEY HAD ONLY RAISED QUESTION OF THOSE WHO HAVE DEFINITE NAMES AND DEFINITE FACTS AND WHERE DEPARTURE BEING PREVENTED.

93. WANG SAID I CLAIMED U.S. CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND CARRYING OUT OBLIGATION UNDER IT. THIS ONLY ONE ASPECT OF QUESTION. OTHER ASPECT THIS MATTER SHOWN BY MEASURES TAKEN BY U.S. IN FORCING CHINESE OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN AND APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN U.S., AND SUCH OTHER MEASURES WHICH PREVENT CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN FROM DOING SO. I HAD ASKED WHETHER IT INTENT THEIR SIDE FOR U.S. EXERT PRESSURE ON CHINESE FORCE THEM RETURN HOME. THEY NOT ASKING THAT PRESSURE BE PUT ON THESE PEOPLE. ONLY ASKING THAT SUCH PRESSURES WHICH PREVENTING THEM FROM LEAVING BE REMOVED.

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94. WANG SAID MY ARGUMENT SEEMED TO BE STATING THAT U.S. ON ONE HAND GRANTING CHINESE FREEDOM RETURN WHILE ON OTHER HAND SUPPRESSING FREEDOM RETURN AND OBSTRUCTING RETURN.

95. WANG SAID I HAD MADE REFERENCE TO COMMUNICATIONS WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. HE HAD MADE VIEWS THIS REGARD CLEAR PREVIOUSLY.

96. WANG SAID I HAD MADE REMARKS TO EFFECT PRC SIDE TRYING USE AS PRETEXT BRINGING UP OF THIS QUESTION OF CHINESE WHO PREVENTED FROM RETURNING, TRYING USE THAT AS PRETEXT TO PREVENT AMERICANS FROM RETURNING. HE CONSIDERED THAT DISTORTION OF FACTS.

97. WANG ASKED IF I VIEWED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS AGREEMENT SOLELY RELATING TO MATTER OF AMERICANS IN CHINA RATHER THAN AGREEMENT ON RETURN OF NATIONALS OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

98. WANG ASKED IF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT INTENDED REQUIRE ONLY CHINESE CARRY OUT AGREEMENT WHILE US EXEMPTED FROM OBLIGATION OF CARRYING IT OUT.

99. WANG SAID I HAD MADE COMPARISION WITH RESPECT TIME ALREADY ELAPSED AFTER ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND STATED THAT IN 23 WEEKS AFTER ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT ONLY 6 AMERICANS HAVE RETURNED. IF WE FOR MOMENT FOLLOWED MY LOGIC, THEN IT WAS FACT THAT SIX PERSONS HAD RETURNED TO AMERICA AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED. HOWEVER, IN 23 WEEKS AFTER ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT, DESPITE FACT THEIR SIDE REPEATEDLY BROUGHT UP QUESTION OF IMPRISONED CHINESE IN US, THEIR SIDE STILL NOT BEEN GIVEN ANY INFORMATION REGARDING THESE PEOPLE.

100. WANG SAID TO CONTINUE THE COMPARISON BETWEEN CHINESE AND THIRTEEN AMERICANS WHO NOW SERVING THEIR PRISON TERMS, TODAY THEIR ATTENTION BEEN CALLED TO FACT THAT UP TO NOW 34 CHINESE WHO HAVE DEFINITE NAMES AND SURNAMES, WHO DESIRE RETURN STILL BEING PREVENTED DOING SO. AND THERE ADDITIONAL 32 PEOPLE WHO NOT BEEN ABLE RETURN.

101. WANG SAID THEY HAD NO INFORMATION FROM ME AS TO HOW MANY CHINESE IMPRISONED IN US. THEY BELIEVED THIS NOT MATTER RUNNING TO FEW SCORE, BUT PROBABLY RUNNING TO OVER HUNDRED. THESE PEOPLE NOT

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INFORMED OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THESE PEOPLE DESIRED RETURN BUT BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. YET WANGS SIDE NOT ALLOWED EVEN TO KNOW ABOUT THEIR SITUATION. THIS CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH ATTITUDE OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN SUPPLYING ME WITH INFORMATION RESPECT TO AMERICANS IN CHINESE PRISONS. MANNER OF CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS BETWEEN CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND US CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH EACH OTHER.

102. I SAID ALL I COULD SAY WAS I STILL HAVE TO SEE SINGLE FACT OR EVIDENCE THAT ANY CHINESE IN US BEEN OBSTRUCTED, PREVENTED OR HINDERED IN RETURNING TO WANGS COUNTRY IF HE DESIRED RETURN. THAT WAS ALL.

103. WANG SAID UNTIL ALL THESE PEOPLE WHOSE NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME, AND UNTIL CHINESE IN US PRISONS ACCOUNTED FOR, AND UNTIL THEY ACTUALLY ABLE RETURN, HE COULD NOT CONSIDER US CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THEY COULD NOT CONSIDER VALID CONTENTION THAT CHINESE FREE RETURN. THEY STILL AWAITING REPLY REGARDING THESE PEOPLE.

104. WANG SAID, (CONSULTING NOTE PASSED HIM BY LAI, WHO GOT INFORMATION FROM PRINTED BOOKLET ENTITLED MEI-CH'IAO FEN-LEI TS'AI-LIAO-- MATERIAL ON OVERSEAS AMERICANS BY CATEGORY) REGARDING MY REQUEST FOR MEDICAL RECORDS ON BRADSHAW AND KANEDY, HIS INFORMATION INDICATED THAT THEY NOL# BEEN HOSPITALIZED IN CHINA, AND AS FAR AS HIS INFORMATION CONCERNED, BRADSHAW BEEN CARED FOR BY HER FRIEND MRS LAURA LAU, WHO AMERICAN. HE NOT SURE IF MEDICAL RECORDS AVAILABLE. OF COURSE, HE WOULD LOOK INTO THIS MATTER AND IF THEY AVAILABLE, HE WOULD BE GLAD COMPLY WITH MY R REQUEST.

105. I ASKED IF IT AGREEABLE TO WANG TO MEET NEXT THRUSDAY, MARCH 1. HE AGREED.

NOTE: I HAVE NO COMMENTS ON TODAY'S MEETING BEYOND THOSE CONTAINED BY PRECEDING SUMMARY TELEGRAM.

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AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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February 24, 1956

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/6/81

Letter No. 32

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

TOP SECRET — one cy enclosures W20 T.S.

Dear Alex:

The guidance situation won't be quite as bad here during the month of March as you surmised it might be when you wrote your letter of February 16. While the Secretary and Robertson will be away most of the month, Phleger will be here. He is not making any part of the trip to the Middle and Far East with the Secretary. Of course Bill Sebald and I will be on the job here. The Department of course will continue to be the central clearing house for your instructions. However it will be a good idea to keep both the Secretary and Robertson currently informed on any important developments. You should use your judgment as to which messages you will repeat for the information of the Secretary and Robertson. We will repeat the guidance telegram to them, and any others which we feel they should know about. We will also repeat as we consider necessary telegrams or extracts of telegrams from you which you have not repeated. We understand that ordinarily they will wire any comments they may have to the Department rather than to you. If they should wire you direct they will repeat the messages to the Department. In this way we should have good coordination although at some additional expense. You will of course not be necessary to repeat the full reports

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

of the meetings to either of the travelers. We will try to keep the traffic on the Geneva talks at a minimum both for reasons of economy and because their time will be so fully occupied. The schedules of both are enclosed.

2. We have had some tentative second thoughts on the subject of Chinese prisoners in U. S. jails. When the Secretary got back from his vacation he expressed the thought that may be we could get some dividends out of offering to deport some Chinese dope traffickers and murders to Mainland China at Chinese Communist expense. It was his thought that it would be good riddance, would impose a burden on the Chinese Communists, take some wind out of their propaganda sails, and maybe improve the prospects of our imprisoned citizens. Of course it was understood that deportability under our laws would have to be established first, and presumably the prisoners would have to express a desire to return to the Mainland. We are making some very cautious and tentative efforts to explore the situation further. We are asking the Attorney General to use the resources of the Federal Bureau of Prisons and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to find out just what aliens are in Federal and State penitentiaries, what their offenses are, and the length of their terms. This is being done in a very discreet way under an injunction of complete secrecy. There will be no consultation with the prisoners, at least at this stage. We are aware of the fact that if the Communists got the names of Chinese aliens in prisons it would be quite a windfall to them which they could exploit actively. Undoubtedly they are making great efforts to come up with the names of some Chinese aliens in prison in this country. Unless we are able

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to establish in advance that all could be parolled for deportation, it would probably be better not to stir the waters onthis at all. We have made no decision beyond the very limited one to have this list compiled. We will decide what if anything we do with the information after we have studied it. If you have any thoughts on this, we would welcome them. We can't be sure from your messages just how effective Wang's complaints on this subject have been. Enclosure No. 2 is a contingency statement we have drafted for possible use in the event of a breakdown of the talks if we decide not to do anything about Chinese imprisoned in this country, and if the Chinese Communists try to make a major propaganda point about it. Bear in mind that it is not yet certain we would take this public position in any event. It is all tentative. Again we would like your reaction to it. I consider the thesis somewhat vulnerable in some respects, in view of our unqualified position on American prisoners, and our contention that nothing in the oral give and take of the discussions affects the literal wording of the Agreed Announcement. This statement was drafted before the Secretary's return, and our thinking on this subject has changed somewhat since it was drafted.

3. We wired you yesterday about the formation of a Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to investigate the mistreatment of American civilians in Communist China. We gather that this was done on fairly short notice and without any very definite ideas as to what the scope of the investigation would be, or how it would be conducted. So far the Subcommittee has only asked us for the names of all American civilians imprisoned at any time by the Chinese Communists, and their present addresses. Apparently the

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thought is to invite (not suppoena) a number of them to come to Washington to testify before the Committee. We do not know whether public or closed hearings are contemplated. We would guess that the former is more likely. It would seem that there is no thought of censoring the Department in connection with this investigation. The attitude is one of cooperation, ~~although naturally~~ However we would be concerned if the investigation should adversely effect the Geneva talks or the prospects of the imprisoned Americans. If we should give them the Lindbeck study (which is now undergoing a final revision), they might well publish it at any time and we would lose control of the timing of the release. We would like to have your assessment of the effects on your talks and the American prisoners of a well publized Congressional Investigation, with several victims telling their stories before the cameras and microphones.

4. We are not sure now that the proposed NATO briefing by Amb. Perkins will come off. There is really not much that he could say beyond what was contained in the January press release. There might be a feeling of disappointment on the part of the NATO representatives and an unfounded but nevertheless real suspicion that we were holding out on them. So it might be counterproductive. At the moment Phleger and FE are inclining to the view that it might be better to avoid the subject at NATO until the Secretary gets there for the Ministerial Meeting in April. But the subject is still under consideration.

The instructions for todays meeting were pretty stereotype but it seems necessary to play the same old record. We are devoting considerable

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speculation to the reasons for the rather abrupt disappearance of Wang's impatience.

Good luck at today's meeting and renewed congratulations on the more than satisfactory way you are handling the rugged assignment.

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Press Release No. 62 (Secretary's schedule)
2. Mr. Robertson's schedule
3. Draft Contingency Statement

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502

WANG TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

575

Action Assigned to CA/R

-51

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Control: 15026
Rec'd: FEBRUARY 27, 1956
Date 2:39PM ion

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

iR

NO: 1558, FEBRUARY 27, 7 PM

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

This Document must be Returned to the RM/R Central Files

FROM JOHNSON

FOL LIST NAMES HANDED ME BY WANG 38TH MEETING FEBRUARY 24:

. . . . . .

611.93/2-2756

PA

FILED

FEB 27 1959

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GOWEN

OW

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1956 FEB 27 PM 5 18

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 503

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

580

13338

1956 FEB 28 7 39

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY 1693

Origin

Info

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for March 1 Meeting.

1. Implementation Agreed Announcement.

Lay particular stress on long time lapse since last American, Dr. Bradshaw, released Dec. 20. Contrast this record of complete non-performance for over two months with steady flow of voluntary departures Chinese from this country to Mainland China. At least 114 such Chinese arrived Communist China since August 1, 1955, 35 of these since December 20. You should again draw attention to these sizeable figures. Note that current Chinese Communist record on fulfillment of its obligations under Agreed Announcement, far from improving, is even worse than unsatisfactory standard established Autumn 1955. Record can only be construed as evidence of Chinese Communists contempt for their publicly pledged word and that they do not expect achieve anything constructive on other topics. Wang must be aware constructive achievement unlikely in atmosphere engendered by open flouting of Chinese Communist undertaking.

2. FYI We are requesting on confidential basis solely for our own guidance a survey by Attorney General of identity, status and eligibility for voluntary deportation all alien Chinese prisoners in Federal and State penitentiaries

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611.93/2-2856

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 2/28/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

L- Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)
~~FE - Mr. Sebald~~ " "

55

SECRET
Classification

11160

FEB 28 1956 P.M.

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611.93/2-2856

SECRET FILE

SECRET
Classification

penitentiaries. Would like your views as to whether Wang has gotten or can be gotten into position where if we were to deport such prisoners PRC would feel bound to release and deport ~~he would be forced to repatriate or deport all~~ US prisoners in China.

3. FYI We are telegraphing separately summary of conversation with Indian Embassy officer in which he requested our assistance in ascertaining current addresses of Chinese whose names submitted to you by Wang. Indian Embassy wishes to mail copies Agreed Announcement to all these individuals. END FYI

4. Renunciation of Force.

Adhere to and restate as necessary principles already fully enunciated. You should again take no repeat no initiative to reposition either of controversial clauses.

Dulles
DULLES

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Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (504)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

13339 529

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY 1694

Origin

Info

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FYI Indian Embassy officer said February 28 that Embassy had sent copies Agreed Announcement to some of individuals on lists given you by Wang and asked whether Department could provide addresses of remainder. He was told we felt adequate publicity had already been given Agfeed Announcement and did not consider it ~~xxx~~ necessary send copies to individuals named in these lists. We had told Wang in Geneva we did not intend investigate names he gave us unless he showed these persons obstructed from leaving. He had made such specific allegation in only one case which we had investigated but had been unable locate individual and had asked Wang for additional facts to enable us to investigate further.

In response ~~to~~ inquiry regarding publicity given Agreed Announcement in prisons, Embassy officer was told we had investigated and satisfied ourselves ~~that~~ information about ~~the~~ Agreed Announcement was available to prisoners through newspaper and radio facilities provided in prisons.

Dulles
(Approved)

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/ikb 2/28/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: WPMcC

11162

FEB 28 1956 P M

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505

41

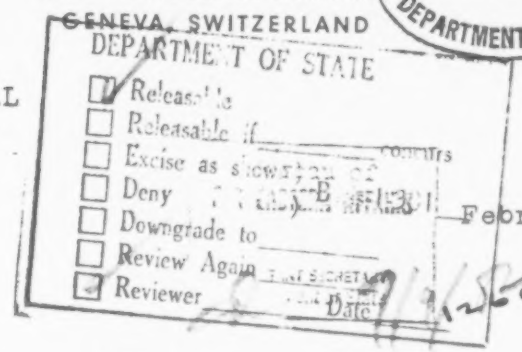
WJS

R WPM

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
MAR 11 - 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 9/12/60



OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 24 February 28, 1956

Dear Walter:

I have just come in from Prague this afternoon and have read your very interesting and helpful letter No. 32.

I have noted and will carry out your suggestions with regard to keeping the Secretary and Robertson informed while they are on their trip.

The following are my thoughts with regard to the subject of Chinese prisoners in the United States:

The quid pro quo for the release of the 13 are not Chinese in United States prisons (they have no real interest other than propaganda in them) but the agreed announcement of the Renunciation of Force and the Foreign Ministers' meeting. We would get a few more releases if and when agreement is reached on the agreed announcement, particularly if we made some concession that would permit agreement to be reached. We would then probably get the remainder of the 13 if and when they saw agreement in sight on a Foreign Ministers' meeting. They would probably be willing to make some deal whereby announcement of the completion of the release of the remainder of the 13 would be made prior to the announcement of the Foreign Ministers' meeting.

Do not misunderstand that I am necessarily advocating any of the foregoing which is only what I consider a realistic and cold-blooded assessment of their position.

They have seized on the issue of Chinese in United States prisons only as a convenient and somewhat telling counterattack against our stress on the 13. They have been somewhat feeling their way and are becoming increasingly convinced that they have an effective point. However, for us now to come forward with

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

some release of Chinese in United States prisons would only serve to strengthen their point by demonstrating that after all these months since the agreed announcement the United States is belatedly and partially admitting to the validity of their complaints and its failure "expeditiously" to carry out the Agreement. I do not think that this would result in any additional release of Americans and would only serve to give Peiping an additional propaganda weapon. Only a full and impartially confirmed release of all Chinese in prison desiring to or willing to return when they heard about this could serve to bring any real pressure to release the remaining Americans. I frankly do not see how such an operation would be practical, even if desirable, and there is no assurance that it would result in the release of all Americans.

As you know, I was very doubtful of the wisdom after our September 10 announcement of belaboring the question of implementation the way we did. Not with any intent of recrimination and only for the purpose of attempting to analyze the present situation, I feel that the belaboring of ~~the~~ implementation during that period caused them to search frantically for a counter and finally strike on this issue of Chinese prisoners. However, since we have reached the situation, I see little choice but to continue to pursue our same tactics. However, we should not be under any illusions that they will produce any significant release of Americans, as they now feel that they have struck a sufficiently good propaganda counterpressure on us with the issue of Chinese in United States prisons. And they will continue to belabor that issue as long as we belabor the 13. I think it possible that if I were to let up on the 13 he might well let up on the Chinese in United States prisons, but I do not know whether this would be a good idea at this time. It would only be good in the sense that I have always thought that the more we make an issue of the 13 the harder it becomes for them to release them, the more they become convinced that our only interest in the talks is getting the release of all the Americans, and the more valuable they estimate the 13 may be to them in extracting political concessions from us.

What worries me is the inevitable day he comes along with the name of a Chinese in prison. I thoroughly agree with you that they must be making every effort in this direction. A thorough search of their files of United States newspapers should alone produce some names. I frankly do not know what we do at that point except to do our best to persuade the man that prison in the United States is preferable to returning to Communist China and when we are sure that he will say this, let the Indians see him and have him tell it to them.

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I do not think much of the contingency press release upon prisoners but I am not holding up this letter to make a redraft. I will send my ideas along as quickly as possible.

After seeing Lindbeck's study and reconsidering the matter from the standpoint of the situation at which we have now arrived, I am inclined to think that its publication now could do little harm as far as its effect on subsequent releases of the 13, and it might be a useful counter to Chinese charges on Chinese in United States prisons. Its sober, carefully balanced tone eliminates some of the objections I previously had to the publication of a White Paper on this subject and, in any event, I feel the situation is somewhat changed. I, therefore, offer no objection to its publication if the Department considers it would otherwise be a good idea to put it out now. It occurs to me that it might also help in handling the Foreign Affairs Sub-committee hearings.

As far as those hearings are concerned, I can only say that I cannot see how a publicized and inevitably sensationalized camera and microphone show can help at this time in obtaining any releases of any additional Americans, and I feel it may well hurt whatever slim chances they may now have. I would, therefore, suggest from my standpoint that the Department attempt to discourage this type of hearing, using my views if you think it would be useful, but not take any strong position of opposition. I do not think that the Department should open itself to any possibility of charges that it is attempting to suppress such information.

As of this writing, I have not received instructions for Thursday's meeting. I assume that you are working on them today and that they will be in tomorrow morning.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. Feb. 29 a.m.

Have received the instructions for the March 1 me ting this morning since writing the above. My views on Chinese

prisoners

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prisoners asked for in Para. 2 of the instructions are largely incorporated in this letter. However, I want to think about it some more and will reply by telegraph.

I am somewhat disturbed by the answer given the Indians in the second sentence of your 1694, although I am not sure I would have been able to suggest a good alternative. If we felt giving the Indians the addresses would establish an undesirable precedent, I feel we should have found some grounds for refusing other than we "did not feel it necessary" to send copies to the individuals named. The Agreed Announcement provides the Indian Embassy may also give publicity thereto and I do not feel me should be in a position that could be interpreted as preventing them from doing something that comes within the strict terms of the announcement and which they consider desirable. There is also the question of consistency with the position we have taken with respect to O'Neil's functions.

However, as a broader matter, I would be inclined to go a long way in keeping the Indian Embassy completely satisfied and well informed. We "invited" them to undertake their functions and our position is so strong with regard to the freedom of the general run of Chinese in the United States to depart if they desire to do so that we can well afford to let the Indians fully satisfy themselves on this. They can be our most useful ally in establishing the strength of our position and I feel we should make every possible effort to cultivate their support. Nothing could so effectively further spike the Communist charges as the Indians sending the text of the announcement to some individuals and getting back replies that they did not desire to leave. Let us hope they get such replies in those cases where they have transmitted the announcement.

I wonder, for example, if it might be a good idea to read them some of Wang's milder charges. I know you have all of this very much in mind, but I wanted to express my feeling that on the basis of what I have seen of our exchanges with the Indian Embassy we could in some cases with advantage to ourselves be somewhat more forthcoming than it seems to me we have been.

DAN

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (506)

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Department of State

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581
10618
... 1 09
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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1695
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

Communists returned to UNCMAC February 25 list of 2720 missing UNC personnel handed them by UNCMAC November 26. Notation in Korean after each name indicates individual disposition. Notations presently being translated and UNCMAC expects transmit Washington with comments and analysis March

FYI Message from CINCUNC indicates 1084 still carried on list as "no data available". We are not repeat not sanguine that any useful new information provided, although can not be certain until translation completed. END FYI

Dulles
(WDMcC)

DULLES

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CJC

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 2/29/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

S/S-CR

FEB 29 1956 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (507)

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Department of State

13748

SECRET
Classification

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1697
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Our 1693 first paragraph.

In citing arrivals Chinese in Communist China from US you may make further itemization. Our records show minimum 67 arrivals between September 10 and December 20 and 35 since December 20.

Dulles (WPMcC)

DULLES

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DC/B
Ref. 55
Ref.
Cat.

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 2/29/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

S/S-CR
FEB 29 1956 P.M.

11163

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583

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31
Action
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Info
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4:35 AM

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Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1569, MARCH 1, 9 AM

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FROM JOHNSON

PADMANABHAN, RECENTLY ARRIVED INDIAN REP HERE, WHOM I HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY MET, PAID "COURTESY CALL" ON ME YESTERDAY EVENING. DURING COURSE CONVERSATION HE GAVE ME UNDERSTAND HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TALK WITH ME AND REPORT TO NEW DELHI PRIOR SECRETARYS ARRIVAL THERE. NOT CLEAR HOW MUCH WAS NEW DELHI'S INITIATIVE AND HOW MUCH KRISHNA MENONS.

I TALKED TO HIM AT LENGTH ALONG LINES DEPTS JAN 21 STATEMENT POINTING OUT NO CHANGE SINCE THAT TIME. I STRONGLY STRESSED CHICOM FAILURE CARRY OUT COMMITMENT RELEASE IMPRISONED AMERICANS, INFLUENCE THIS HAVING ON AMERICAN OPINION AND WITH INCREASED PASSAGE TIME INCREASINGLY SERIOUS EFFECTS. FAITHFUL CARRYING OUT COMMITMENT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING SEPT 10 COULD HAVE HAD VERY FAVORABLE EFFECTS, LESS FAVORABLE NOW, AND MORE TIME PERMITTED PASS LESS FAVORABLE ANY EFFECTS WILL BE. U.S. WILL NOT TRADE POLITICAL CONCESSIONS FOR RELEASE. CHICOM ATTEMPT CREATE SMOKESCREEN WITH UNFOUNDED CHARGES CONCERNING CHINESE IN U.S. ETC. ALSO EXPLAINED ISSUES ON RENUNCIATION FORCE STRESSING WANG'S LACK DENIAL ATTEMPT OBTAIN IN DECLARATION RENUNCIATION OUR POSITION WITH RESPECT TAIWAN, ABSENCE RIGIDITY OUR APPROACH EXACT WORDING DECLARATION BUT WANGS REFUSAL RECIPROCATE, MY SUSPICION THEIR EXACT POSITION ETC.

HE SAID INDIANS HAD EXPECTED PROMPT RELEASE ALL AMERICA FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT AND WERE AT LOSS EXPLAIN WHY IT HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE.

IN REPLY HIS STATEMENT KRISHNA MENON HAD ASKED HIM TELL ME
HE WOULD BE

611.93/3-156

PA FILED FEB 27 1959

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HE WOULD BE GLAD TO SEE ME ANY TIME I THOUGHT HE COULD BE HELPFUL. I SAID I WOULD ALWAYS BE GLAD SEE KRISHNA MENON WHENEVER HE WANTED SEE ME. I MADE IT CLEAR DID NOT WELCOME KRISHNA MENONS SUGGESTION PADMANABHAN HAVE WANG AND ME TO MEAL. HOWEVER, I LET HIM KNOW I HAD TAKEN INITIATIVE IN HAVING WANG TO MEAL SHORTLY AFTER OPENING OUR TALKS.

GOWEN

EGL

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 1 AM 10 32
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

509

WNG TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

33-B
Action
FE

Info
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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 330
Rec'd at: MARCH 1, 1956
9:58 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 1571, MARCH 1, 3 PM

NIACT

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. AT THREE HOUR 25 MIN MEETING THIS MORNING NO PROGRESS WHATEVER, EVEN SOME RETROGRESSION WANG'S PART.

2. ESSENCE OF HIS POSITION THIS MORNING WAS IF WE INSIST ON SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN IN DECLARATION MUST BE COUPLED WITH AGREEMENT ON FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AS SET FORTH THEIR OCTOBER 27 DRAFT. IF WE NOT WILLING NOW AGREE FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING ONLY ACCEPTABLE FORM DECLARATION IS THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT. "AMBIGUOUS" U.S. ATTITUDE ON FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE AND INSISTENCE ON U.S. AMENDMENTS TO DECEMBER 1 DRAFT SHOW U.S. PURPOSE IS TO "PROCRASTINATE" FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN ORDER MAINTAIN STATUS QUO "ITS SEIZURE TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE IN LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS". FOUR SUCCESSIVE TIMES DURING MEETING HE CAREFULLY COUPLED "LIBERATION" WITH OFFSHORE ISLANDS AND NOT WITH TAIWAN AS FORMERLY.

3. U.S. INSISTENCE ON BOTH AMENDMENTS TO DECEMBER 1 DRAFT IS FOR PURPOSE OBSTRUCTING ISSUANCE DECLARATION.

4. AFTER MY REITERATION OUR POSITION HE SAID THERE WAS "NO POINT IN CONTINUING THIS SORT OF DISCUSSION" AND THAT PRC WAS "CONSIDERING" ISSUANCE OF PUBLIC STATEMENT. I REGRETTED AND DEPLORED THEIR AGAIN GOING TO PUBLIC AS INDICATION REAL LACK DESIRE ON THEIR PART MAKE PROGRESS AND ASKED FOR RECONSIDERATION, BUT EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS LET PUBLIC JUDGE SIDE PREVENTING AGREEMENT ON MEANINGFUL DECLARATION.

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DECLARATION. COULD GET NO INDICATION WHEN AND WHERE STATEMENT WILL BE MADE BUT PRESUME IF MADE WILL FOLLOW SAME PATTERN AS PREVIOUSLY THAT IS, ISSUANCE BY PEIPING WITH COPIES MADE AVAILABLE HERE.

5. IMPLEMENTATION TOOK FAMILIAR LINES WITH MY INCLUDING POINTS CONTAINED PARA 1 DEPTEL 1693.

6. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY MARCH 8.

7. AM GOING PRAGUE TOMORROW MORNING, RETURNING HERE TUESDAY.

GOWEN

EGL

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 3/1/56 10:45 a.m. EMB(CWO)

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1956 MAR 1 AM 11 31

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

510

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

585

CONFIDENTIAL

37-36
Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS

Control: 403
Rec'd: MARCH 1, 1956
11:25 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1572, MARCH 1, 4 PM

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

RE PARA 2 DEPTEL 1693. MY ANSWER TO LAST SENTENCE IS NEGATIVE. BELIEVE THEIR PRINCIPAL INTEREST IN CHINESE PRISONERS IN U.S. IS AS COUNTERWEIGHT TO OUR EMPHASIS ON THEIR FAILURE RELEASE 13. THEIR QUID PRO QUO FOR 13 REMAINS POLITICAL CONCESSIONS. AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION WOULD RESULT SOME ADDITIONAL RELEASES AND ASSURANCE AGREEMENT ON FOMIN CONFERENCE WOULD PROBABLY RESULT IN RELEASE REMAINDER.

DEPORTATION SOME RPT SOME CHINESE PRISONERS AFTER PRESENT LAPSE OF TIME SINCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD ONLY BE USED BY THEM AS LENDING SUBSTANCE THEIR CHARGE WE HAVE HERETOFORE BEEN VIOLATING AGREEMENT. IF PRACTICABLE DEPORTATION ALL RPT ALL CHINESE PRISONERS ABLE AND WILLING GO CONFIRMED BY INDIANS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY SERVE AS SOME PRESSURE ON PRC RELEASE ADDITIONAL AMERCCANS BUT DOUBT WHETHER ACTUAL RESULT WOULD BE RELEASE OFNALL.

Action Assigned to CD/DR
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action
Name of
Direction

EGL

NOTE: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) 3/1/56 1:10 p.m. MG

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511

56-M

SECRET

Control: 540
Rec'd: MARCH 1, 1956
1:58 PM

EA/OIR 586

Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS
G

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1574, MARCH 1, 7 PM

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING.

1. DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE FROM FULL RECORD TODAY'S MEETING WANG NO LONGER MAKING EVEN ANY PRETENSE OF MEETING OR RESPONDING TO MY ARGUMENTS.

2. MY ANALYSIS THEIR ACTUAL PRESENT POSITION IS THAT THEY WILLING "RENOUNCE FORCE" WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TAIWAN IF WE AGREE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING BUT THEY WOULD NOT CONSIDER ANY SUCH RENUNCIATION VALID BEYOND POINT FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD MET AND FAILED ACHIEVE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ON SUBSTANTIALLY THEIR TERMS OF "PROBLEM OF REDUCTION TENSIONS TAIWAN AREA. IT POSSIBLE THEY WOULD CONSIDER EVEN SUCH A LIMITED RENUNCIATION NOT APPLICABLE OFFSHORE ISLANDS. I DO NOT CONSIDER THIS NECESSARILY IMPLIES ANY IMMEDIATE INTENTION ATTACK OFFSHORES BUT ONLY THAT THEY NOT WILLING EVEN IN THIS LIMITED SENSE BIND THEMSELVES WITH RESPECT TO THEM.

3. FOREGOING IS OF COURSE POLES REMOVED FROM OUR POSITION ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND UNLESS FURTHER OUTSIDE INFLUENCES ARE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THEM MAKES POSSIBILITY OF ANY AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION ON OUR TERMS VERY REMOTE. DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW ANY FURTHER PROGRESS CAN BE ACHIEVED SOLELY ON BASIS DISCUSSION IN MEETINGS.

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1/6

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1577, MARCH 1, 10 PM (SECTION 1 OF 6)

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. IN VIEW WANG'S EVIDENT RELUCTANCE OPEN, I OPENED 39TH MEETING BY SAYING THAT IN THINKING OVER OUR DISCUSSION AT LAST MEETING, IT SEEMED TO ME WE WERE STILL TENDING TO GET AWAY FROM PRINCIPAL AND IMMEDIATE TASK BEFORE USUN THAT IS QUESTION OF DECLARATION. DETAILS OF OUR RESPECTIVE SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS WITH REGARD OUR VARIOUS DISPUTES SEEMED TO BE OBSCURING REAL OBJECT AT THIS STAGE IN OUR TALKS. TO USE A VERNACULAR ENGLISH PHRASE, WE SEEMED TO BE GETTING INTO POSITION OF NOT SEEING FOREST FOR TREES.

A. I CONTINUED FROM PREPARED STATEMENT, WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE TRYING TO DO IS TO AGREE ON DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE OF FORCE. THAT IS WHERE AGREEMENT IS ESSENTIAL AT THIS STAGE. IT WOULD BE FINE IF WOULD AGREE ON EVERYTHING ELSE TOO, BUT PAST WEEKS HAVE SHOWN THAT WE HAVE DIFFICULTY ENOUGH WITHOUT BORROWING MORE. CAN WE NOT AT THIS STAGE SEEK AGREEMENT WHERE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO TASK AT HAND AND LEAVE OUR OTHER DIFFERENCES FOR SETTLEMENT WHEN WE REACH THAT STAGE?

B. HERE IS AN EXAMPLE OF WHAT I REGARD AS AN AREA WHERE AGREEMENT IS ESSENTIAL AT THIS STAGE. PURPOSE OF PROPOSED DECLARATION IS TO FACILITATE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF OUR DISPUTES BY FIRST RENOUNCING USE OF FORCE IN REGARD TO THOSE DISPUTES. DECLARATION CAN HAVE THIS EFFECT ONLY IF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE IS UNCONDITIONALLY BINDING WITH RESPECT TO ALL OUR DISPUTES. NEITHER OF US SHOULD BE ABLE, FOLLOWING ISSUANCE OF

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DECLARATION, TO CLAIM THAT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT PORTION APPLIES TO A CERTAIN DISPUTE BUT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE PORTION DOES NOT APPLY TO THAT SAME DISPUTE.

C. I HOPE YOU FOLLOW ME THUS FAR. UNLESS WORDS OF OUR DECLARATION HAVE THIS MEANING FOR BOTH OF US, IT SEEMS TO BE THAT WE CAN ONLY TALK IN CIRCLES.

D. HOWEVER, WITH RESPECT TO THIS SAME PART OF DECLARATION, THERE IS AN AREA WHERE DISAGREEMENT AT THIS STAGE IS NOT ONLY PERMISSIBLE BUT INEVITABLE. WITH RESPECT TO NATURE AND ORIGIN OF OUR DISPUTES, YOU HAVE YOUR VIEWS, AND I HAVE MINE. YOU HAVE YOUR VIEWS AS TO WHAT KIND OF A SETTLEMENT OF EACH OF THESE DISPUTES WOULD ACCEPTABLE. I HAVE MINE. DIFFERENCES AS TO MERITS OF OUR RESPECTIVE VIEWS NEED NOT, HOWEVER, PREVENT OUR AGREEMENT AS TO UNCONDITIONAL AND BINDING NATURE OF OUR COM - MITMENT NOT TO USE FORCE AGAINST ONE ANOTHER IN SUPPORT OF THESE VIEWS.

E. SIMILARLY, WITH RESPECT TO LAST PARAGRAPH OF MY JANUARY 12 DRAFT, WHICH IS IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT, THERE ARE BOTH AN AREA WHERE AGREEMENT IS NECESSARY AND AN AREA WHERE DISAGREEMENT AT THIS STAGE IS PERMISSIBLE. WE MUST BE IN AGREEMENT IN OUR DETERMINATION WITHOUT RESERVATION TO SEEK PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS OF REALIZING COMMON DESIRE SET FORTH IN PRECEDING CLAUSES. WE MUST BE IN AGREEMENT AS TO DESIRABILITY OF CONTINUING THESE TALKS. IN SEARCH FOR SUCH PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS. HOWEVER, WE DO NOT AT THIS STAGE HAVE TO DETERMINE JUST WHAT THE PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS ARE. MUST WE FIND WHAT WE ARE GOING TO SEEK BEFORE WE BEGIN OUR SEARCH?

F. SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IS PARALLEL SHOULD BOTH BE ABLE TO AGREE THAT IN CONFORMITY WITH UN CHARTER AND WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW, EACH OF US IS ENTITLED TO MAKE CLEAR IN THIS DECLARATION THAT WE ARE NOT RENOUNCING OUR RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE. IT IS ONLY ESSENTIAL THAT WE AGREE AT THIS STAGE THAT NEITHER OF US IS RENOUNCING THAT RIGHT. HOWEVER, HERE TOO, AS WITH OTHER CLAUSES, A DISTINCTION CAN BE DRAWN BETWEEN

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AREA WHERE AGREEMENT IS NECESSARY AT THIS STAGE AND AREA IN WHICH SOME DISAGREEMENT IS NOT ONLY PERMISSIBLE BUT INEVITABLE.

G. YOU HAVE YOUR VIEWS AS TO PLACES AND CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH US WOULD, IN CASE OF NECESSITY EXERCISE THAT RIGHT. I HAVE MY VIEWS, WHICH DIFFER FROM YOURS, REGARDING PLACES AND CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH YOUR COUNTRY HAS CLAIMED EXERCISE OF THAT RIGHT. TO ATTEMPT AT THIS STAGE TO IRON OUT ALL SUCH DIFFERENCES, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE, ACTUAL AND POTENTIAL, WOULD BE FUTILE AND CAN ONLY HAVE PURPOSE IF INTENT IS TO BLOCK RATHER THAN REACH AGREEMENT ON OUR DECLARATION.

H. I HAVE OUTLINED MY VIEWS POINT BY POINT AND IN CONCRETE FASHION, CONCERNING AREAS IN WHICH I CONSIDER AGREEMENT IS ESSENTIAL TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING IN OUR DECLARATION. IF YOU ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH ME ON THESE POINTS, LET US PROCEED WITH ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION. IF WE ARE IN AGREEMENT IN THESE ESSENTIAL AREAS, MAY WE NOT LEAVE OUR DISAGREEMENTS IN OTHER AREAS TO BE IRONED OUT IN LATER STAGE OF SEEKING PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR SETTLEMENT OF OUR DISPUTES?

2. WANG SAID, READING FROM NOTES, I RECALL IT IS 20TH MEETING TODAY SINCE WE STARTED OUR DISCUSSION ON ISSUANCE OF A DECLARATION. WE HAD HOPED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR US TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION.

3. WANG SAID, SUCH AN AGREEMENT AS I HAVE PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT, MUST NOT BE TAKEN AS CAPABLE OF RESOLVING ALL QUESTIONS BETWEEN US. SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD ONLY INDICATE A COMMON DESIRE OF US TO SETTLE ISSUES BETWEEN US. SUCH A DESIRE SHOULD BE ONE THAT IS ACCEPTABLE TO EITHER OF US. HOW CAN WE BE EXPECTED REACH AN AGREEMENT IF ONE SIDE TRIES TO IMPOSE ITS VIEWS ON OTHER?

4. WANG SAID, AT LAST MEETING HE SAID TO ME THAT HE HOPED I WOULD BE ABLE TO PUT FORTH FURTHER CONCRETE OPINIONS AT THIS MEETING. HOWEVER AFTER LISTENING CAREFULLY TO STATEMEMTS

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MADE AT THIS MEETING HE FOUND WE STILL REMAIM IN SAME PLACE AS WE FOUND SELVES PREVIOUSLY. WE HAVE NOW SPENT SO MUCH TIME DISCUSSING DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE OF FORCE THAT RESPECTIVE POSITIONS AND VIEWS OF OUR TWO SIDES HAVE NOW BECOME QUITE CLEAR. HE DIDN'T SEE ANY POINT IN LETTING CONFERENCES PROCEED IN THIS MANNER. IT SEEMED TO HIM THAT WE TURNING IN CIRCLES AND ALWAYS FINDING OURSELVES IN SAME PLACE IN DISCUSSION OF SUCH A DECLARATION. SUCH MANNER OF DISCUSSION IS NOT WHAT THEY ORIGINALLY EXPECTED IT TO BE. WANG SAID I SAID THIS MORNING WE SHOULD NOT TURN ROUND IN CIRCLES IN DISCUSSION. HE IS WILLING TO EXPLORE GROUND WITH ME IN ALL FRANKNESS TO SEE IF THERE IS ANY HOPE REACH AGREEMENT IN THIS RESPECT.

5. WANG TURNED TO PREPARED STATEMENT AND SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT ONCE AGAIN THAT CLAUSE ON SELF-DEFENSE RIGHT ADVANCED BY MY SIDE IN DRAFT DECLARATION WAS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THEIR SIDE. FOR, AS HIS SIDE REPEATEDLY EXPLAINED, IT WAS INTENT MY SIDE BY SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE TO GET THEM INTO RECOGNIZING IN EFFECT STATUS QUO US SEIZURE TAIWAN AND US INTERFERENCE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN OFFSHORE ISLANDS. STATEMENTS I HAD MADE AT LAST FEW MEETINGS INDICATED THAT MY SIDE ITSELF HAS BEEN AWARE THAT SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE CAN BE REMOVED FROM DECLARATION. THEREFORE, NO POINT ARGUING. SHOULD MY SIDE INSIST ON SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE HIS SIDE CAN ONLY COME TO CONCLUSION THAT MY SIDE NOT DESIRING REACH AGREEMENT.

6. WANG SAID, AS REGARDS MY OTHER AMENDMENT TO HIS DEC 1 DRAFT, "THEY WILL NOT RESORT TO FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA OR ELSEWHERE", HIS SIDE HAS POINTED OUT THAT THIS IS ATTEMPT TO CONFUSE INTERNATIONAL ISSUE BETWEEN US AND CHINA IN TAIWAN AREA WITH INTERNAL AFFAIR OF CHINA IN EXERCISING RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS.

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NO: 1577, MARCH 1, 11 PM (SECTION TWO OF SIX)

PRIORITY

7. WANG SAID I STATED AT LAST MEETING THAT US DID NOT ACKNOWLEDGE EXERCISE BY CHINA OF SOVEREIGNTY RIGHTS OVER TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS AS INTERNAL MATTER OF CHINA. THIS HAS ALL MORE EXPOSED MY ATTEMPT CONFUSE INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE WITH CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THUS, IF DECLARATION WERE TO INCLUDE AMBIGUOUS TERMS OF MY AMENDMENTS, EVEN IF SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WERE REMOVED FROM DECLARATION, US COULD STILL ACCOMPLISH ITS ENDS OF SEIZURE OF TAIWAN AND ITS INTERFERENCE IN LIBERATION OF OFFSHORE ISLANDS.

8. WANG SAID, FURTHERMORE IN LIGHT OF AMBIGUOUS ATTITUDE WHICH MY SIDE HAS SO FAR TAKEN REGARDING HOLDING OF SINO-US FONMIN CONFERENCES, IT THREW MORE LIGHT ON MY ATTEMPT CALCULATED AT OBTAINING BY TRICKERY A VAGUE DECLARATION WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO INTERPRET CHINA'S INTERNAL MATTER AS ALLEGEDLY BEING COVERED BY SCOPE OF SINO-US DECLARATION AND THUS JUSTIFYING CONTINUED SEIZURE AND OBSTRUCTION OF CHINA'S EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS WHILE ON OTHER HAND US WOULD PROCRASTINATE OVER A LONG PERIOD AND REFUSE HOLD FONMIN CONFERENCE IN ORDER MAINTAIN STATUS QUO US SEIZURE TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS. HE MUST SAY FRANKLY THAT HIS SIDE HAS SEEN THROUGH SUCH DESIGN AND HIS SIDE WOULD NOT BE EASILY DUPED.

9. WANG SAID HIS SIDE MUST RESTATE: THAT CHINA'S EXERCISE SOVEREIGNTY OVER TAIWAN AND OFFSHTRE ISLANDS, WHICH IS INTERNAL MATTER, AND INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND US IN TAIWAN AREA MUST BE SEPARATED. IT ENTIRELY MATTER CHINA SOVEREIGN RIGHT AND INTERNAL MATTER AS TO WHATEVER MEANS WILL BE USED FOR LIBERATION TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS AND US HAS NO RIGHT

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WHATSOEVER INTERFERE. HIS SIDE WOULD NEVER PERMIT TO SEE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS INVOLVED IN SINO-AMERICAN DECLARATION OR TO MAKE IT SUBJECT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH US.

10. WANG SAID AS REGARDS INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE BETWEEN US AND CHINA, ISSUANCE SINO-AMERICAN DECLARATION IS ONLY FIRST STEP TOWARDS SETTLEMENT AND EARNEST EFFORTS MUST BE MADE TO SEEK PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS TO ACHIEVE FINAL SETTLEMENT. HIS SIDE CONSIDERS FONMIN CONFERENCE IS EXACTLY SUCH PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS. IN VIEW FACT, THAT US HAS ALREADY RESORTED USE OF FORCE AND THREAT IN TAIWAN AREA, IF AFTER ISSUANCE DECLARATION US FAILS TAKE ACTUAL ACTION TO GIVE EVIDENCE OF DESIRE EXPRESSED IN DECLARATION, THEN DECLARATION ITSELF WOULD BECOME SCRAP OF PAPER.

11. WANG SAID I HAD SAID AT LAST MEETING THAT DEC 1 DRAFT OF HIS SIDE DID NOT COVER TAIWAN AREA. HE WOULD LIKE REMIND ME THAT DURING APRIL 1954 WHEN CHOU EN-LAI AT BANDUNG MADE PROPOSAL THAT CHINA AND US ENTER NEGOTIATIONS, HE SPECIFICALLY STATED THAT PURPOSE WAS TO SETTLE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS QUESTION OF EASING AND ELIMINATING TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA. IN FIRST DRAFT WHICH HE HAD PUT FORWARD OCT 27, IT ALSO CLEARLY PROVIDED THAT CHINA AND US SHOULD HOLD FONMIN CONFERENCE TO SETTLE THROUGH NEGOTIATION QUESTION OF RELAXATION AND ELIMINATING TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA.

12. WANG SAID IT COULD THUS BE SEEN THAT HIS SIDE WAS NOT EVADING DISPUTES BETWEEN IT AND US IN TAIWAN AREA THOUGH DISPUTES ADDITIONALLY INCLUDED KOREAN QUESTION, IMPLEMENTATION OF GENEVA AGREEMENT ON INDOCHINA AND ESPCEIALLY SOUTH VIETNAM, AND US CREATION OF MANILA TREATY WHICH AIMED AGAINST CHINA, AND SUCH OTHER QUESTIONS. HOWEVER, IT WAS OBVIOUS DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND US IN TAIWAN AREA IS MAIN ISSUE OF ALL. THAT DISPUTE AROSE SOLELY AS RESULT US OCCUPATION TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS.

13. WANG SAID HIS SIDE HELD THAT FONMIN CONFERENCE BETWEEN CHINA AND US MUST BE HELD TO SETTLE THIS GRAVE DISPUTE.

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HIS DRAFT OF OCT 27 SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED FOR THIS LAST POINT. IT MERELY BECAUSE MY SIDE ONLY WILLING MAKE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLE AND WOULD NOT AGREE TO DECLARATIONS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONING SINO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF FONMIN. THUS HIS DEC 1 DRAFT DID NOT CONCRETELY MENTION SINO-US DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER, JUST IN SAME WAY AS MY SIDE ASSERTED THAT PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS DID NOT EXCLUDE SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA. IF MY SIDE DESIRED DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA BE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED, THEN MY SIDE MUST AGREE TO DECLARATIONS SPECIFICALLY MENTIONING FONMIN CONFERENCE, WITHOUT WHICH HIS SIDE WOULD BE LEFT WITH NO ASSURANCE WHATSOEVER.

14. WANG SAID QUESTION NOW BEFORE US QUITE CLEAR AND SIMPLE: IF IT DESIRED THAT DECLARATION MENTION SPECIFICALLY HOLDING FONMIN CONFERENCE AS WELL AS DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA, THEIR OCT 27 DRAFT IS THERE. IF HOWEVER IT NOT DESIROUS TO MENTION FONMIN CONFERENCE AND SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA, BUT THAT CONCRETE PROBLEMS MENTIONED ABOVE SHOULD BE LEFT AS NEXT STEP, THEN THEIR DEC 1 DRAFT STANDS. AS TO WHICH OF TWO DRAFTS WILL BE ADOPTED, THEY NOT INSISTENT. I MIGHT MAKE MY CHOICE BETWEEN EITHER OF TWO. HE ONLY WANTED STATE HERE THAT IN NEITHER THESE TWO DRAFTS DID HIS SIDE DEMAND PRIOR COMMITMENTS NOR THAT I ACCEPT HIS POSITION. THIS FAIR AND EQUITABLE. THAT WAS PRECISELY FUNDAMENTAL DISTINCTION BETWEEN HIS DRAFTS AND MINE. IF MY SIDE STILL DESIROUS OF MAKING RENUNCIATIC OF FORCE DECLARATION, HE SAW NO POSSIBILITY OUTSIDE TWO DRAFTS WHICH HIS SIDE HAD PRESENTED.

15. WANG SAID IN INTEREST OF ARRIVING AT AGREMENT WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY HE HAD EXHAUSTED ALL CLEAR WORDS AVAILABLE IN STATING HIS VIEWS AND HE HOPED MY SIDE WOULD MAKE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION.

16. I SAID IN EARLY PART HIS STATEMENT I THOUGHT HE STRUCK AT HEART OF ONE OF DIFFERENCES AND APPARENT LACK OF UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US. HE REFERRED TO THIS DECLARATION, WHICH WE DISCUSSED, AS ONLY INDICATING COMMON DESIRE TO SETTLE ISSUES BETWEEN US. LATER ON HE HAD REFERRED TO DECLARATION AS A RENUNCIATION

OF FORCE IN SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE BETWEEN US. IT SEEMED THAT HE HAD TENDED TO APPROACH MATTER FROM FORMER STANDPOINT.

17. I SAID I THOUGHT THEREFORE THAT PART OF OUR PROBLEM WAS WHETHER THIS DECLARATION WAS TO BE ONLY PIOUS REPETITION OF DESIRE TO SETTLE DISPUTES OR WHETHER IT WAS TO GENUINE RENUNCIATION OF APPEAL TO FORCE TO SETTLE OUR DISPUTES AND THEN IN THAT ATMOSPHERE TO SEEK MEANS PEACEFULLY TO SETTLE THEM--THIS WAS HEART OF DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH BETWEEN US. AS I HAD SAID THIS MORNING, QUESTION SEEMED TO BE WHETHER WE WERE IN THIS DECLARATION UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCING APPEAL TO FORCE WITH REGARD TO ALL OUR DISPUTES OR WHETHER WE ONLY PIOUSLY SAYING THAT WE DESIRE TO SETTLE DISPUTES PEACEFULLY BUT THAT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE APPLIES ONLY TO SOME OF THEM.

18. I SAID STATEMENT HE HAD MADE THIS MORNING WITH REGARD TO INCLUSION OF SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TAIWAN IN OUR DECLARATION, SEEMED TO ME TO BEAR OUT THIS VIEW OF MINE. I MUST SAY THAT I FIND MYSELF ENTIRELY UNABLE TO FOLLOW LOGIC HIS POSITION THIS REGARD.

19. I SAID WHAT IT SEEMED TO ME HE HAD SAID WAS THAT HE WAS WILLING MAKE SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN ONLY IN CONTEXT OF FONMIN CONFERENCE. THAT IS, HE WAS WILLING MAKE STATEMENT EXPRESSING HOPE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTE BETWEEN US IN TAIWAN AREA IF US AGREED IN ADVANCE THAT ONLY MEANS OF DISCUSSING SUCH SETTLEMENT WAS FONMIN CONFERENCE.

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FROM JOHNSON.

20. I SAID ON OTHER HAND HIS POSITION SEEMED TO COME DOWN TO AN UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE ALSO APPLIED OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. IT SEEMED ME HE SUGGESTING THAT, HOWEVER OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA MIGHT BE CHARACTERIZED, THEY WERE FREE TO USE FORCE IN THAT AREA.

21. I SAID IT HARD FOR ME BELIEVE HE COULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER THAT IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO PEACEFUL DISCUSSION AND SETTLEMENT OF OUR DISPUTES IF THEY WERE TO RESORT TO WAR IN VERY AREA WHERE HE HIMSELF AGREED OUR POLICIES WERE IN GREATEST CONFLICT. HE HIMSELF HAD SAID THIS MORNING THAT OUR PRINCIPAL DISPUTE LAY IN TAIWAN AREA. HE HAD SAID THIS MORNING THAT HIS DEC 1 DRAFT SPECIFICALLY COVERED TAIWAN AREA. IF THIS CASE, IT ENTIRELY INCOMPREHENSIBLE TO ME WHY HE UNWILLING ACCEPT MENTION OF TAIWAN AREA IN FORM SUGGESTED IN MY JAN 12 AMENDMENT IF HE WERE IN FACT WILLING RENOUNCE FORCE IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTE IN THAT AREA AND SEEK PEACEFUL MEANS FOR ITS SOLUTION.

22. I SAID HE HAD AGAIN REPEATED THIS MORNING THAT HE FOUND CLAUSE ON SELF-DEFENSE AS SUGGESTED MY JAN 12 AMENDMENT AS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE ON GROUNDS IT WAS INTENTION MY SIDE BY THAT CLAUSE TO OBTAIN RECOGNITION BY HIS SIDE OF US POSITION WITH REGARD THAT AREA. IT HARD FOR ME TO RECALL NUMBER OF TIMES I HAD HERE SAID THAT THERE WAS NO SUCH INTENT AND THAT THIS DID NOT REQUIRE HIM TO RECOGNIZE ANY PARTICULAR STATE OF

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AFFAIRS CONTRARY TO HIS VIEWS, ANY MORE THAN IT REQUIRES US TO RECOGNIZE ANY PARTICULAR STATE OF AFFAIRS CONTRARY ITS VIEWS. I COULD ASSURE HIM US WAS NOT SUBMITTING TO HIS GOVERNMENT FOR ITS APPROVAL OR RATIFICATION ANY OF OUR TREATIES OR AGREEMENTS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.

23. I SAID IN ITS PROPER RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER PARTS OF DECLARATION, SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE ONLY STATED FACT THAT IF ONE SIDE VIOLATED DECLARATION BY USING FORCE OTHER SIDE WOULD NOT HAVE RENOUNCED WHAT IT CONSIDERED ITS LEGITIMATE RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE.

24. I SAID POSITION TO SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE COULD BE BASED ON ONLY TWO POSSIBLE GROUNDS. THAT IS, THAT INTENT OF ONE SIDE IN ISSUING THIS DECLARATION IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH EXERCISE OF SELF-DEFENSE IN CASE OF NECESSITY BY OTHER SIDE. ONLY OTHER ALTERNATIVE WAS THAT ONE SIDE WAS ATTEMPTING TO GET OTHER SIDE TO RENOUNCE ITS VIEWS WITH REGARD TO CHARACTER OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. THIS I WANTED MAKE CLEAR WAS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE MY GOVERNMENT.

25. I SAID HOWEVER I CONTINUED MY WILLINGNESS TO STRIVE REACH WITH HIM AGREEMENT UPON THIS TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT SUBJECT. I FELT WAY TO REACHING AGREEMENT WAS NOT GIVING OF WHAT WERE IN FACT ULTIMATA, OR OF TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT POSITIONS, BUT TO CONTINUE TO STRIVE TO SEE WHETHER OR NOT AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED.

26. I SAID IT WAS IN THIS SENSE THAT I HAD MADE MY OPENING STATEMENT THIS MORNING. I HAD TRIED VERY HARD IN IT TO AVOID INTRODUCING EXTRANEOUS ISSUES NOT GERMANE TO OUR IMMEDIATE TASK. IT WAS UTTER NONSENSE TO SAY THAT BECAUSE US NOT WILLING IN THIS DECLARATION UNILATERALLY TO RENOUNCE ITS VIEWS WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA AND CONCEDE TO HIS VIEWS, THAT IT DID NOT DESIRE DECLARATION.

27. I SAID HE HAD SPOKEN THIS MORNING OF AMBIGUOUS TERMS OF OUR JAN 12 DRAFT. IT SEEMED ME THAT SHOE WAS ON OTHER

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FOOT. HIS OBJECTIONS TO THAT DRAFT APPEARED BE BASED PRECISELY UPON GROUNDS THAT IT REMOVED AMBIGUITIES OF HIS DEC DRAFT. IF DECLARATION WAS TO HAVE ANY REAL MEANING RATHER THAN JUST APPEARANCE OF AGREEMENT WHERE NO AGREEMENT EXISTED, THOSE AMBIGUITIES MUST BE CLARIFIED IN HIS DEC 1 DRAFT. I HAD INDICATED ESSENTIAL POINTS UPON WHICH WE CONSIDERED AMBIGUITIES MUST BE REMOVED.

28. I SAID I HAD INDICATED WAY, IN THE DECLARATION, THAT I FELT THOSE THOUGHTS MIGHT BE EXPRESSED. I STILL THOUGHT THAT LANGUAGE WHICH I HAD SUGGESTED WAS BEST WAY OF DOING IT, AND IF THERE WAS GENUINE AGREEMENT ON THESE ESSENTIALS, THERE SHOULD BE NO OBJECTION TO THAT LANGUAGE. HOWEVER, I HAVE NEVER PUT THIS FORWARD ON ANY ULTIMATUM OR TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT BASIS. I HAD REPEATEDLY INDICATED THAT IF HE HAD ANY THOUGHTS ON HOW IT COULD BE BETTER EXPRESSED I WAS WILLING LISTEN HIS SUGGESTIONS AND GIVE THEM CAREFUL CONSIDERATION. IT NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME SEE HOW I COULD BE ANY MORE REASONABLE THAN THAT.

29. WANG SAID IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT THIS MORNING HE HAD AGAIN MADE ATTEMPT FRANKLY EXPRESS THOUGHTS HIS SIDE IN ORDER EXPLAIN MORE FULLY THEIR VIEWS REGARDING DECLARATION. HE FAILED SEE ANY PORTION MY LONG ARGUMENT I HAD JUST MADE WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE PROGRESS OUR DISCUSSIONS.

30. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT HE HAD FIRST MADE PROPOSAL THAT DECLARATION WE WERE DISCUSSING SHOULD SIMPLY EXPRESS DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND THEN THAT HE HAD REFERRED TO DECLARATION AS RENUNCIATION OF FORCE DECLARATION. HE DID NOT THINK THAT THERE WERE ANY TWO DECLARATIONS THAT HE HAD BEEN REFERRING TO, AND THERE WERE NO POINTS OF CONTRADICTION IN HIS STATEMENT. WHEN HE SAID DECLARATION SHOULD EXPRESS DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, HE DID NOT MEAN DESIRE THAT TWO SIDES SHOULD GO TO WAR TO EFFECT SETTLEMENT. INSTEAD IT WAS DECLARATION OF DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND THEY REGARDED DECLARATION WE DISCUSSING AS SOMETHING WHICH WOULD HELP PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN US AND THEY REGARDED

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DECLARATION AS FIRST STEP TOWARD SUCH A SETTLEMENT. HE RECALLED THAT I HAD ALSO SAID IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS THAT DECLARATION IN ITSELF SETTLED NOTHING.

31. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO REPEATEDLY REFERRED TO HIS OPINION THAT ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION MUST BE SEPARATED FROM ACTUAL SETTLEMENT OF PRACTICAL ISSUES BETWEEN US. THESE WERE TWO SEPARATE THINGS. HOWEVER, VIEWS ADVANCED BY ME AT PREVIOUS MEETING AND AGAIN THIS MORNING TEND TO CONFUSE THESE TWO THINGS.

32. WANG SAID TEXT THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT WAS QUITE CLEAR AND NO DISTORTION ANY PORTION IT WAS POSSIBLE. HE WOULD READ PORTION OF DECEMBER 1 DRAFT. IT STATED: "PRC AND USA DETERMINED THEY SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT RESORTING TO THREAT OR USE OF FORCE. LET HIM ALSO READ LAST PARAGRAPH THEIR OCTOBER 27 DRAFT: "IN ORDER REALIZE THEIR COMMON DESIRE PRC AND USA DECIDE TO HOLD A CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS TO SETTLE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS QUESTION RELAXING AND ELIMINATING TENSION TAIWAN AREA."

33. WANG SAID THUS TEXTS THESE TWO DRAFTS HAVE CLEARLY EXPRESSED DESIRE FOR SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO SIDES. ALSO GIVE EXPRESSION TO OUR DETERMINATION TO SEEK PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. HOW CAN IT BE SAID THAT SUCH VIEWS AS EXPRESSED IN THESE DRAFTS HAD ANY DISADVANTAGEOUS EFFECT AGAINST U.S.? COULD THERE BE FOUND ANYTHING IN THESE DRAFTS WHICH TENDED TO REQUIRE THAT U.S. ABANDON ITS VIEW.

34. WANG SAID HOWEVER U.S. DID NOT ACCEPT EVEN THESE DRAFTS AND INSTEAD U.S. ALLEGED GROUNDLESSLY THAT HIS SIDE INSISTED ON USING FORCE TO SETTLE DISPUTES. WAS NOT THAT UTTER NONSENSE? FIRST I HAD REFERRED TO POSITION OF U.S. AS ONE OF ABSOLUTE UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT VIEWS STATED ABOVE. HOWEVER I HAD FOLLOWED UP THAT STATEMENT BY SAYING I WILLING STRIVE FOR AGREEMENT. WAS NOT THAT SELF-CONTRADICTORY STATEMENT?

GOWEN

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CONFIDENTIAL

CORRECTED PAGE 1
3/2/56, 6 p.m. MGG

48

Action
FE

Control: 846
Rec'd: March 2, 1956
Action Assigned to
Action Taken

Info
RMR
SS
G
SP
C
L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1577, MARCH 1, 10 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF SIX)

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON.

35. WANG SAID HE HAD REPEATED MANY TIMES THAT UNJUSTIFIABLE AMENDMENTS OF U.S. REGARDING HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT WERE ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE HIS SIDE. THESE WERE UNACCEPTABLE PRECISELY BECAUSE OF U.S. ATTEMPTS TO USE THESE AMENDMENTS TO INTERFERE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND EXERCISE OF ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS. MUST CHINA ASK FOR APPROVAL AND RATIFICATION BY ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT OF ITS ACTIONS TAKEN IN ORDER TO EXERCISE ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHT IN LIBERATION OF ITS OWN TERRIROTY? WAS NOT THIS AGAIN UTTER NONSENSE? THEREFORE VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES ON THIS ISSUE WERE QUITE CLEAR.

36. WANG SAID THEY HAD MADE REPEATED EFFORTS ON THIS QUESTION OF ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION. THEY HAD NO INTENTION IN THIS DECLARATION TO IMPOSE THEIR VIEWS ON U.S. THEY CONSIDERED THEIR VIEWS TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES.

37. WANG SAID THESE VIEWS WERE INTENDED TO FACILITATE ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION. HOWEVER U.S. IS DOING TO CONTRARY, IT HAD ALL ALONG BEEN INSISTING ON THESE UNREASONABLE CLAUSES. U.S. HAD BEEN INSISTING ON ITS UNREASONABLE STAND FOR CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF TIME. I, ON BEHALF OF U.S., HAD STATED THAT THESE REASONABLE SUGGESTIONS OF HIS SIDE WERE UNACCEPTABLE TO U.S. HOW COULD WE EXPECT TO ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT IN THIS SITUATION?

38. WANG SAID AFTER SUCH A LONG TIME OF DISCUSSION IF I AND MY SIDE STILL SO ADAMANT ITS POSITION, HOW COULD ONE NOT ARRIVE AT CONCLUSION THAT U.S. NOT WILLING AGREE ON DECLARATION AND WAS OBSTRUCTING ISSUANCE OF SUCH DECLARATION? HE SAW NO POINT CONTINUING THIS SORT OF DISCUSSION.

39. WANG SAID IF WE STILL UNABLE TO MAKE DECLARATION AT

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PRESENT TIME RESPONSIBILITY DID NOT LIE ON HIS SIDE. IN VIEW FACT WE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT FOR SUCH LONG TIME HIS SIDE CONSIDERING TO MAKE PUBLIC VIEWS OF HIS SIDE ON THIS QUESTION, SO THAT PUBLIC MIGHT BE ABLE MAKE OWN JUDGMENT.

40. I SAID I WOULD LIKE TRY TO GET DOWN TO SOME FUNDAMENTALS WITH HIM. I HAD TRIED IN MY OPENING STATEMENT THIS MORNING BUT DID NOT SEEM SUCCESSFUL IN DOING SO.

41. I SAID HE HAD AGAIN IN HIS LAST STATEMENT SPOKEN OF THIS DECLARATION AS "HELP" IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. HE HAD ALSO SPOKEN OF IT AS FIRST STEP TOWARD SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. AS HE KNEW I ENTIRELY AGREED WITH HIM ON LATTER PART--IT IS ONLY FIRST STEP AND I HAD ALWAYS SO CHARACTERIZED IT.

42. I SAID HOWEVER QUESTION STILL SEEMED TO EXIST BETWEEN US, AS TO WHAT THIS STEP CONSISTED OF. I CONSIDERED THIS STEP TO BE UNCONDITIONAL AND UNEQUIVOCABLE STATEMENT THAT WE WILL NOT IN ANY MANNER OR UNDER ANY PRETEXT INITIATE HOSTILITIES AGAINST EACH OTHER IN ATTEMPT TO SETTLE THESE DISPUTES. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK CLEAR QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE SO CONSIDERED IT.

43. I SAID HAVING SAID THAT AND IN CONJUNCTION WITH THAT, WE EACH SAY WE WILL SETTLE DISPUTES THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. ONE WITHOUT OTHER DID NOT GIVE REAL MEANING TO OUR EXPRESSION OF DESIRE TO SETTLE DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

44. I SAID HAVING SAID THAT, HOW COULD HE SAY THAT IT WAS UNREASONABLE ON MY PART TO SUGGEST THAT WE SAY THAT BOTH OF THESE ASPECTS APPLY TO DISPUTE THAT WE BOTH AGREE IS MOST SERIOUS BETWEEN US? HOW COULD HE SAY THAT IT WAS UNREASONABLE FOR EACH OF US IN STATING THAT, THAT IF EITHER IS ATTACKED IN VIOLATION THIS DECLARATION OR BY OTHERS WE WILL DEFEND OURSELVES? OBJECTION TO EITHER OF THESE SIMPLE AND FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES I FOUND HARD TO INTERPRET AS OTHER THAN DESIRE

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AVOID ISSUING OF MEANINGFUL DECLARATION THAT WOULD GENUINELY BE REAL FIRST STEP TOWARD SETTLEMENT OUR DIFFERENCES.

45. I SAID IF HE THOUGHT THAT THIS POSITION ON HIS PART WOULD APPEAR REASONABLE TO PUBLIC, IT CERTAINLY HIS CHOICE AS TO WHETHER OR NOT HE DESIRED AGAIN TO INITIATE PUBLIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN US. I REITERATED VIEW THAT I HAD EXPRESSED PREVIOUSLY THAT I GENUINELY DID NOT SEE HOW SUCH PUBLIC EXCHANGES ADVANCED AGREEMENT BETWEEN US OR COULD BE RECONCILED WITH REAL DESIRE FOR AGREEMENT. I THEREFORE REGRETTED AND DEPLORED ISSUANCE OF A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY HIS SIDE AND HOPED THAT THEY WOULD RECONSIDER IT.

46. I SAID HOWEVER IF IT WAS THEIR DECISION TO ISSUE SUCH STATEMENT I WAS PERFECTLY WILLING THAT PUBLIC JUDGE AS TO WHICH OF US WAS GENUINELY WILLING TO RENOUNCE FORCE AND WILLING TO SEEK PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. I ENTIRELY WILLING LET PUBLIC JUDGE WHICH SIDE WAS IN FACT OBSTRUCTING ISSUANCE OF MEANINGFUL STATEMENT BETWEEN US.

47. WANG SAID HE FELT ALL THESE POINTS I JUST RAISED HAD BEEN CONCRETELY ANSWERED BY DECEMBER 1 DRAFT THEIR SIDE. THEY HAD GIVEN MUCH DISCUSSION TO THESE POINTS IN OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS. THEREFORE HE DID NOT THINK IT NECESSARY FOR HIM TO REPEAT ALL VIEWS HE HAD ADVANCED PREVIOUSLY.

48. WANG SAID THEIR INTENT AND ATTITUDE IS QUITE CLEAR AND DEFINITE. THEY HAD ACCEPTED PROPOSAL I HAD PUT FORWARD TO EFFECT THAT WE MAKE DECLARATION BETWEEN US AS FIRST STEP IN ACTUAL SETTLEMENT. THIS FIRST STEP, AS WE HAVE CHARACTERIZED IT, IS EXPRESSION OF DETERMINATION OF TWO SIDES TO SETTLE DISPUTES PEACEFULLY WITHOUT RESORT TO FORCE. AND MERITS OF PRACTICAL DISPUTES MIGHT BE LEFT FOR SETTLEMENT AT NEXT STEP. THERE WAS NOTHING AMBIGUOUS IN IT AND THERE WAS NOTHING HIDDEN WHICH COULD NOT BE BROUGHT OUT FOR PUBLIC SCRUTINY.

49. WANG SAID I HAD QUESTIONED PUBLIC AIRING OF DISCUSSION AND I HAD TERMED IT AS NOT ADVANCING OUR TALKS. HOWEVER IF DISCUSSION WAS TO GO ON IN SAME MANNER AS WE WERE, HOW COULD

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ANYONE EXPECT TO MAKE ANY ADVANCES IN TALKS? THEY BELIEVE PUBLIC WOULD BE ABLE MAKE FAIR JUDGMENT BETWEEN POSITIONS OF TWO SIDES. HE HAD NOTHING FURTHER AND IF I HAD NOTHING FURTHER HE HAD ANOTHER MATTER TO BRING UP.

50. WANG SAID THEIR ATTENTION HAD AGAIN BEEN CALLED TO FACT THAT CHINESE NATIONALS BEING PREVENTED FROM RETURNING. AT LAST MEETING AGGREGATE NUMBER CHINESE NATIONALS BEING PREVENTED RETURNING WAS 34 PERSONS. TODAY HE WOULD LIKE TO RAISE CASES THREE MORE PERSONS.

51. WANG SAID CASE OF MR. TAN WEN, WHICH HE WOULD LATER PRESENT TO ME, COULD SERVE AS EXAMPLE TO ILLUSTRATE CHINESE IN U.S. MR. TAN APPLIED PERMISSION TO RETURN EVER SINCE 1950 BUT U.S. HAD REFUSED PERMISSION. IN AUGUST 1955, THAT IS WHEN OUR TALKS GOT UNDERWAY, TAN AGAIN APPLIED RETURN AND WROTE HIS FAMILY AFTER APPLICATION THAT HE EXPECTED PERMISSION TO BE GRANTED END LAST YEAR. HOWEVER, WROTE AGAIN LAST JANUARY THAT UNABLE RETURN IN FEBRUARY AND HAD TO WAIT ANOTHER TWO MONTHS. MR. TAN SAID IN LETTER THAT HE WAS AMONG FIRST TO APPLY TO RETURN AND ALSO HANDED IN HIS APPLICATIONS MOST FREQUENTLY, HOWEVER HE WAS UNABLE TO RETURN UP TO PRESENT TIME. THIS SPECIFIC CASE OF MR. TAN HAS INCREASED THEIR CONCERN OVER CHINESE IN U.S. WHO FIND SELVES IN SAME SITUATION.

52. WANG SAID DURING TALKS I HAD REPEATEDLY ASSURED HIM THAT CHINESE IN U.S. FREE TO RETURN AND THAT U.S. WAS NOT OFFERING OBSTRUCTIONS TO THEIR DEPARTURE AND THAT NO PROCEDURES OF WHATEVER SORT HAVE BEEN SET UP TO PREVENT THEIR DEPARTURE. HOWEVER CASE OF TAN WEN AND LATEST FACTS ABOUT HIS FAILURE TO RETURN HAD REVEALED SITUATION THAT U.S. WAS NOT CONSISTENT IN ITS ACTIONS AND ITS WORDS. FROM TREATMENT OF TAN, HOW COULD IT BE SAID THAT U.S. WAS CARRYING OUT ITS OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREEMENT?

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(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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48

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Action
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Control: 886
Rec'd: MARCH 2, 1956
2:46 AM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol 1
Name of Officer 6
Direction to DC/R

Info
RMR
SS
G
SP
C
L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1577, MARCH 1, 10 PM (SECTION FIVE OF SIX)

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON.

53. WANG SAID IT WAS CLEARLY STATED IN AGREEMENT THAT PARTIES TO AGREEMENT WOULD FACILITATE RETURN OF NATIONALS AND THAT NO OBSTRUCTIONS SHOULD BE OFFERED TO THEIR DEPARTURE. MR. TAN NEVER VIOLATED ANY LAW OF U.S. AND WHAT WAS REASON HE ENCOUNTERING REPEATED OBSTRUCTIONS AGAINST HIS RETURN?

54. WANG SAID IN ADDITION TO CASE OF TAN, AND THEY HAD RAISED MANY SIMILAR CASES RECENTLY, IT WAS EVIDENT CHINESE STILL ENCOUNTER OBSTRUCTION IN THEIR RETURN. THIS SITUATION NECESSITATED THAT I GIVE ACCOUNTING IN EACH THESE INDIVIDUAL CASES.

55. WANG SAID IN ADDITION TO THIS CATEGORY HE HAD RAISED REPEATEDLY QUESTION OF CHINESE WHO WERE IN PRISON IN U.S. AND THEY WERE STILL AWAITING REPLY FROM MY SIDE. (HANDED OVER LIST, GIVEN IN FOLLOWING TELEGRAM).

56. I SAID HE SEEMED TO HAVE CONSIDERABLE DETAILED INFORMATION ON MR. TAN WANG'S STATEMENT HERE SAID THAT TAN AGAIN PUT IN APPLICATION IN AUGUST 1955 AND EXPECTED RECEIVE PERMISSION RETURN AT END OF YEAR. I WOULD LIKE TO ASK FOR DETAILS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH WANG--TO WHOM DID HE MAKE APPLICATION? I WOULD ALSO LIKE ASK WHAT HIS CORRESPONDENCE INDICATED HE APPLIED FOR--THAT IS, HE APPLIED FOR WHAT? I WOULD ALSO LIKE ASK WHETHER WANG'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIM INDICATED WHETHER TAN COMMUNICATED WITH INDIAN EMBASSY AND IF NOT, WHY NOT, IF HE FELT HE BEING OBSTRUCTED IN LEAVING?

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57. WANG SAID IT WAS STATED CLEARLY IN LIST THAT TAN HAD APPLIED WITH INS. FROM STATEMENT IN HIS LETTERS, COULD BE SEEN THAT TAN MADE REPEATED APPLICATIONS AND HAD NOT GIVEN UP HOPE. HE FIRST INDICATED THAT HE EXPECTED PERMISSION WOULD BE GRANTED BY END LAST YEAR, BUT WROTE AGAIN HE EXPECTED PERMISSION IN FEBRUARY AND THEN HIS DEPARTURE FURTHER DELAYED BY TWO MONTHS. ALTHOUGH HE STILL HOPEFUL THAT HE WILL ONE DAY BE GRANTED PERMISSION TO RETURN, HE HAS BEEN DELAYED SO LONG. THIS IS SITUATION, SO FAR AS THEY KNEW, REGARDING TAN TO WHICH THEIR ATTENTION HAS BEEN CALLED. IT PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY CANNOT UNDERSTAND NATURE OBSTRUCTION AGAINST HIS RETURN THAT WANG HAS REQUESTED ME MAKE INQUIRY.

58. I SAID I WAS TRYING TO GET SOME FACTS ON THIS, THESE STATEMENTS THAT HE GAVE ME HERE WERE UTTERLY INEXPLICABLE. HE DOES NOT NEED APPLY TO ANYBODY FOR RETURN, I HAD SAID THAT OVER AND OVER AGAIN, NEITHER HE NOR ANY OTHER ALIEN IN U.S. WANG DID NOT HAVE TO ACCEPT MY WORD ON THAT. INDIAN EMBASSY OR ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH U.S. COULD CONFIRM IT.

59. WANG SAID THIS WAS NOT INDIVIDUAL CASE OF TAN. TAN WAS ONLY ONE EXAMPLE. I HAD REQUESTED FACTS ABOUT TAN. IF I REQUIRED ANY FACTS ABOUT AMERICANS IN CHINA THEN THEY HAD THESE FACTS. BUT TAN WAS NOW IN U.S. AND HOW COULD THEY GIVE ME FACTS ABOUT HIS BEING OBSTRUCTED?

60. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THAT IT NOT NECESSARY FOR TAN APPLY INS, HOWEVER AS HE HAD TOLD ME TAN PRECISELY REFUSED PERMISSION BY INS. IF I MYSELF UNAWARE THIS SITUATION, HOW COULD I EXPECT HIM TO UNDERSTAND IT.

61. I SAID U.S. INS DOES NOT DENY OR GRANT PERMISSION ANY ALIEN LEAVE U.S. HE WAS ONE WHO WAS ALLEGING THIS NOT CORRECT AND THAT TAN BEING OBSTRUCTED. I WAS ASKING FOR SOME FACTS--HE EVIDENTLY HAD CLOSE COMMUNICATION WITH TAN--ON HOW HE BEING OBSTRUCTED. STATEMENTS MADE HERE MADE NO SENSE WHATSOEVER IN LIGHT OF WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS ABOUT DEPARTURE ALIENS FROM U.S. THIS WAS SIMILAR TO ALLEGATIONS MADE IN MANY THESE OTHER CASES.

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62. I SAID I COULD NOT CONSIDER IT AS SLIGHTEST EVIDENCE U.S. WAS OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE ANY OF THESE. BECAUSE I KNEW FACTS QUITE TO CONTRARY. I ALSO ASKED WHY, IF TAN DID THINK HE BEING OBSTRUCTED, HE HAD NOT COMMUNICATED WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IN ACCORDANCE WITH PROCEDURES WE HAD ESTABLISHED. IF HE COMMUNICATED WITH WANG AND WANG'S AUTHORITIES, IT CLEAR HE ABLE FREELY COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IF HE DESIRED DO SO.

63. WANG SAID HE WANTED CLARIFY THAT TAN'S CORRESPONDENCE WAS BETWEEN HIM AND FAMILY AND NOT BETWEEN HIM AND WANG'S AUTHORITIES. IT BECAUSE THEY DID NOT KNOW ACTUAL FACTS ABOUT HIS BEING OBSTRUCTED IN U.S. THAT THEY HAD ASKED ME INQUIRE AND LOOK INTO HIS CASE. IF STATEMENT GIVEN BY ME WERE TRUE THAT ANY ALIENS IN U.S. INCLUDING CHINESE WERE FREE TO LEAVE OR ENTER THE U.S. WITHOUT APPLICATION INS OR ANY OTHER U.S. AUTHORITY; IF IT TRUE INS DOES NOT SET UP ANY PROCEDURES CONTROLLING EXIT OF FOREIGN NATIONALS, IF THIS TRUE THEN ACTION TAKEN BY INS AGAINST CHINESE IN U.S. DEFY REASON AND THAT IS SOMETHING THEY REQUEST ME TO INVESTIGATE AND CORRECT THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS. I HAVE TO TELL INS TO STOP ALL SUCH ILLEGAL ACTS BECAUSE SUCH ILLEGAL AND WILD ACTS TAKEN BY INS ARE IN VIOLATION OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN US ON RETURN OF CIVILIANS.

64. I SAID FIRST LET ME SAY I DID NOT SAY THAT U.S. INS DOES NOT EXERCISE CONTROL OVER ENTRY OF ALIENS TO U.S. I HAVE CONTINUED TO REFER ONLY TO DEPARTURE OF ALIENS FROM U.S.

65. WANG SAID CASE OF TAN NOT ONE OF ENTRY U.S. BUT ONE OF DEPARTURE U.S.

66. I SAID THAT WAS RIGHT AND I WAS DISCUSSING IT IN THOSE TERMS. IN CASE OF TAN AND THESE OTHER CASES HE HAD CONTINUED TO MAKE VAGUE STATEMENTS REGARDING THEIR BEING PREVENTED FROM DEPARTURE. IT UTTERLY INCREDIBLE ME, IF THERE WERE ANY FACTUAL BASIS ANY THESE CASES THAT AT LEAST ONE PERSON WOULD NOT HAVE CALLED ATTENTION HIS CASE TO INDIAN EMBASSY IN ACCORDANCE PROCEDURES WE ESTABLISHED FOR HANDLING THIS. I SIMPLY COULD NOT GIVE CREDENCE TO THESE CHARGES IN VIEW LACK ANY FACTUAL EVIDENCE. I SATISFIED THERE WAS NO FACTUAL BASIS.

67. I SAID FACTS SHOW THAT NOT SINGLE CASE BEEN CALLED TO ATTENTION MY GOVERNMENT IN ACCORDANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMEMT BUT THAT CHINESE HAVE STEADILY AND REGULARLY BEEN TRAVELING FROM MY COUNTRY TO HIS COUNTRY. ACCORDING BEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO ME, AT LEAST 114 CHINESE HAD ARRIVED IN HIS COUNTRY SINCE BEGINNING TALKS. 67 ARRIVED BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 1;, DATE OUR ANNOUNCEMENT AND DECEMBER 20. SINCE DECEMBER 20, A PERIOD DURING WHICH NOT SINGLE AMERICAN HAD BEEN RELEASED FROM HIS COUNTRY, MY INFORMATION WAS THAT AT LEAST 35 CHINESE HAD ARRIVED HIS COUNTRY. I HAD NO WAY KNOWING HOW MANY OTHERS MIGHT HAVE ARRIVED.

68. I SAID AS FOR SITUATION REGARDING AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY, I COULD ONLY CONCLUDE WE WERE GOING BACKWARDS. SUBSEQUENT TO SEPTEMBER 10 HIS AUTHORITIES ON OCTOBER 27 ANNOUNCED RELEASE OF TWO AMERICAN PRISONERS. THREE WEEKS LATER ON NOVEMBER 17 HIS AUTHORITIES ANNOUNCED RELEASE OF THREE AMERICANS. ABOUT ONE MONTH LATER ON DECEMBER 20 HIS AUTHORITIES ANNOUNCED RELEASE OF ONE AMERICAN. THIS WAS AVERAGE OF ABOUT ONE EVERY TWO WEEKS. MORE THAN TEN WEEKS HAVE PASSED SINCE DECEMBER 20 AND IN THAT TIME NO AMERICAN BEEN RELEASED. I HAD EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TIME RECONCILING THIS WITH AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 WHICH SPECIFICALLY COVERED THESE AMERICANS AND RECONCILING THIS WITH A DESIRE TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS OR WITH A DESIRE TO OBTAIN GENUINELY CONSTRUCTIVE ACHIEVEMENTS IN THESE TALKS. IT CERTAINLY BORE NO RELATIONSHIP TO FACTS WITH REGARD TO FREE RETURN OF CHINESE TO THIS COUNTRY.

GOWEN

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 MAR 2 AM 7 20
BUREAU OF ... AFFAIRS

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48

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Action Assigned to
Control: 861
Rec'd: MARCH 2, 1956
4:20 AM
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to RM/R

1/6

Action
FE

Info
RMR
SS
G
SP
C
L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1577, MARCH 1, 10 PM (SECTION SIX OF SIX)

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON.

69. WANG SAID I HAD MADE COMPARISON BETWEEN NUMBER OF AMERICANS WHO DEPARTED CHINA AND NUMBER OF CHINESE WHO DEPARTED U.S. AND HAD STATED THAT DURING PERIOD SINCE OUR ANNOUNCEMENT MADE ON SEPTEMBER 10 THAT 102 CHINESE HAD LEFT U.S. ALTHOUGH THIS NUMBER OF CHINESE HAD COME OUT FROM U.S. EVEN THIS NUMBER VERY UNSATISFACTORY TO THEM. IF WE MADE CALCULATION OF PROPORTION OF PEOPLE RELEASED HE COULD SHOW ME THAT OF AMERICANS IN CATEGORY OF CRIMINALS ALONE 27 OF 41 BEEN RELEASED. NUMBER OF RELEASED COMPRISES TWO-THIRDS OF NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO WERE IN PRISON AND IN ADDITION THIS NUMBER CRIMINAL OFFENDERS RELEASED, THERE ARE AMERICANS IN OTHER CATEGORIES WHO HAVE LEFT CHINA. THESE ARE 16 IN NUMBER. AND IT CAN BE SEEN THAT ALMOST OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AMERICAN CRIMINAL OFFENDERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED. IF WE TAKE CHINESE STUDENTS ALONE, PUTTING ASIDE QUESTION OTHER CHINESE NATIONALS IN U.S., WE MAY TAKE FIGURE OF 5,000 FOR THESE CHINESE STUDENTS. WHAT WOULD NUMBER OF 102 STUDENTS WHO HAVE COME OUT OF U.S. COMPARE WITH TOTAL OF 5,000--WHAT RATIO WOULD IT MAKE? FROM THIS PROPORTION IT IS QUITE CLEAR AS TO WHETHER MORE AMERICANS LEFT CHINA OR MORE CHINESE LEFT U.S. IS NOT THIS CLEAR INDEED?

70. I SAID PROPORTION PROPER TO TALK ABOUT IS THAT OF THOSE DESIRING TO RETURN. THERE WAS STILL NOT SLIGHTEST EVIDENCE ANY CHINESE DESIRING RETURN WAS BEING PREVENTED FROM DOING SO. NOW, ALMOST SIX MONTHS SINCE SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT, BOTH KNOW THERE ARE 13 DESIRING RETURN WHO ARE STILL BEING

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PREVENTED FROM DOING SO ALTHOUGH IT WAS SAID THAT THEY COULD DO SO EXPEDITIOUSLY.

71. WANG SAID I HAD TALKED OF PROPORTION OF PEOPLEWO DESIRED RETURN. THE 37 WHOSE CASES HE HAD RAISED WITH ME IN THESE MEETINGS WERE EXACTLY PEOPLE WHO DESIRED RETURN. THEY HAVE NOT AS YET GOTTEN ANY REPLY FROM ME CONCERNING THOSE WHO DESIRE RETURN BUT ARE IN PRISON IN U.S. HE STILL AWAITING MY ANSWER CONCERNING SITUATION CHINESE IMPRISONED U.S.

72. I SAID I HAD TOLD HIM AGAIN AND AGAIN ANY CHINESE IN U.S. WHO FEELS OBSTRUCTED WAS ENTIRELY FREE COMMUNICATE INDIAN EMBASSY.

73. WANG SAID THIS WAS ONLY ONE ASPECT OF QUESTION, THE OTHER WAS U.S. OBLIGATION GIVE ACCOUNTING THESE CHINESE IN PRISON.

74. I SAID U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS OBLIGATION FAITHFULLY AND FULLY CARRY OUT PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS U.S. HAS DONE AND WILL CONTINUE DO.

75. WANG SAID IF THOSE PEOPLE WHO DESIRE RETURN STILL PREVENTED DOING SO AND UNABLE RETURN, HE COULD NOT CONSIDER U.S. GOVERNMENT CARRYING OUT FULLY OBLIGATION UNDER ANNOUNCEMENT.

76. I ASKED WHETHER NEXT THURSDAY MARCH 8 WAS SATISFACTORY FOR NEXT MEETING. WANG AGREED.

77. AFTER WE STOOD UP TO LEAVE, I ASKED IF HE WOULD SEND ME COPY OF THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT. WANG SAID THAT IF IT WERE MADE HE WOULD DO SO. I ASKED IF HE COULD GIVE ANY INDICATION AS TO TIME. WANG SAID HE HAD NONE.

GOWEN

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513

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ACTION COPY

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Action Assigned to C.A.I.D

Control: 1054

Rec'd: MARCH 2, 1956
7:18 A.M.

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

This Document must be Returned to the RM/R Central Files

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1578, MARCH 2, 11 A.M.

FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING LIST THREE NAMES HANDED ME BY WANG 39TH MEETING MARCH 1:

611.93/3-256

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(1) WSR

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Exclise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 11/17

March 2, 1956

SECRET

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

Letter No. 33

Dear Alex:

I will be going to the airport shortly after noon today to see the Secretary and WSR off for Karachi. We do not anticipate any special administrative problem in handling the correspondence with you while they are away, although if a crisis should develop with time a crucial factor in connection with some important decision, obviously we will have something of an added problem.

We met with the Secretary yesterday afternoon. No particular decision was made except to hold firm on the position we have clearly staked out. We believe it is a good and eminently defensible position. If Wang should precipitate a break, we believe we can more than hold our own in a public exchange. The Secretary feels that we may be able to do something with the Chinese prisoners question which could be helpful to our cause, ~~think~~ at least from a public information standpoint later on. We have already sent you a copy of the letter dated Feb. 28 to the Attorney General requesting a survey. We are not quite as inclined as you apparently are to discount entirely the possible utility of

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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~~effecting~~ seeking to arrange the voluntary deportation of some Chinese aliens in prison.

While it is probably an academic question, the Secretary did express the view that if Wang should request a recess of the talks during the next few weeks, we should raise no objection. It was the consensus that we should not propose any recess for the period of the Secretary's absence from Washington. No new tack of any sort is planned for you to take during this period, but it was felt that it would be a mistake for us to propose a recess. We understand your distaste for having to repeat ad nauseam the same old things, but it seems necessary under the circumstances. While it is naturally repellent and frustrating, we doubt whether it is harmful from the tactical standpoint in the given situation.

Everyone agrees with your surmise that the Secretary may be presented with some sort of package proposal when he gets to Delhi. All the signs point this way. We anticipate that the Indians and the Chinese Communists may have sought to enlist at least the moral support of several of the SEATO powers for some sort of scheme which would involve the off-shore islands and a higher level meeting. The Secretary anticipates that the pressure on the off-shore islands question is going to be greatly stepped up in connection with the campaign for a higher level meeting. He expects to have a very full and frank review of this whole problem with the Generalissimo in Taipei on March 16. [redacted]

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The disposition here is to adhere to the position already stated on the higher level conference question. In this ~~question~~ connection the letter which Senator George wrote to the Secretary last October was recalled yesterday. This is an important statement which is still believed to ~~be~~ accurately represent the position of the majority of Congress in both parties. I don't believe you were ever sent a copy of this letter. It is now enclosed. Moreover we are very mindful of our pledge to the GRC not to discuss matters involving its rights, claims or essential interests without its presence or concurrence. We find it difficult to visualize Chou En-lai sitting down at the same conference table with George Yeh and the Secretary. (You will be interested in the enclosed article by Chalmers Roberts which appeared in today's Washington Post.)

Your good letters Nos. 22 and 23 of February 19 and 22 came together on February 27. They have been read with great interest by the usual inner circle. I am sorry that I was so guarded in my reference to the off-shore islands in my letter No. 30 of February 13, that you missed my meaning. Of course I had something more in mind than the obvious truism that the off-shore islands ~~and~~ are in the Taiwan area, would be included in our renunciation of force draft. What I was trying to get over was an intimation that Public Law No. 4 would be more likely to come into the picture in the event of ~~a~~ Communist action limited to the off-shores after a renunciation of force declaration.

Enclosed is a copy of Ralph Clough's conversation with Munsiff of the Indian Embassy on February 28. What Clough said is now somewhat outdated, since we have subsequently decided to send copies of the Agreed Announcement by registered mail, with return receipt requested, to each of the Chinese named by Wang at Geneva whom we can identify and locate. We will be prepared to exhibit to the Indians as appropriate and desirable the signature of the Chinese on the return receipt. But we will be careful not to let the Indians see the U. S. address of the individuals concerned. It will be a matter of principle with us to protect these Chinese from possible Communist pressure, by not divulging their whereabouts.

Also enclosed is a copy of a telegram from Mort Rosse, the American Asiatic Underwriters' representative here, to their representative in Hong Kong regarding the Charles Miner case. It now looks as if Miner may be able to get out fairly soon after a payment of an additional $6,000 of extortion money. We anticipate that Treasury will probably license this added sum. We have informed the British Embassy and they will ask O'Neill to hold off on any additional representation in Miner's behalf for the time being in view of the more favorable prospect.

It looks as if we may be heading for a turning point of some kind in the talks. Our intuition to this effect is confirmed by your 1574 of March 1, which unfortunately was not distributed in the Department until after we met with the Secretary yesterday afternoon. But it has been called to his attention since then.

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I hope the flying weather between Geneva and Prague is better than it has been. Good luck, and be assured that we are all with you.

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

515

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

589

32-39

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Action
FE

Info
RMR
SS

Control: 1813
Rec'd: March 3, 1956
8:53 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: ~~1538~~ 1585, March 3, 11 a.m.

WJS paid advance copy + read to Clough 2/3/56 mason

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT ~~1538~~ 1585 REPEATED INFORMATION PRIORITY PRAGUE 26.

PRAGUE FOR AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

FROM OSBORN

According information from reporters statement being released at (repeat at) Chinese Communist Consulate General 3:30 p.m. local time today.

GOWEN

TT/14

Note: FE Duty Officer notified 3/3/1:15 p.m. LWH

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611.93/3-356

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DC/R

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

31

Action

FE

Info

RMR

SS

G

P

OP

CORRECTION

Control: 3/5/56, 10:00 a.m. RW 1813

Rec'd: March 3, 1956 8:53 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1585, March 3, 11 a.m.

The serial number of this OFFICIAL USE ONLY message received as 1538 should be corrected to read 1585.

The first paragraph of this message should read:

SENT DEPARTMENT 1585 REPEATED INFORMATION PRIORITY PRAGUE 26.

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FW 611.93/3-356

CA/DIR
Correction
made
3/5
CA
WPDR
file

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FEB 27 1959

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CORRECTION

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(516)

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

590

32-39
Action

FE
Info

RMR

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Control: 1879
Rec'd: March 3, 1956
11:40 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1586, March 3, 3 p.m.

WJS read advance copy. Read to Clough by Mann. 2/3/56

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 1586, REPEATED INFORMATION PRIORITY PRAGUE 26.

PRAGUE FOR AMBASSADOR

FROM OSBORN

My telegram sent Department 1585 repeated information Prague 26.

Reporters say Chinese Communist Consulate General has announced postponement release, no indication until then.

GOWEN

BB:ECM/6

Note: FE Duty Officer notified 3/3/1:15 p.m. LWH

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken _____

_____

Date of Action _____

611.93/3-356

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

591

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39
Action

FE
Info

RMR

Control: 2083
Rec'd: March 4, 1956
12:40 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1587, March 4, 4 p.m.

Action Assigned
Action Taken
Repeated to Karachi
Date of Action 3/4/56
Action Office Symbol CA
Name of Officer W P McCarthy
Direction to DC/R file

This Document must be Returned to the RM/R Central Files

NIACT

SENT DEPARTMENT 1587, REPEATED PRAGUE NIACT 28.

PRAGUE FOR AMBASSADOR JOHNSON.

FROM OSBORN.

3:30 p.m. today Chinese Communist CONGEN released 1,500-word statement Ministry Foreign Affairs PRC. Copies addressed Ambassador Johnson delivered half-hour ahead. Presume Department receiving by ticker as release made simultaneously Peiping.

Statement parallels Wang's prepared statement last meeting. Reiterates demand for Foreign Ministers' conference, says "One cannot but deem that purpose of American side is to trick statement out of Chinese side, then put off indefinitely Foreign Ministers' conference so as to maintain present status US occupation Taiwan, interference with China's liberation coastal islands." Gives US two choices: If it is desired declaration specifically mention Taiwan dispute, must choose Chinese October 27 draft; if it desired statement not (repeat not) mention Foreign Ministers' meeting, must choose December 1 draft.

Final sentence: "Chinese side cannot agree to talks being dragged out as it is, nor can it allow talks be used by US as tool to prevent China from exercising sovereign rights."

GOWEN

BB:GEM/1

Note: Mr. Carwell (FE D.O.) notified 3/4/1:55 p.m. EMB

611.93/3-456

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518

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

01786

SENT TO: AMEMBASSY, KARACHI PRIORITY

TOSEC 3

6/1/93

DCT please repeat Geneva's 1507 to Mar 4, 4 pm Control 2303 to Karachi captioned

FOR THE SECRETARY AND ROBERTSON

Hoover

HOOVER

DC/R
Amel 2
Rev
Cat

This Document Returned to RM/R Central Files

511.93/3-455

HOOVER

6/1/93

Official Use Only

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy
Typed in DCT: [illegible]
Clearances: OSS:Mr. Sherwood

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Mr. McConaughy

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Classification

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 519

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

01864 595

MAR 5 PM 1 56

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amembassy KARACHI Priority TOSEC 7

Origin

Info:

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

J. Lewang Ambassadorial meeting 61193/3-156

(CODE ROOM: Please repeat Geneva's ~~1547~~ 1574, March 1, Control No. 540.)

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611.93/3-156

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

DC/R
Encl 2
Rev
Cat

611.93/3-156
CUC
SECRET FILE

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 3/5/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

S/S-CR
MAR 5 1956 P.M

SECRET
Classification

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 520

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

01979 593

MAR 5 PM 5 1

DC/T

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SECRET
Classification

VERBATIM TEXT

395 1 KA 3/5

SENT TO: Amembassy KARACHI ~~TOSEC~~ 10 PRIORITY
LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

611.93/1

FOR SECRETARY AND ROBERTSON

1. Re TOSEC 3. We believe our reply to Communist statement March 4 should be prompt and should consist merely of statement to press by Lincoln White ~~along following lines:~~ as follows:

QUOTE

The Chinese Communist statement of March 4 contains nothing new. Its failure, however, even to mention that the Chinese Communists still hold 13 Americans in prison, despite their agreement of last September that these Americans would be permitted "expeditiously" to exercise their right to return to the United States, cannot be overlooked. This only reemphasizes that these Americans are being held as political hostages.

The reply which the United States made on January 21 to a similar Chinese Communist statement of January 18 is equally applicable to the Communist statement of March 4. The concluding paragraphs of that reply read as follows:

INNERQUOTE

1. Four months after the Communists announced that they would adopt measures to permit Americans in China to return to the United States, 13 Americans

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CSA SECRET FILE

611.93/3-556

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11166

Drafted by: FE:CA:~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 3/5/56
~~WPMcConaughy/ikb/ek~~

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald ~~[illegible]~~

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger - cleared in substance
FE - Mr. Sebald - cleared in substance

S/S-CR ~~S/S~~

MAR - 5 1956 P.M.

SECRET
Classification

Bureau of 2:10 pm
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

Americans are still held in Communist prisons.

2. The United States proposed that the parties renounce the use of force without prejudice to the right of individual and collective self-defense against armed attack, in order that the discussions might take place free from the threat of war.

3. The United States made clear that this renunciation would not prejudice either side in the pursuit of its objectives and policies by peaceful means.

4. The Communists, while stating that they accept the principle of the renunciation of force, have deprived such acceptance of its value by refusing to agree that it is without prejudice to the right of individual and collective self-defense against armed attack and that it is applicable to the Taiwan area.

In short, the Communists so far seem willing to renounce force only if they are first conceded the goals for which they would use force.

The United States, for its part, intends to persist in the way of peace. We seek the now overdue fulfillment by the Chinese Communists of their undertaking that the Americans now in China should be allowed expeditiously to return. We seek this not only for humanitarian reasons but because respect for international undertakings lies at the foundation of a stable international order. We shall also seek with perseverance a meaningful renunciation of force, particularly in the Taiwan area.

END INNERQUOTE QUOTE

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SECRET
Classification

2. We have requested Johnson to comment from Prague, repeating to Karachi. Request your views on above proposed reply.

3. We have repeated to you as TOSEC 7 Johnson's March 1 analysis situation following last meeting. We believe he correctly states situation now confronting us.

4. Proposed guidance to Johnson for March 8 meeting being sent separately.

Hoover,
ACTING (ws) HOOVER

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11168

521

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

594

02130

1956 MAR 5 PM 7:24

SECRET
Classification

1718

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY

RPT: Amembassy KARACHI TOSEC 13 PRIORITY
FOR ROBERTSON

Guidance for March 8 meeting.

1. Although Chinese Communist statement of March 4 may indicate approach turning point in Geneva talks, we wish to proceed along established lines as if break not anticipated. Your basic tactic should be to keep onus for any prospective rupture squarely on Wang while maintaining integrity our position. You should pitch your discussion in moderate key at same time avoiding defensive posture and maintaining continuous pressure on Wang on both repatriation and renunciation issues.

2. Restate US view that public statements, particularly those couched in terms approaching ultimatum such as March 4 statement, can only hinder progress of talks. Read US reply for record and note that US will continue to set public record straight whenever need for such action created by Chinese Communist misrepresentations.

3. Take up Communist March 4 statement item by item, answering it with same type argumentation you have effectively used past meetings.

4. Press for Communist release of 13 Americans, emphasizing increasingly obvious Communist use of them as political hostages.

5. Continue to reject Communist demands for investigation status individual

Origin

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611.93/3-556

CSW

11164

Drafted by: RNClough
E:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 3/5/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

L- Mr. Phleger
FE- Mr. Sebald (cleared in draft)

SECRET
Classification

MAR 5 1956 P M

SECRET FILE

611.93/3-556

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SECRET
Classification

individual Chinese in US in absence specific allegation of obstruction. Since Wang has specifically alleged that Tan Wen refused permission ~~depart~~ depart by INS, Department is investigating this case. FYI Department has requested INS discreetly obtain pertinent information on all Chinese named by Wang. This will not be turned over to Communists, but will be useful in event Wang alleges specific obstruction to departure or individual should become center of public attention. ~~XXX~~ END FYI

6. Inform Wang that Department will send copies Agreed Announcement by registered mail to 37 Chinese named by him if current addresses can be found. Remind him that no case of Chinese claiming obstruction in departure has been brought to Department by Indian Embassy.

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

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11165

SECRET
Classification

522

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

598

33-39 See Reptel March 7.

CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to SA/Dir.

1/6

Action

FE

Info

RMR

SS

G

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1603, March 7, 3 p.m.

Control: 4018

Rec'd: March 7, 1956

11:10 a.m.

3/7

Date of Action

Symbol

Copy

Initiation to DC/R

NIACT

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION.

FROM JOHNSON

Would appreciate information soonest on when Department plans release reply to CHICOM March 4 statement and confirmation of text.

GOWEN

GEM/1

Note: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 3/7/12:15 p.m. LWH

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BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

MAR 7 PM 1 29

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 523

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[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

03458 597

1956 MAR 7 PM 6 25

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY 1730

Origin

Info

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Medical case history Liu Yung-ming received from Missouri State Hospital No. 4. It is being forwarded ~~immediately~~ promptly to American Red Cross for transmittal to Red Cross in Peiping. You may inform Wang to this effect at tomorrow's meeting.

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

611.93/3-756 CS/W

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DC/R
Amal 55
Rev
Cat

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 3/7/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

MAR 7 1956 P M

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/T

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CONFIDENTIAL

56-D
Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS
G
SP
C
L

Control: 4974
Rec'd: March 8, 1956
2:34 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1611, March 8, 5 p.m.

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 1611, REPEATED INFORMATION PRIORITY KARACHI 7

KARACHI FOR SECRETARY AND ROBERTSON

ALSO REQUEST CONFIRMATION RECEIPT AND DELIVERY GENEVA'S 1611 TO SECRETARY IF NOT (REPEAT NOT) DELIVERED RETRANSMIT IMMEDIATELY TO NEW DELHI

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. Two-hour 25 minute meeting this morning with no (repeat no) change.

2. Wang was obviously marking time and refused to respond to or be drawn into discussion on renunciation.

3. In context making points DEPTEL 1718 repeated Karachi TOSEC 13, I also characterized his position at last meeting and CHICOM March 4 statement as constituting retrogression from apparent previous position and stated my understanding their present position was they refused to renounce force even temporarily with respect Taiwan area unless US first agrees to Foreign Minister meeting and that this logically leads question what new conditions and prerequisites would be presented in connection with Foreign Minister meeting, that is, would they consider renunciation binding only up to and during such meeting and if meeting did not result complete concession their views would they then consider themselves free use force? Such position is complete perversion renunciation force principle and glaring reversion to war-like ultimata and holding negotiations under threat by one party of initiating hostilities in absence peaceful surrender by other party. Contrasted with US position particularly as set forth in January 21 and March 6 statements stressing last paragraph both statements.

3.* Wang

611.93/3-856

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3.* Wang completely failed respond these points stating respective positions fully developed last 20 meetings and their views set forth their March 4 statement to which he had nothing to add. Hoped next meeting I would make choice between their two drafts. I hoped he would correct me if my foregoing statement their position in error.

4. I made very strong statement on implementation, characterizing situation in this field also as retrogression with CHICOM receding to same positions they held before agreed announcement both with respect Americans in China and Chinese in US. During course in give and take I said, "insofar as desires your government with respect to our talks here are concerned, policy continuing to hold 13 as political hostages can only be counterproductive".

5. He renewed usual charges concerning US "obstruction", repeated demand for accounting for names he had given me, and Chinese in US, and alleged interception mail from families to Chinese in US, and alleged requirement Chinese apply permanent residence or obtain Taiwan entry permits. In latter connection made and reiterated charge US interferred in Indian Embassy desire make public statement. When I replied US does not have to agree or disagree to Indian Embassy making any public statement it desires within proper sphere its activities diplomatic mission. He said "atmosphere here appears to be somewhat different that in Washington".

6. In rebuttal my continued stress on 13 he said if they covered by agreed announcement Chinese US prisons were covered and renewed his demand for "accounting".

7. Next meeting Thursday March 15.

8. Proceeding Prague tomorrow morning returning Tuesday.

GOWEN

RSP:LJ/3

* As received.

NOTE: Advance copy to FE - Mr. Waddell 5:10 p.m., 3/8/56 CWO/FED

525

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

600

SECRET

3/9/56, 9 p.m.
CORRECTED COPY

56-D
Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS
P

Control: 5138
Rec'd: March 8, 1956
5:30 p.m.

Action Assigned to CA/DIR
Action Taken 1/6

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1614, March 8, 7 p.m.

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 1614, REPEATED INFORMATION PRIORITY NEW DELHI 29.

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION.

FROM JOHNSON

NEW DELHI TOSEC FOR SECRETARY AND ROBERTSON.

1. Wang's performance today's meeting confirmed my previous feeling they awaiting assessment success their efforts influence us through January 18 and March 4 statements and probably more importantly through GOI during Secretary's visit.

2. Before deciding next move they may only await reports they receive on any discussion this subject during Secretary's visit New Delhi or possibly they may wait to see if any new moves our part following completion Secretary's FE trip.

3. They are retaining flexibility of action with regard continuation talks but have left selves very little flexibility on text any renunciation force declaration in absence United States concession on Foreign Minister's meeting. However, dependent on what reports they receive from New Delhi they may well make move towards break or even carry out break at next meeting.

4. Would appreciate being informed any developments at New Delhi that would assist me in anticipating or assessing situation here.

GOWEN

RSP/

Copy 7 sent to FE 3/26/59 PA
Copies 8 & 9 electronically RM/R 3/12/56

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 10 AM 7 52
BUREAU OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

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CONFIDENTIAL

46
Action
FE

Control: 5367
Rec'd: MARCH 9, 1956
2:34 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

SS
G
SP
C
L

NO: 1615, MARCH 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF SEVEN)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 40TH MEETING BY TELLING WANG I HAD GIVEN VERY CAREFUL STUDY TO POSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT AS OUTLINED IN HIS STATEMENTS AT OUR LAST MEETING AND HIS GOVERNMENT'S PUBLIC STATEMENT OF MARCH 4. I CONTINUED FROM PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. I HAVE SEARCHED HARD FOR SOME EVIDENCE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT IS GENUINELY WILLING TO RESPOND TO PROPOSAL OF MY GOVERNMENT FOR RENUNCIATION OF FORCE--PROPOSAL THAT MEETS ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLES OF ALL POLITICAL PERSUASIONS THROUGHOUT WORLD, WHO SEEK AN END TO DISCREDITED AND OUTMODED MEANS OF ATTEMPTING SETTLE DISPUTES BY AN APPEAL TO FORCE.

B. ESSENTIAL PURPOSE OF MY PROPOSAL WAS TO REMOVE OVERHANGING THREAT OF APPEAL TO FORCE BY ONE SIDE AND THUS MAKE POSSIBLE FREE DISCUSSION DIFFERENCES AND SEARCH FOR THEIR FAIR AND EQUITABLE SOLUTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS. I HAD FELT THAT IN SPITE OUR DIFFICULTIES WE WERE LARGELY IN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE AND THAT WITH SINCERE DESIRE BOTH SIDES MAKE PROGRESS THERE WAS REAL HOPE OF NARROWING AND FINALLY ELIMINATING OUR AREA OF DISAGREEMENT. I HAVE BEEN DOING MY BEST TO APPROACH MATTER FROM THIS STANDPOINT AND TO SPEND WHATEVER TIME WAS REQUIRED IN PATIENT EFFORT TO CLEAR UP MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND TO REMOVE DOUBTS.

C. HOWEVER, I FIND YOUR STATEMENT AT OUR LAST MEETING AND ACTION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT IN RELEASING ITS STATEMENT OF MARCH 4 VERY DISTURBING. I CANNOT BUT FEEL THAT YOUR POSITION IS

INTENTIONALLY OR

CONFIDENTIAL

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INTENTIONALLY OR UNINTENTIONALLY DRAGGING OUR TALKS ON THIS SUBJECT BACKWARDS.

D. I HOPE THAT THIS TREND CAN BE PROMPTLY REVERSED AND THAT WE CAN AGAIN MOVE FORWARD. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT WAY TO PROGRESS LIES IN ISSUANCE OF ULTIMATA, AND IN PARTICULAR I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC STATEMENTS SUCH AS THAT ISSUED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT ON MARCH 4 CAN CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS WE SEEK.

E. AS I UNDERSTAND POSITION YOU SET FORTH AT OUR LAST MEETING YOU CATEGORICALLY ASSERT THAT ONLY MEANS OF PEACEFULLY DISCUSSING AND SETTLING OUR DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA IS BY MEETING OF OUR RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS.

F. ALSO, AS I UNDERSTAND YOUR POSITION, YOU REFUSE TO RENOUNCE FORCE, EVEN TEMPORARILY, WITH RESPECT TO OUR DISPUTE IN THE TAIWAN AREA, UNLESS MY GOVERNMENT FIRST AGREES WITH YOUR GOVERNMENT'S CONTENTION THAT ONLY MEANS OF DISCUSSING AND SETTLING THIS DISPUTE IS BY MEETING OF OUR FOREIGN MINISTERS.

G. ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS PREREQUISITE AND CONDITION WITH RESPECT TO RENUNCIATION OF FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA LOGICALLY LEADS TO QUESTION OF WHAT NEW CONDITIONS AND PREREQUISITES WOULD BE PRESENTED IN CONNECTION WITH SUCH MEETING. FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD YOU CONSIDER SUCH A RENUNCIATION OF FORCE BINDING ONLY UP TO AND DURING HOLDING OF SUCH MEETING? IF MEETING DID NOT RESULT IN COMPLETE CONCESSION TO YOUR VIEWS WOULD YOUR GOVERNMENT THEN CONSIDER ITSELF FREE TO USE FORCE? ANY SUCH POSITION WOULD, OF COURSE, BE COMPLETE PERVERSION OF PRINCIPLE OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS. IT WOULD BE MOST GLARING REVERSION TO PRACTICE OF WAR-LIKE ULTIMATA AND HOLDING OF NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THREAT BY ONE PARTY OF INITIATING HOSTILITIES IN ABSENCE OF PEACEFUL SURRENDER BY OTHER PARTY.

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1:08 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1615, MARCH 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF SEVEN)

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H. I THUS FIND YOUR PRESENT POSITION DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE WITH YOUR PREVIOUS APPARENT ACCEPTANCE OF AT LEAST SOME OF PRINCIPLES OF MY PROPOSAL OF OCTOBER 8. I ALSO FIND IT HARD TO RECONCILE YOUR PRESENT POSITION EVEN WITH YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT AS I HAD UNDERSTOOD IT. I THOUGHT THAT YOU HAD ASSURED ME THAT YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT DID COVER SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA. I DID NOT RECALL YOUR HAVING STATED IT COVERED OUR DISPUTE THERE ONLY ON CONDITION THAT WE AGREED TO FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING. IN FACT, AS I RECALL IT, YOU OFTEN SAID THAT YOU WERE ESTABLISHING NO CONDITIONS OR PREREQUISITES. NOW, IN STATEMENT ISSUED BY YOUR AUTHORITIES ON MARCH 4, I FIND DEMAND FOR FOREIGN MINISTER'S MEETING STATED NOT ONLY AS CONDITION, BUT IN TERMS APPROACHING AN ULTIMATUM.

I. YOU WILL NOTE THAT IN NECESSARY STATEMENT OF REPLY MADE BY MY GOVERNMENT IT CAREFULLY AVOIDED ANY SUCH ASPECT, AND I HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE TO AVOID SUCH ASPECTS HERE FOR I AM CONVINCED THAT THEY CANNOT CONTRIBUTE TO THAT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF OUR DISPUTES WHICH WE CONTINUE TO SEEK.

J. POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT WAS CAREFULLY AND SOBERLY SET FORTH IN ITS STATEMENT OF JANUARY 21 AND IN ITS RESPONSE YOUR GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 4 COPIES OF WHICH YOU HAVE. I WANT PARTICULARLY TO STRESS CLOSING WORDS OF BOTH OF THESE STATEMENTS. "UNITED STATES FOR ITS PART, INTENDS TO PERSIST IN WAY OF PEACE. WE SEEK NOW OVERDUE FULFILLMENT BY YOUR GOVERNMENT OF YOUR UNDERTAKING THAT AMERICANS IN YOUR

COUNTRY SHOULD

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COUNTRY SHOULD BE ALLOWED EXPEDITIOUSLY TO RETURN. WE SEEK THIS NOT ONLY FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS BUT BECAUSE RESPECT FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKINGS LIES AT FOUNDATION OF STABLE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. WE SHALL ALSO SEEK WITH PERSEVERANCE A MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION OF FORCE, PARTICULARLY IN TAIWAN AREA."

2. WANG SAID WE HAVE SPENT MUCH TIME IN OUR DISCUSSIONS FOR REACHING AGREEMENT ON ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. THEY HAVE MADE VERY CLEAR VIEWS OF THEIR SIDE IN ALL OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS. HIS GOVERNMENT HAD RECENTLY ISSUED PUBLIC STATEMENT IN WHICH POSITION HIS SIDE ALSO VERY CLEARLY SET FORTH. THIS ALLOWED NO MISUNDERSTANDING OR DELIBERATE MISINTERPRETATION BY ANYONE.

3. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING HE HAD INDICATED THAT IF THERE WERE GENUINE DESIRE FOR AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION THEIR TWO DRAFTS WERE THERE--THAT IS, THEIR OCTOBER 27 AND DECEMBER 1 DRAFTS--AND HE HAD INDICATED ANY THESE WOULD HAVE SERVED FOR AGREEMENT BETWEEN US, AND HE ASKED THAT I MAKE CAREFUL CHOICE EITHER THESE TWO DRAFTS. THEIR DECEMBER 1 AND OCTOBER 27 DRAFTS WERE CONSISTENT AND THERE WAS NOTHING WHICH COULD BE TERMED INCONSISTENT BETWEEN THOSE TWO DRAFTS. THEIR DRAFT DID NOT IN ITSELF SET FORTH ANY PREREQUISITE CONDITIONS.

4. WANG SAID THEREFORE AS HE SAW IT IF WE WERE TO MAKE DECLARATION AT ALL WE WOULD HAVE TO BE CLEAR ON THREE POINTS. FIRST, SUCH A DECLARATION MUST BE ON EQUAL FOOTING AND BE RECIPROCAL. SECOND, SUCH DECLARATION MUST NOT PREJUDICE THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF ANY OF PARTIES. FINALLY, SUCH A DECLARATION MUST BE ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES. THEIR OBJECTIONS MY PREVIOUS DRAFTS HAD ALL BEEN BASED ON GROUNDS MY DRAFTS DID NOT CONFORM WITH THREE POINTS MENTIONED ABOVE.

5. WANG SAID HE HAD CAREFULLY STUDIED STATEMENT ISSUED BY DEPARTMENT ON MARCH 7 AND EXAMINED THAT STATEMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THREE PRINCIPLES ABOVE BUT FAIL FIND IN THAT STATEMENT ANY REPLY THEIR QUESTIONS MENTIONED ABOVE. IN SAME WAY THEY

FOUND SELVES

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FOUND SELVES DISAPPOINTED WITH MY OPENING STATEMENT THIS MORNING BECAUSE HE DID NOT FIND ANYTHING IN IT WHICH COULD LEAD US FORWARD OR WHICH COULD CONTRIBUTE OUR PROGRESS.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 1615, MARCH 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF SEVEN)

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FROM JOHNSON

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6. WANG SAID WE HAVE NOW COME TO STAGE OUR DISCUSSIONS IN WHICH NOT A QUESTION OF SETTING FORTH RESPECTIVE VIEWS BECAUSE THESE VIEWS BEEN MADE CLEAR IN COURSE DISCUSSION. IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR DISCUSSIONS GET FORWARD IF AT EVERY MEETING WE SHOULD REPEATEDLY SET FORTH VIEWS WHICH BEEN SET FORTH BEFORE. WE HAD IN FRONT US TASK OF RESOLVING QUESTION REGARDING DECLARATION.

7. WANG SAID HE NOTED I HAD STATED DESIRE FOR OUR DISPUTES BEING SETTLED PEACEFUL MEANS AND FOR NARROWING DOWN AREA DISAGREEMENT. IF THIS CASE, THEN SHOULD WE NOT MAKE GENUINE EFFORT AND GET ON TO AGREEMENT ON BASIS DRAFTS HE HAD ADVANCED? IF ONE SHOULD, ON ONE HAND, CLAIM DESIRE FOR SOLUTION BUT ON OTHER HAND REFUSE TOUCH ON SUBJECT OF DECLARATION ITSELF, HOW COULD WE MAKE ANY PROGRESS? THEY CONSIDER THERE NO POINT IN GOING ON IN THIS WAY BY REPEATING ALL OUR PREVIOUS GROUND.

8. I SAID I HAD TRIED THIS MORNING NOT TO REPEAT PREVIOUS GROUND. I HAD TRIED DURING THESE WEEKS OBTAIN REAL UNDERSTANDING HIS POSITION IN ORDER WE COULD MAKE PROGRESS. AS HE HERE AND AS HIS GOVERNMENT IN ITS STATEMENT OF MARCH 4 AGAIN PERSISTED IN CONFUSING DISCUSSION OF MERITS OUR DISPUTES, WHICH BELONGS AT LATER STAGE, WITH OUR IMMEDIATE TASK OF DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE FORCE, I FOUND VERY DIFFICULT GET AT HIS EXACT POSITION THIS LATTER AND ESSENTIAL QUESTION. WAY TO UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US WAS, IN THESE TALKS AND IN PRIVACY THIS ROOM,

TO TRY

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TO TRY MEET AND UNDERSTAND EACH OTHERS POINTS VIEW.

9. I SAID I HAD IN MY OPENING STATEMENT THIS MORNING SET FORTH JUST AS SIMPLY AND CLEARLY AS I CAPABLE MY VERY FRANK UNDERSTANDING HIS POSITION. I ASKED SOME SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD QUESTIONS, NOT WITH DESIRE ENGAGING IN CONTROVERSY BUT WITH VERY HONEST DESIRE OF ATTEMPTING UNDERSTAND FULLY HIS POSITION.

10. I SAID I DISAPPOINTED HE HAD NOT ANSWERED THESE QUESTIONS. HE HAD SPOKEN OF MISINTERPRETATION HIS POSITION. IF IN FACT I HAD MISINTERPRETED IT I WOULD APPRECIATE HIS TELLING ME WHERE.

11. WANG SAID IF AT PRESENT STAGE WE STILL TALKING ABOUT UNDERSTANDING EACH OTHERS POSITION IN ORDER HELP IN PROGRESS HE WOULD SAY WE HAD ADEQUATE UNDERSTANDING BECAUSE WE HAD HELD 20 MEETINGS OUR DISCUSSIONS ALREADY AND THESE 20 MEETINGS SPENT SOLELY IN EXPLAINING EACH OTHERS POSITIONS. IF ANYONE WANTED GENUINELY SEEK UNDERSTAND POINTS VIEW OTHER SIDE IT WOULD NOT TAKE 20 MEETINGS DO SO.

12. WANG SAID AS FAR AS POSITION HIS SIDE CONCERNED, THEIR POSITION BEEN ALWAYS CLEAR. AND THEIR POSITION EMBODIED IN TWO DRAFTS WHICH THEY HAD PRESENTED. ALL QUESTIONS RAISED BY ME BEEN ANSWERED THESE TWO DRAFTS. I ENTIRELY FREE MAKE CHOICE BETWEEN THESE TWO.

13. WANG SAID AGAIN STATEMENT HE MADE LAST MEETING ALSO SUFFICIENTLY CLARIFIED AND SET FORTH THEIR VIEWS. THERE NOTHING UNCLEAR IN IT. THERE NOTHING CONCEALED IN IT. IF I CONSIDERED WE OUGHT MAKE DECLARATION AT ALL, THEN I SHOULD MAKE CHOICE EITHER OF TWO DRAFTS THEY HAD PRESENTED.

14. I SAID I INCLINED AGREE HIS STATEMENTS WERE FAIRLY CLEAR. AND I HAD SET FORTH THIS MORNING WHAT I THOUGHT THEY CLEARLY SAID. I HOPING I WAS WRONG OR THAT I HAD POSSIBLY NOT UNDERSTOOD THEM. FOR THEY SEEMED ME TO BE LONG WAYS FROM CLEAR RENUNCIATION FORCE AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES.

15. I SAID

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15. I SAID I HOPED HE WOULD STUDY INTERPRETATION I HAD PLACED ON IT THIS MORNING AND IF I WRONG ANY RESPECT THAT HE WOULD CLARIFY AT NEXT MEETING. IF HE NOTHING MORE ON THIS THIS MORNING, I HAD ANOTHER MATTER WOULD LIKE BRING UP.

16. WANG SAID HE HAD STATED HIS VIEWS REGARDING OPENING STATEMENT I MADE THIS MORNING. IN MY OPENING STATEMENT THIS MORNING I HAD AGAIN REPEATED PREVIOUS OLD TUNE. ALL ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY ME IN OPENING STATEMENT BEEN REFUTED OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS.

17. WANG SAID AS HE HAD STATED, IF I STILL THOUGHT WE SHOULD MAKE DECLARATION AT ALL THEN THERE WERE TWO DRAFTS OF THEIR SIDE AND I ENTIRELY FREE DETERMINE ON EITHER THEM. BOTH THESE DRAFTS CONTAINED REASONABLE PRINCIPLES FOR SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES.

18. WANG SAID IF I NOT IN POSITION DETERMINE ON ONE THESE DRAFTS WE WOULD BETTER LEAVE IT UNTIL NEXT MEETING WHEN HE HOPED I WOULD DO SO. IF I HAD ANYTHING ELSE BRING UP, HE PREPARED LISTEN.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1615, MARCH 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN)

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

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FROM JOHNSON

19. I THEN READ PREPARED STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION: I HAVE SPOKEN THIS MORNING OF WHAT APPEARED TO ME TO BE SOMETHING LIKE REVERSE TREND IN OUR DISCUSSIONS UNDER SECOND ITEM OF OUR AGENDA. IT IS HARD TO AVOID DRAWING PARALLEL BETWEEN THAT SITUATION AND SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO OUR FIRST ITEM, RETURN OF CIVILIANS DESIRING TO DO SO.

A. IN ORDER TO DISPOSE OF MATTER OF RETURN OF CIVILIANS, WE WORKED OUT AN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT RECOGNIZING RIGHT TO CIVILIANS DESIRING TO DO SO TO RETURN TO THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. IT SPECIFIED THAT MEASURES WOULD BE OR HAD BEEN ADOPTED TO PERMIT OUR RESPECTIVE CIVILIANS EXPEDITIOUSLY TO EXERCISE THAT RIGHT. WE WORKED OUT THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT, IN ORDER FULLY TO MEET YOUR POINT OF VIEW, AS AN ASSURANCE IN IMPLEMENTATION OF AGREEMENT.

B. OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT NOT ONLY EXPRESSED SUBJECTIVE INTENT OF OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS TO ALLOW CIVILIANS TO RETURN FREELY AND EXPEDITIOUSLY WHEN THEY DESIRED TO DO SO; IT ALSO PROVIDED THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT AS MEANS OF MAKING OBJECTIVE TEST OF WHETHER THIS INTENT WAS IN FACT BEING CARRIED OUT. FOR WHILE, OUR AGREEMENT SEEMED TO BE PRODUCING SOME RESULTS. APPARENT INTENT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW AMERICANS TO DEPART SEEMED TO BE EVIDENCED BY ANNOUNCEMENT OF RELEASE OF NUMBERS OF AMERICANS FORMERLY DETAINED.

C. THEN, GRADUALLY, YOUR COUNTRY STARTED TO BEHAVE AS THOUGH YOUR AGREED

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YOUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT HAD NEVER BEEN ISSUED. FIRST, AS REGARDS AMERICANS IN YOUR COUNTRY, YOU BEGAN TO IGNORE PLAIN FACT THAT YOU WERE RESPONSIBLE, UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, TO ADOPT MEASURES PERMITTING THEM EXPEDITIOUSLY TO EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT TO RETURN. YOU IGNORED, OR TURNED ASIDE WITH FLIMSY EXCUSES, OBJECTIVE AND REASONABLE STATEMENTS OF U.K. CHARGE WHEN HE POINTED OUT THAT RETURN OF THESE AMERICANS WAS BEING OBSTRUCTED.

D. THEN AS REGARDS CHINESE IN UNITED STATES, YOU STARTED TO REVERT TO SAME POSITION YOU HELD IN OUR EARLY MEETINGS IN AUGUST. YOU ALLEGED THAT UNITED STATES HAD INSTITUTED MEASURES TO PREVENT CHINESE WHO DESIRED TO RETURN FROM DOING SO. YOU MADE THESE ALLEGATIONS PARTLY ON BASIS OF CERTAIN ENTIRELY NORMAL AND PROPER REQUIREMENTS OF MY GOVERNMENT APPLICABLE, NOT TO CHINESE WHO DESIRED TO RETURN, BUT TO CHINESE--OR TO ANY OTHER ALIEN--WHO DESIRED TO STAY IN U.S. PARTLY, YOUR ALLEGATIONS SEEM TO HAVE BEEN BASED ON NO MORE THAN SUPPOSITION THAT ALL CHINESE IN U.S. DESIRE TO RETURN, AND THAT THEREFORE FAILURE OF ANY CHINESE TO RETURN IS OF ITSELF EVIDENCE OF OBSTRUCTION.

E. MORE SERIOUSLY, YOU MADE THESE ALLEGATIONS IN APPARENT DISREGARD OF THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT, TO WHICH WE BOTH AGREED IN MAKING OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS ARRANGEMENT PROVIDES AN OBJECTIVE TEST OF WHETHER IN FACT CHINESE FEEL THEY ARE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING MY COUNTRY. BY THIS OBJECTIVE TEST, I THINK IT IS EVIDENT THAT CHINESE IN U.S. DO NOT CONSIDER THAT THEY ARE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING.

F. YOU NEVERTHELESS ALLEGE THAT SOME CHINESE ARE BEING PREVENTED FROM LEAVING, AND YOU HAVE GIVEN ME NAMES OF 37 PERSONS WHO YOU SAY FALL INTO THAT CATEGORY. MY COUNTRY HAS ALREADY FULLY COMPLIED WITH TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS

REGARDS THESE

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-3- 1615, MARCH 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN), FROM GENEVA.

REGARDS THESE 37 PERSONS, AS WELL AS ALL OTHER CHINESE IN U.S. MOST IMPORTANT AND ESSENTIAL THING IS THAT ANY OF THESE 37, OR ANY OTHER CHINESE IN MY COUNTRY, IF THEY DESIRE TO RETURN, CAN EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT RETURN YOUR COUNTRY WHENEVER THEY CHOOSE AND EXPEDITIOUSLY AS THEY CHOOSE. NEXT MOST IMPORTANT AND ESSENTIAL THING IS THAT ANY THESE PERSONS WHO FEELS HE BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM DEPARTING CAN COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. I HAVE INFORMED YOU REPEATEDLY AND IN DETAIL OF WIDE PUBLICITY GIVEN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT MY COUNTRY IN ACCORDANCE TERMS ANNOUNCEMENT. HOWEVER, IN VIEW YOUR ALLEGATIONS THESE 37 PERSONS, MY GOVERNMENT WILLING GO BEYOND MATTER OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND ENSURE THAT EACH THEM, INSOFAR AS CAN BE POSITIVELY IDENTIFIED, HAS COPY OF FULL TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT. ALSO DESIRE INFORM YOU MEDICAL CASE HISTORY LIU YUNG-MING IS, ACCORDANCE YOUR REQUEST, BEING TRANSMITTED BY AMERICAN RED CROSS TO YOUR RED CROSS SOCIETY.

G. I WOULD LIKE ASK YOU JUST HOW FAR YOU PREPARED GO IN COMPLYING TERMS OUR AGREEMENT WITH REGARD AMERICANS YOUR COUNTRY. CAN YOU ASSURE ME EACH OF 13 AMERICANS WHOSE NAMES I GIVEN YOU AND WHO DO INDISPUTEBLY DESIRE RETURN CAN NOW EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE RIGHT RETURN?

GOWEN

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3:37 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1615, MARCH 8, 8 PM (SECTION FIVE OF SEVEN)

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20. WANG SAID STATEMENT BY DEPARTMENT STATE OF MARCH 7 AS WELL AS MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING HAD AGAIN RAISED QUESTION 13 AMERICANS. THEY THOUGHT SUCH MANNER OF RAISING QUESTION NOT IN CONFORMITY TRUTH AND INTENDED STIR UP ARGUMENT.

21. WANG SAID IT PRECISELY ATTEMPT USE THIS QUESTION AS PRETEXT COVER UP FACT OBSTRUCTION AGAINST RETURN CHINESE IN U.S. IT PRECISELY CHINESE SIDE INSTEAD U.S. SIDE WHICH FEELS HIGHLY DISSATISFIED WITH SITUATION RETURN ITS CIVILIANS.

22. WANG SAID IT TRUE WE HAD AGREEMENT ON RETURN CIVILIANS AND THIS AGREEMENT PROVIDED FOR EXPEDITIOUS RETURN THOSE CIVILIANS WWHO DESIRED DO SO. IT ALSO TRUE WE HAD AGREED ONR THIRD NATION ARRANGEMENT IN ORDER INSURE SMOOTH RETURN CIVILIANS AND IMPLEMENTATION PROVISIONS THIS AGREEMENT. ALL THESE ARRANGEMENTS BEEN MADE WITH VIEW EXPEDITING ADOPTION MEASURES PERMITTING CIVILIANS RETURN.

23. WANG SAID HOWEVER EVER SINCE ANNOUNCEMENT AGREEMENT THEY NOT SEEN ADOPTION BY U.S. GOVERNMENT OF MEASURES TO EXPEDITE RETURN HIS CIVILIANS. INSTEAD U.S. HAD ADOPTED MEASURES WHICH FORCIBLY REQUIRED CHINESE OBTAIN ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN IN ORDER OBSTRUCT RETURN THESE CIVILIANS HIS SIDE. AND WHAT IS MORE U.S. HAD FURTHER ADOPTED MEASURES TO FORCIBLY REQUIRE CHINESE IN U.S. APPLY PERMANENT RESIDENCE.

24. WANG SAID INDIA AS THIRD NATION HAD NOT BEEN IN POSITION

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DISTRIBUTE TEXTS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THEIR CIVILIANS IN U.S. AND HAD NOT BEEN ALLOWED EVEN MAKE ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING FORCIBLE REQUIREMENT OF OBTAINING ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN IMPOSED BY U.S. ON CHINESE CIVILIANS.

25. WANG SAID FURTHERMORE IN SPITE FACT I HAD MADE ASSURANCES ALL ALONG IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS THAT CHINESE IN U.S. I HAVE FREEDOM COMMUNICATE, THEY FOUND IN CASE MR. LU CHO- U: SON LU CHIH WEI FORMER PRESIDENT YENCHING, HIS FAMILY HAD WRITTEN 20 LETTERS HIM BUT HE RECEIVED ONLY TWO, REMAINDER BEEN INTERCEPTED BY U.S. IN U.S. TERMS, CAN THIS BE CALLED FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATION?

26. WANG SAID AND THEN OF 103 CHINESE STUDENTS THEY HAD DISCUSSED PREVIOUSLY, 32 THEM STILL NOT RETURNED.

27. WANG SAID AS REGARDS 37 PERSONS WHOSE NAMES HE HAE GIVEN ME PREVIOUS MEETINGS, I HAD NOT BEEN ABLE UP TO NOW GIVE ACCOUNTING THEM AS TO WHETHER U.S. GOVERNMENT WILL NO LONGER OBSTRUCT THEM. I HAD STATED U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WILLING FURNISH EACH OF 37 WITH COPY TEXT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HOWEVER FAILURE OF RETURN THOSE37 WAS NOT JUST QUESTION THEIR LACK INFORMATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BUT BECAUSE OF DELIBERATE OBSTRUCTION OFFERED BY CONCERNED U.S. AGENCIES WHICH PREVENTING THEIR RETURN. THEREFORE NO MATTER HOW U.S. TRIED TO EXCUSE SELF ON QUESTION RETURN CHINESE IN U.S., IF NO DEFINITE ACCOUNTING FORTHCOMING WITH REGARD QUESTIONS HE HAD RAISED, HOW COULD POSSIBLY BELIEVE U.U. WAS IN FACT IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENT?

28. WANG SAID QUESTION BEFORE US WAS WHETHER U.S. HAD ALREADY ADOPTED MEASURES TO REMOVE FORCIBLE REQUIREMENT FOR CHINESE IN U.S. TO OBTAIN TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS? QUESTION WAS WHETHER U.S. WOULD ADOPT MEASURES TO REMOVE SUCH REQUIREMENTS AS FORCIBLY REQUIRING CHINESE IN U.S. OBTAIN PERMIT FOR LONG-TERM RESIDENCE U.S. QUESTION WAS WHETHER U.S. WOULD NO LONGER OBSTRUCT INDIAN EMBASSY IN U.S. FROM MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT THIS REGARD. QUESTION WAS WHETHER U.S. WOULD STOP INTERCEPTING MAIL OF CHINESE IN U.S., WHICH WAS AGAINST PRACTICE OF CIVILIZED NATIONS. THIS WAS PRACTICE OF SECRET POLICE.

QUESTION WAS

QUESTION WAS ALSO WHETHER U.S. WOULD BE WILLING MAKE INQUIRY INTO CASES PA HAD RAISED IN ORDER REMOVE ALL EXCUSES FOR OBSTRUCTING RETURN THESE CASES.

29. WANG SAID I HAD AGAIN THIS MORNING RAISED CHARGE REGARDING 13 AMERICANS IMPRISONED CHINA AND STATEMENT AMERICAN DEPARTMENT STATE ALSO RAISED THIS MATTER. NOW THEY EXACTLY WOULD LIKE ASK U.S. AS TO HOW MANY CHINESE IMPRISONED IN U.S. THESE PEOPLE BEING KEPT IN PRISON. HOW COULD THEY EXPRESS THEIR DESIRE FOR RETURN?

30. WANG SAID IF U.S. FELT SELF ENTITLED EXPRESS CONCERN FOR IMPRISONED AMERICANS, THEN WHY DID U.S. REFUSE MAKE ACCOUNTING SITUATION INNUMERABLE CHINESE BEING KEPT IMPRISONED U.S? RESPONSIBILITY OF MY SIDE COULD NOT BE AVOIDED BY EVASIVE MEANS.

31. WANG SAID IMPLEMENTATION OUR AGREEMENT WAS EQUALLY BINDING BOTH PARTIES. IT NOT PROPER ASK ONE PARTY ABIDE BY AGREEMENT STRICTLY WHILE OTHER PARTY COULD BREAK IT. FROM SERIES ACTIONS TAKEN BY U.S. IN VIOLATION OF AGREEMENT, IT RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER U.S. ACTUALLY GOING TO RESCIND AGREEMENT.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

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NO: 1615, MARCH 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION SIX OF SEVEN)

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FROM JOHNSON

32. WANG SAID IN ADDITION 37 NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME PREVIOUSLY, THIS MORNING HE HAD FIVE MORE NAMES HE WOULD LIKE GIVE ME, WHOSE RETURN BEING PREVENTED BY U.S. (HANDED OVER LIST; NAMES IN FOLLOWING TELEGRAM). IT STATED IN THIS LIST THAT ALL THESE PERSONS WANT RETURN BUT BEING PREVENTED DOING SO.

33. WANG SAID IN CASE MR. MAI, HE WAS AMONG 32 OF 103 WHO NOT YET RETURNED AND HE STATED HIS FAILURE RETURN WAS DUE DELIBERATE OBSTRUCTION OFFERED BY U.S. AGENCIES. THERE NOT SLIGHTEST INDICATION THAT FAILURE RETURN OF THESE 32 PERSONS WAS DUE TO CHANGE OF THEIR MINDS. FAILURE THEIR RETURN DUE TO OBSTRUCTIONS.

34. WANG SAID HE CONTINUED TO AWAIT ACCOUNTING BY MY SIDE OF ALL THESE QUESTIONS HE HAD RAISED.

35. I SAID HE HAD RIGHTLY SAID THAT IT WAS QUESTION WHO WAS IN FACT CARRYING OUT OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AS I HAD POINTED OUT THIS MORNING THIS WAS NOT QUESTION OF OPINION OR VAGUE CHARGES BUT VERY FORTUNATELY WAS QUESTION OF FACT. IT QUESTION OF FACTS THAT CAN BE DETERMINED BY OBJECTIVE IMPARTIAL TEST. THIRD COUNTRY ARRANGEMENT WHICH ESTABLISHED BY OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ESTABLISHED EXACTLY AS SUCH TEST.

36. I SAID FACTS WERE, AND HE AS WELL AWARE OF THEM AS I, THAT OUT OF MANY THOUSANDS CHINESE IN U.S. THERE NOT YET BEEN ONE CASE IN WHICH INDIAN EMBASSY HAD CALLED ATTENTION MY GOVERNMENT WHY OBSTRUCTION IN DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE. THIS A RECORD THAT

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RECORD THAT WAS CLEAR AND FOR ALL WORLD TO SEE. THIS FULLY CONFIRMED STATEMENTS WHICH I HAD REPEATEDLY MADE HERE EVER SINCE AUGUST 1 LAST YEAR, THAT NO CHINESE WAS BEING OBSTRUCTED IN RETURNING HIS COUNTRY.

37. I SAID FACTS WERE ALSO THAT CHINESE WERE STEADILY RETURNING HIS COUNTRY. NOT ONLY SINCE AUGUST 1 LAST YEAR BUT ALSO PRIOR AUGUST 1 LAST YEAR. QUESTIONS HIS GOVERNMENT CONTINUALLY RAISED AND WHICH HE RAISED AGAIN THIS MORNING, AS I REPEATEDLY HAD POINTED OUT, HAD NO RELATION TO CHINESE WHO DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY. IT ABSURD ON FACT OF IT TO SAY U.S. FORCIBLY REQUIRING PEOPLE DO THIS OR DO THAT IN ORDER REQUIRE THEM STAY IN OUR COUNTRY. WE HAD NO INTEREST WHATSOEVER IN REQUIRING CHINESE OR ANY OTHER ALIENS TO REMAIN IN U.S. WHO DID NOT WANT REMAIN THERE.

38. I SAID HE KNEW AND I KNEW THAT AS FAR AS AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY CONCERNED OUR DISCUSSION CONCERNING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT REVOLVED AROUND THOSE SPECIFIC AMERICANS WHOSE NAMES I HAD GIVEN HIM AND WHO HE KNEW AND I KNEW DESIRED TO RETURN. I HAD FROM VERY BEGINNING OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE, IN MOST EARNEST DESIRE OF REMOVING THESE IMPEDIMENTS TO IMPROVEMENT OUR RELATIONS, EXPLAINED TO HIM EXACT RELATION THESE DETAINED AMERICANS THAT SITUATION. I HAD VERY FRANKLY EXPLAINED THAT OUR ATTITUDE REGARDING THESE PERSONS WAS NOT ONE ARBITRARILY TAKEN BY MY GOVERNMENT BUT ONE ABOUT WHICH AMERICAN PEOPLE FEEL VERY STRONGLY. I HAD MOST EARNESTLY HOPED THIS PROBLEM COULD BE AND WOULD BE REMOVED WHEN WE MADE OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

39. I SAID I SIMPLY WAS AT LOSS UNDERSTAND WHY IF HIS GOVERNMENT GENUINELY DESIROUS IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS, IT HAD NOT TAKEN ADVANTAGE THIS OPPORTUNITY REMOVE THIS IRRITANT. AS I HAD SAID HERE MANY TIMES AND AS WE HAD SAID OUR PUBLIC STATEMENT, I JUST COULD NOT AVOID CONCLUSION THESE AMERICANS CONTINUE BE HELD FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES. I DID NOT KNOW HOW I COULD MAKE CLEAR TO HIM THAT, INSOFAR AS DESIRES HIS GOVERNMENT WITH RESPECT OUR TALKS HERE WERE CONCERNED, SUCH POLICY HAD BEEN AND COULD ONLY CONTINUE TO BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

40. I SAID I HAD SPOKEN VERY FRANKLY ABOUT THIS AND IN WHAT ONE MIGHT

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ONE MIGHT CALL THIS PERSONAL VEIN BECAUSE ITS TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE AND MY VERY DEEP FEELINGS REGARD TO IT. I HOPED HE WOULD ACCEPT IT IN THAT SPIRIT.

41. WANG SAID I HAD SPOKEN ABOUT DESIRABILITY OF REMOVING CAUSES MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLES OUR TWO COUNTRIES ON QUESTION RETURN OUR TWO NATIONALS. IT EXACTLY IN THIS SPIRIT THAT HIS SIDE BEEN CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT RESPECTING AMERICANS IN CHINA.

42. WANG SAID IT HARD HIM TO RECONCILE THIS WITH ACTIONS ADOPTED BY U.S. WITH RESPECT CHINESE, WHICH WERE UNFRIENDLY AND COMPLETELY CONTRARY WHAT THEY HAD DONE. ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY U.S. GOVERNMENT TOWARD CHINESE NATIONALS DID NOT CONTRIBUTE IMPROVEMENT OUR RELATIONS BUT RATHER WORSENED RELATIONS BETWEEN US. HE MIGHT FRANKLY INFORM ME THAT CHINESE PEOPLE VERY INDIGNANT OVER STEPS U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN WHICH INCONSISTENT WITH ITS WORDS.

GOWEN

VH

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Action Assigned to CDR

Control: 5468
Rec'd: MARCH 9, 1956
5:26 A.M.

Action Taken
Date of Action
Init. Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1615, MARCH 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION SEVEN OF SEVEN)

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FROM JOHNSON

43. WANG SAID I HAD SPOKEN ABOUT FAILURE INDIAN EMBASSY BRING UP SINGLE CASE WITH MY GOVERNMENT. HE WANTED ASK WHY U.S. GOVERNMENT SHOULD INTERFERE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY TO PREVENT IT MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT THIS RESPECT. DID U.S. THINK THIS ACTION ITS PART WOULD HELP INDIAN EMBASSY IN PERFORMANCE ITS FUNCTIONS? HE WANTED ASK WHETHER I WILLING REMOVE SUCH OBSTRUCTIONS AGAINST INDIAN EMBASSY'S MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT ON QUESTION OF SO-CALLED EXIT PERMITS TAIWAN.

44. WANG SAID SINCE I HAD RAISED QUESTION 13 AMERICANS IN PRISON, THEN HE WANTED KNOW WHETHER I WAS GOING TO MAKE ACCOUNTING OF CHINESE IMPRISONED U.S. ALL THESE PROBLEMS WERE COVERED BY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BETWEEN US. THEREFORE THEY FULLY ENTITLED RAISE THIS MATTER. AND U.S. IN SAME WAY HAS OBLIGATION GIVE ACCOUNTING.

45. WANG SAID THAT WHY THEY HAD MENTIONED BOTH SIDES SHOULD MAKE RECIPROCAL EFFORT IMPROVE STATE AFFAIRS ON QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS. FIRST OF ALL MUST BE MADE VERY CLEAR IN OUR THINKING THAT BOTH CHINESE AND AMERICANS WERE HUMAN BEINGS AND WERE EQUAL. THEIR PERSONAL RIGHTS MUST BE RESPECTED EQUALLY.
IT NOT PROPER BE CONCERNED WITH ONE'S OWN CIVILIANS WHILE ADOPTING UNFRIENDLY AND CONTRARY ATTITUDE TOWARDS CIVILIANS OTHER SIDE. IF SUCH INCONSISTENT ATTITUDE BE ADOPTED, HOW COULD RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES BE IMPROVED?

46. I SAID U.S. UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT HAD NO OBLIGATION

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GIVE WHAT HE CALLED ACCOUNTING CHINESE IN U.S. U.S. HAD OBLIGATION NOT OBSTRUCT RETURN ANY CHINESE WHO DESIRES RETURN HIS COUNTRY. WE WILLING RECEIVE AND PROMPTLY ACT UPON NANY FACTS WHICH INDICATE WE NOT CARRYING OUT THAT OBLIGATION. WE WILLING DO THAT FOR INDIAN EMBASSY IN U.S. OR I WILLING DO THAT FOR HIM HERE. I STILL HAVE NOT SEEN ANY FACTS ON ANY OBSTRUCTION. WE IN PAST AND WILL CONTINUE FULLY COOPERATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IN CARRYING OUT FUNCTIONS IT ASSUMED UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

47. WANG INTERRUPTED TO ASK DID THIS MEAN I WILLING AGREE TO INDIAN EMBASSY MAKING PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT?

48. I SAID U.S. DID NOT AGREE OR DISAGREE TO INDIAN EMBASSY'S STATING ANYTHING PUBLICLY IT DESIRED STATE. PRESS IN U.S. ENTIRELY FREE AND INDIAN EMBASSY COULD SAY ANYTIME ANYTHING IT DESIRED SAY AND IT WOULD BE PUBLISHED. I RECALLED I BROUGHT UP HERE SOME WEEKS AGO STATEMENT MADE BY INDIAN EMBASSY BEING PUBLISHED IN U.S. I THOUGHT IT WAS LAST DECEMBER.

49. WANG ASKED DID I SAY THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD NEVER INTERFERED WITH INDIAN EMBASSY'S MAKING ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT? COULD IT BE SAID IF THERE SHOULD HAVE BEEN ANYBODY WHO INTERFERED WITH INDIAN EMBASSY'S MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT IT ENTIRELY ACTION HIS OWN RESPONSIBILITY?

50. I SAID I DID NOT KNOW WHAT HE TALKING ABOUT. U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD IN NO WAY KEEPING INDIAN EMBASSY FROM SAYING ANYTHING IT DESIRED WITHIN PROPER SPHERE ITS ACTIVITIES AS DIPLOMATIC MISSION.

51. WANG SAID THEY HAD NOTED THIS QUESTION AND HAD NOTICED ATMOSPHERE IN WASHINGTON SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM WHAT HE HAD EXPERIENCED HERE. (WANG ASKED WHETHER I HAD FINISHED BEFORE CONTINUING).

52. WANG SAID I HAD SPOKEN ABOUT U.S. HAVING NO OBLIGATION UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO MAKE ACCOUNTING CHINESE IN U.S.

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53. I SAID I DID NOT FOLLOW HIS POINT.

54. WANG SAID I STATED I HAD NO OBLIGATION GIVE ACCOUNTING FOR CHINESE. IF THEY FOLLOWED MY LOGIC, WOULD THEY ASK IF 13 NOW IN PRISON HAD NO RELATION WITH AGREEMENT BETWEEN US?

55. I SAID I JUST DID NOT FOLLOW POINT. WE HAD OBLIGATION NOT OBSTRUCT RETURN CHINESE, TO PERMIT THEM EXPEDITIOUSLY RETURN. HE HAD EXACTLY SAME OBLIGATION REGARDING AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY, INCLUDING AS WE BOTH KNEW SPECIFICALLY THOSE 13 AS THEY WERE ONES WE TALKING ABOUT WHEN WE MADE ANNOUNCEMENT. THEIR RETURN INDISPUTABLY STILL BEING OBSTRUCTED.

56. WANG SAID I HAD CLAIMED U.S. DID NOT OBSTRUCT RETURN CHINESE. NOW REGARDING FAILURE RETURN 32 PLUS 42 PERSONS, COULD I EXPLAIN IT AS NO OBSTRUCTIONS BEING OFFERED THEM; IF THEFE 13 AMERICANS WERE RELATED TO AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BETWEEN US THEN CHINESE IN U.S. PRISONS WERE ALSO RELATED TO AGREEMENT. THEY WISH BE INFORMED SITUATION THEM, AND THIS ALSO WITHIN SCOPE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. COULD NOT BE SAID THIS BEYOND SCOPE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

57. I SUGGESTED NEXT MEETING BE THURSDAY MARCH 15. WANG AGREED.

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IND GENEVA Book

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Action Assigned to DC/DIR

Control: 5760
Rec'd: MARCH 9, 1956
12:36 P. M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1617, MARCH 9, 4 P. M.

Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING LIST FIVE NAMES HANDED ME BY WANG 40TH MEETING MARCH 8:

. . . . . .

611.93/3-956

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GOWEN

HEK:

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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☑ Excise as shown) Basis 1-30 FRUS
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date _____

March 9, 1956

SECRET

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

Letter No. 34.

Dear Alex:

We have received your 1614 analyzing the March 8 meeting, and two out of seven sections of your 1615 giving the record of the meeting. We don't see how we can give you any varient to freshen the atmosphere at the next meeting. It is vexing to have to waltz around the floor to the same old music for the umteenth time. We understand and share your antipathy for this business but our strategy requires us to stand fast and to do nothing to precipitate a walkout. Your pertinacity will put an extra star in your crown.

One of the 37 Chinese named by Wang came in to see us yesterday in a state of great agitation. He is....

A senior member of the University faculty accompanied him. The occasion of the visit was his receipt of a letter from Wang, enclosing a copy of the Agreed Announcement. It was posted in Geneva February 28. An informal English translation of the letter is enclosed. We do not

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

know how many of these letters Wang has mailed, but the presumption is that he has sent the letter to all the Chinese whose addresses are known to the PRC. ...suspects that his name and address were obtained from one of the students who recently returned to the Mainland. There is a printed list of the members of the Chinese Students Club at the University of Illinois, and this list was probably taken back to China by one of the recent travelers. ...thinks that the letter to him signifies that his wife and two children will be pressured in some way if he does not return. Of course he does not want to go back. He is completely adjusted and committed to life in this country, and has already taken out his first citizenship papers. He would like to bring his family over. But he is not willing to intimate in any way either in a letter to the Mainland or in conversation here outside of the Department that he wants to stay here, or that he has not been prevented from returning to the Mainland. He is scared to death, so much so that he insisted that we blank out his name and all other identifying data from the letter sent him before we photostated it. The letter apparently is a circular form, with blanks to be filled in as appropriate. This man will not talk to the Indian Embassy or do anything to disillusion the Chinese Communists or otherwise set the record straight, so long as his close relatives are at the mercy of the Chinese Communists. This case is probably typical of what we are up against.

Hubert Graves told me at lunch on the 5th that he had just received an informal note from O'Neill stating that Chou En-lai or Chang Han-fu -- I forget which, had recently mentioned to a diplomat in Peiping that the PRC has a list of 200 Chinese who are in American prisons, which the

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SECRET

Chinese Communists are holding in reserve for possible future use. We surmise that the PRC does not intend to produce this list at Geneva, at least for the present, but is keeping it as an ace in the hole for exploitation when the recriminations start, if there is a break off. My guess is that if there is a list of 200, the great majority are American citizens of Chinese race, but this would not necessarily prevent the PRC from getting some propaganda mileage out of the list.

The Chinese Embassy here, and the large Chinese community in San Francisco and New York, are greatly upset over the extensive Federal Grand Jury investigation of the Chinese passport fraud racket. A very energetic Assistant District Attorney in San Francisco is pushing an unusually vigorous investigation there, with the officers of many Chinese benevolent, fraternal and family societies, being suppoened to appear before the Grand Jury with all their records. Many ill-informed Chinese apparently think that the information sought is eventually to be turned over to the Chinese Communists as part of some deal growing out of the Geneva talks. It is a far fetched apprehension, but apparently is real and widespread. The Chinese Embassy claims that many Chinese are in a state of near panic. We are sending you a copy of a memorandum of conversation on this subject.

In reference to the unaccounted for military personnel, Col. Monroe says Defense is working on the list of 450 and expects to have a revision ready about the middle of next week. There will be a reduction in the total number of names resulting from the identification of some additional bodies. There will also be some new information on many of the names.

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Also the list will show what the recent Communist "accounting" at Panmunjom was with respect to each name. (Incidentally, Defense will be sending a message to the MAC shortly stating we consider the accounting inadequate and spelling out why.) A copy of the above list will be sent to us and to you.

I think nothing further need be said about this at Geneva for the time being.

We spent last Sunday afternoon at the Department studying the Chinese Communist statement and deciding how we would handle it. I gather you agreed with our decision not to be hasty in our reply, and not to pitch it in a restrained key. Neither the Chinese Communist statement nor our reply got any appreciable play from the press. We think it was just as well no great attention was paid to the exchange. I apologize for the slip which resulted in your not getting our reply until 24 hours after it was issued. We had been assured through FE/P that you would get it promptly through the USIA bulletin. For some unaccountable reason USIA did not carry it in its European Service, although it was carried in the Far East and Middle Eastern Service. I had a copy telegraphed you early on the morning of March 7, just on a hunch that you might have missed it. It was on its way before you telephoned. But you should have had it immediately and in the future we will see that anything of comparable interest is telegraphed especially to you at once. We will not rely on USIA for this service.

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A few short miscellaneous items. There was an error in my last letter in the amount of Miner's account. The total amount for which the C. V. Starr Company is requesting a license from Treasury is approximately $88,000. Prospects seem to be pretty good that Treasury will license the full amount requested, and that the local authorities will accept the settlement and give Miner his exit permit.

We have sent the Liu Yun-sing dossier to the American Red Cross for transmittal to the Red Cross in Peiping.

We are working on the possibility of temporarily detailing John Holdridge to Geneva in place of Stanley. Holdridge is here on home leave from Hong Kong and could return to Hong Kong by way of Europe with very little extra travel expense. Hong Kong has been anxious to play a somewhat more active part in the Geneva talks, and this would give them their chance. The experience would be good for Holdridge and his observations would be useful to all our political reporting people in Hong Kong when he returns there. He is a Ching language officer with a good record although he is young. This is all tentative but I wanted you to know the way the wind is blowing. Presumably he could not stay in Geneva indefinitely, but it is questionable if the talks will continue indefinitely.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee is very fully occupied with the Foreign Aid Bill, and for this reason has postponed the hearings on Chinese Communist mistreatment of Americans prisoners until May.

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Lindbeck has finished his work. He has winnowed out the 50 most significant cases of mistreatment and has included case summaries of only these 50 with his report. He took into account your very constructive suggestions when he revised his first draft.

Your letter of February 28 (No. 24) came on March 5 and was warmly welcomed.

We ought to be hearing something from New Delhi over the weekend. Regards and good luck,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Copy of Letter to ...
2. Despatch No. 484 from Taipei

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Department of State

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1621, MARCH 11, 5 PM

Control: 6674
Rec'd: MARCH 11, 1956
12:50 PM

Action Assigned to OAD

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Date of Action

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Name of Officer

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NIACT

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FROM OSBORN.

CHINESE COMMUNIST CONSULATE GENERAL 3:30 P.M. TODAY ISSUED COPIES 700-WORD "STATEMENT MINISTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS PRC" DATED MARCH 11. SENT USUAL TWO COPIES ADDRESSED AMBASSADOR JOHNSON.

FIRST TWO-THIRDS STATEMENT DEVOTED IMPLEMENTATION. CHARGES U.S. WITH FAILURE TAKE ANY MEASURES IN REGARD CHINESE IMPRISONED U.S. SAYS U.S. HAS "FORBIDDEN" INDIAN EMBASSY ISSUE ANNOUNCEMENTS, CITES OTHER FAMILIAR "FACTS" WHICH "SERVE TO EXPOSE BEYOND DISPUTE DISTORTION MADE BY DEPARTMENT OF STATE" IN ITS MARCH 6 STATEMENT.

ON RENUNCIATION, STATEMENT CONTAINS ONE-PARAGRAPH SUMMARY THEIR CURRENT VERSION OF U.S. POSITION: "HAS REFUSED EXPRESS DEFINITE ATTITUDE ON (FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING) AND EVEN DEMANDED SO-CALLED RIGHT INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF DEFENSE ON CHINA'S TERRITORY TAIWAN. ONE CANNOT BUT CONSIDER AIM IS REQUIRE CHINA ACCEPT U.S. OCCUPATION TAIWAN, INTERFERENCE LIBERATION COASTAL ISLANDS." DOES NOT REPEAT NOT CONTAIN LINE OF MARCH 4 STATEMENT, THAT U.S. MUST CHOOSE EITHER OCTOBER 27 OR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT.

CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH: "U.S. NOT ONLY VIOLATED AGGREMENT ALREADY REACHED AND OBSTRUCTED FURTHER PROGRESS OF TALKS, BUT IS STEPPING UP MILITARY ACTIVITIES TAIWAN AREA. CHINESE MINISTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEEMS NEIESSARY POINT OUT UNITED STATES

FEB 27 1959

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MUST BEAR FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM THIS STATE AFFAIRS."

OF COURSE NOT COMMENTING HERE. HOWEVER, LOCAL REUTERS MAN, NOTING THIS FIRST PUBLIC CHARGE US HOLDING CHINESE IN PRISON, INQUIRED IF GARNISH WHETHER ANYTHING TO CHARGE. GARNISH UNATTRIBUTEDLY DISCOUNTED CHARGE AS UNFOUNDED CHINESE COMMUNIST EFFORT COVER UP OWN FAILURE IMPLEMENT, SUGGESTED CT U WIFE* READ TOO MUCH SIGNIFICANCE INTO IT.

GOWEN

CRH

NOTE: *AS RECEIVED. VERIFICATION UPON REQUEST.

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1956 MAR 12 AM 7 40

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

530

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10:10 p.m.

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Name of Officer

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FROM: Colombo

TO: Secretary of State

NO: SECTO 43, March 11, 10 p.m. (SECTION 1 of 3)

Reference SECTO 41.

Following is summary of Chou En-lai memorandum to Nehru, dated March 2 for discussions with Secretary. Johnson-Wang talks concern two principal questions, one implementation of agreement on Nationals, two declaration on peaceful settlement disputes. As regards American Nationals out of 40 prisoners only 13 remain. Cases of remaining are under review. No difficulty exists in case of prisoners. However, as regards Chinese Nationals in US many difficulties have arisen. Out of 5042 students only 156 have so far returned. PRC have list of 3477 names of which 628 wish to come back. US however, have told them permission to return has been given to only 103 students. Of these 31 have still not returned and 3 are missing. Names and addresses of all have been given to Indian Embassy. Chou En-lai mentioned following specific US obstructions: (a) US has taken no action communicating text agreed announcement to Chinese prisoners; (b) have refused to give list of prisoners; (c) Indian Embassy has no facility for communicating agreed announcement to Chinese prisoners; (d) Formosa entry permits and permanent resident permits.

As redeclaration on peaceful settlement of disputes the text of the four drafts have been made available to Indians. Last American draft raised two fundamental questions: (a) right of self-defense; (b) specific mention of Formosa area. Under no circumstances could PRC agree to any statement regarding US so-called right of self-defense in Formosa area. Chou En-lai intimated that US might withdraw clause re self-defense in order to insist that Formosa area be specifically mentioned in text. PRC would not object to Formosa being specificially mentioned in draft as one of existing disputes provided Foreign Ministers' conference also mentioned as agreed method of settling these disputes. Unless US willing accept this compromise declaration should be in general terms as suggested by PRC draft of December 1. Chou En-lai listed three reasons why US insists upon mentioning Formosa while avoiding reference to Foreign Ministers' conference: (a) they wish to show superficially to world that declaration has softened tension in Formosa area while

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while actually it would freeze situation there; (b) they wish to tide over election year and have no (repeat not) intention of agreeing on Foreign Ministers' conference; (c) they wish to increase their armed strength in Formosan area under pretext of helping Chiang Kai-shek. Choul En-lai said present American tactics hidden conspiracy to cheat and deceive China. PRC have seen through plot and would not agree to "their designs" PRC position is that US can accept either of two Chinese drafts: (a) draft of last October or, (b) draft of December 1. In case of US continuing obstructive tactics PRC intends releasing entire proceedings of discussions of second item of agenda.

DULLES

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Control: 6716
Rec'd: March 12, 1956
12:40 a.m.

FROM: Colombo

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: SECTO 43, March 11, 10 p.m. (SECTION 2 of 3)

Following is memorandum given to Cooper for delivery to Nehru re release Nationals "at time the Johnson-Wang negotiations began in Geneva on August 1, 1955 there were 41 American civilians being detained in China, 29 in prison or under house arrest, and 12 being denied exit permits.

"On September 10 Chinese announced release of the 12 exit-permit cases. Therefore only the 29 prison and house arrest cases were under discussion between Wang and Johnson at the time the agreed announcement was made on September 10. On that day the Reds announced the release of 10 of these imprisoned Americans. This left 19 (18 in prison and one under house arrest) subject to the terms of the agreed announcement.

"Today exactly 6 months after this public commitment was made to expedite the departure of these Americans only 6 of the 19 have been released. The British Charge in Peiping has been able to see only one of the 13 still held and has received letters from only 5 others. He has been unable to establish contact with the remaining 7. In his discussions at Geneva, Wang Ping-nan has virtually admitted that these Americans are being held as political hostages, stating that "review of cases" will be governed by "state of relations" between US and Communist China.

"Our records show that 114 Chinese have returned to the Mainland from the US since our negotiations began on August 1. 102 of this number have returned since the agreed announcement of September 10.

"With reference to Chinese Nationals in the US the Chinese Communists first demands concerned only students. They later asked for list of all Chinese in US thus seeking to establish position of being lawful representative of all Chinese in America.

DULLES

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Control: 6724
Rec'd: March 12, 1956
1:29 a.m.

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FROM: Colombo

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: SECTO 43, March 11, 10 p.m. (SECTION 3 OF 3)

Direction to DC/R —

"All of the approximately 5,000 students in US at time of Communist takeover of Mainland in 1949 held National Government of China passports. The overwhelming majority of these students were and are adherents of the National Government. No exit restrictions were ever imposed except on a small number (approximately 175) during a period beginning with the Red Chinese entry into the Korean War. All restrictions were rescinded in the spring of 1955. At that time the restrictions covered 103. Chou En-lai's statement that 'the Chinese Government have ascertained that 628 wish to come back' and that 'US Government have, however, told them that permission to return has been given to only 103 students' is pure fabrication.

"The US Department of State in press release December 16, 1955 publicly invited any person who knows of any Chinese who claims he is being prevented from returning to China Mainland to communicate at once with the State Department or the Indian Embassy. The Indian Embassy has not (repeat not) questioned US compliance with the terms of the agreed announcement and has made no (repeat no) allegations of interference with the departure of any Chinese. Not a single case of a Chinese claiming obstruction has been reported. The so-called 'Formosa entry--permits' and permanent resident permits obstructions are nonexistent".

Attachments: one, agreed announcement September 10, 1955 one copy; two, Department of State press release December 16, 1955.

With regard to 5,000 students it would be helpful to give cooperative breaddown of how many have returned to Mainland over past years insofar as our records cover, indicating how many had returned at US expense.

Please repeat reply to Secretary for attention Robertson.

DULLES

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FOR SECRETARY AND ROBERTSON

FOR JOHNSON

(Code Room: Repeat text Geneva's 1621 control 6674.)

-611.93/3-1156

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611.93/3-1156 CS/W

Hoover acting (CWO HOOVER)

DC/R
52

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Drafted by: F:CA:[illegible]
DCT:CWO:JRL:[illegible]

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 532

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

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05955 606
1956 MAR 12 PM 6 43
DC/T

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SENT TO: Amembassy BANGKOK TOSEC 60 PRIORITY

RPT INFO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1749
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

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TOSEC 54 Djakarta, Prague 289.

Chinese Communist blast March 11 appears to have evoked little or no public interest in this country. Correspondents asked no repeat no questions regarding it or any other phase of Geneva talks at regular press briefing today. Department intends make no repeat no official reply this statement. In unlikely event subject raised later by press, spokesman will characterize it as mere rehash of previous Communist statements. If he is queried about reference to Indian Embassy he will affirm that US Government has never forbidden Indian Embassy to issue announcements. Spokesman will refrain from saying anything explicit on Chinese in US prisons.

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Hoover Acting
(WPMcC)
CWPMcC

Drafted by:
E:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 3/12/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

Clearances:

11172 MAR 1 1956 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 533

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☒ CHARGE TO

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Classification

607

05975

1956 MAR 12 PM 6 47

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1750

FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Code Room: Please repeat Colombo's SECTO 43, Control 6696, March 11, 1956.

Hooper
ACTING
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 3/12/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (534)

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☐ CHARGE TO

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608

05976

1956 MAR 12 PM 6 47

DC/T

SECRET
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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1751
FOR JOHNSON
Amembassy BANGKOK TOSEC 61 PRIORITY

Origin

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for March 15 meeting.

1. Although Chinese Communist public statement of March 11 and Chou En-lai's memorandum to Nehru (SECTO 43 repeated Geneva 1750 afford little ground for optimism regarding progress ~~of~~ talks, they do not appear to threaten early break. Maintain steady pressure on Wang on both renunciation force and implementation issues by earnest re-exposition United States position.

2. Note issuance ~~XXXXXXX~~ Chinese Communist March 11 statement without prior notice, contrary ~~to~~ understanding regarding public statements. Call attention ~~to~~ false allegations in Communist statement, specifically setting forth ~~that~~ US has never forbidden Indian Embassy ~~to~~ issue any announcement it wished.

3. Refer to assertion in Communist statement that all Americans can contact office ~~of~~ British Charge and ask for report ~~as to~~ failure jail seven of Americans in ~~xiii~~ to communicate with British Charge.

Hoover, ACTING (HOOVER)

11173

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 3/12/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances: CA - Mr. McConaughy

L - Mr. Phleger

MAR 12 1956 PM

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C009

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53-52
Action
FE

Control: 8021
Rec'd: March 13, 1956
6:21 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

SS
G

NO: 1631, March 13, 10 p.m.

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 1631, REPEATED INFORMATION SAIGON PRITY 15.

SAIGON TOSEC FOR SECRETARY AND ROBERTSON

FROM JOHNSON

In response to request from Wang who said it necessary he leave here March 14 for Warsaw "on urgent business" I agreed next meeting be postponed to Thursday March 22. Also agreed his suggestion press announcement only state this "agreed upon by both sides for administrative reasons."

GOWEN

AB:AW/8

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken Noted.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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610

54-41

Action

FE

Info

RMR

SS

G

SECRET

Control: 8089
Rec'd: March 13, 1956
9:58 p.m.

1/10

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FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1632, March 13, 10 p.m.

SENT WARSAW 4, REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT 1632

FROM JOHNSON

Wang called tonight asking postpone our next meeting to March 22 stating it necessary he leave here March 14 for Warsaw "on urgent business".

In order assist in assessing this move would appreciate any information you can discretely obtain as to what if any "urgent business" might require his presence there.

GOWEN

AB:LJ/3

611.93/3-1356

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Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken Noted.

Date of Action

Action Officer Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1956 MAR 14 AM 7 22

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Department of State

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☒ CHARGE TO

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06690 611.
1956 MAR 13 PM 6 55
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1754
FOR JOHNSON Saigon
~~BANGKOK~~

Origin

Info

XPT INFO: Amembassy ~~XXXXX~~ TOSEC 70 PRIORITY
FOR ROBERTSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

National Catholic Welfare Conference has learned from letters sent by Father Houle to his mother that he was tried October 30, 1955 and sentenced ~~to~~ 4 years retroactive to date of arrest June 1953.

Without citing Father Houle's letters as source inform~~ation~~ Wang you have learned of his sentencing and protest in strongest terms this further flagrant violation ~~of~~ Agreed Announcement.

Hoover, ACTING (WS) HOOVER

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611.93/3-1356

CS/W SECRET FI

611.93/3-1356

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNCloughek 3/13/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald WS

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger
CA - Mr. McConaughy

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538

Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
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1956 MAR 15 PM 3 43
07876
DC/T

SENT TO: Amembassy NEW DELHI 2293
TAIPEI TOSEC 78 FOR ROBERTSON
RPT INFO: Amembassy [redacted]

Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 1759

Reference SECTO 43 and memorandum given to Cooper for delivery to Nehru. From 1949 to 1955, U. S. at public expense assisted 3641 Chinese to pursue studies in U. S. and, among this group, provided travel funds to 771 who needed money to return to mainland. Slightly over 80 percent of this travel assistance was provided in 1949-50. Official totals on all Chinese definable as students who have returned to mainland since 1949 not available.

Hoover
ACTING
(Wanlee) HOOVER

611.93/3-1556
CS/W

Drafted by: E:CA:JPNagoski:apt 3/14/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
USINS - Mr. German (In substance)
IES - Mr. Nelson (In substance)
FE - Mr. Sebald
SOA - Mr. Withers (in substance)

S/S-CR

CONFIDENTIAL MAR 15 1956 P.M.
Classification

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539

42

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date _____

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 25 March 15, 1956

Dear Walter:

I received your letter No. 34 of March 9 which I appreciated very much.

Your account of Wang's letter to Chow confirms the feeling that I have had that many of the Chinese in the United States, who while not desiring to return, are being careful to play both sides of the fence, sometimes to protect relatives, and probably sometimes to not slam any doors if later they change their minds. I agree that this is a very difficult situation to handle and for the moment have no thoughts on what we may be able to do. I have been trying to think of some way that I could casually make the point to Wang during the give and take for what it might be worth. I think it entirely possible that apart from their obvious desire to use this for their propaganda play, they are, in fact, also being somewhat misled by the situation.

I sent your office a telegram last night on Wang's request to postpone this week's meeting. It was as welcome to me as I am sure it was to you. You will see that Warsaw suggests he may be going back to attend the funeral of Bierut. I had not thought of this and think it may well be correct. At the same time, I think it entirely likely that they may be planning some new move for the next meeting. While, as you see from my telegrams, I feel that we are pretty near the end of the road, we nevertheless cannot forget the Communist ability to ignore everything that has happened in the past and radically shift positions. I agree that Chou's memorandum to Nehru does not appear to threaten an early break but do not understand how they feel that publication of the "entire proceedings" on the second agenda item constitutes any pressure on us. The entire substance has certainly

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

has certainly been made public in our respective statements and it does not seem to me that there is anything substantial that can be added thereto.

Incidentally, while I greatly appreciate the copies of the memorandums contained in your 750 I am left a little puzzled as to whether Nehru simply handed the Memorandum over without discussion, or whether there was some discussion between himself and the Secretary, and if so what its nature might have been. I hope that I know at least as much about what may have taken place in this regard as Wang may know. I would also be interested in knowing whether or not there was any discussion of Indian functions under the Agreed Announcement and Implementation beyond that indicated in our Memorandum for Cooper to give to Nehru. That is, I would be very much interested in knowing to what degree the Indians may have expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction, as this would assist me in governing the statements I make here to Wang in this regard.

In the absence of any instructions to the contrary, I will assume that your 1751 will still be applicable to the March 22 meeting. I am not very impressed with the point in the first sentence of paragraph 2 of those instructions and in this regard will plan to confine myself to expressing disappointment over their making the March 11 statement rather than the violation of our understanding with regard to making statements. He had told me at the previous meeting that they were going to make a statement on renunciation and I only implied that we might make a reply and did not say our reply would cover implementation. Our March 6 statement did very properly, I believe, include implementation and their statement of March 11 was ~~not~~ a reply thereto. I therefore do not believe that any exchange based upon technicalities of our understanding with regard to public statements can be very useful or fruitful but we should rather keep to the substance.

If he pursues his tactics of the last meeting of simply not meeting my arguments and chanting his refrain on accepting either their two drafts, the situation may get fairly sticky. If their purpose is to bring about a break they will, of course, try to manuever me into a position where it would appear the initiative had come from me. However, I will be alert for all such situations and do my best to avoid them.

I think

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I think that my best line will continue to be a willingness and desire to continue to strive for an agreement with them and a willingness to listen to any alternative formulations they may have with respect to the substance of our January 12 draft.

I will also make the point contained in your 1754 with regard to Father Houle. Although this point has never seemed very impressive to me as the usual pattern in the past has been "trial and sentencing" just prior to release. My position has always been that I am not interested in their legal mumbo-jumbo but only the fact of the release of the Americans.

I am enclosing an original and two copies of our draft of a White Paper summarizing the talks. This, of course, contains blanks that require filling in as time passes. However it embodies my thoughts on how this whole complicated and in many ways esoteric subject can most clearly be presented in White Paper form. Dave Osborn has done the writing and deserves whatever credit the paper may merit. I have approved it and, therefore, deserve the full share of whatever blame may be attached to it for errors. In any event, I hope that the Department may find it acceptable as a basis from which the final product can be produced.

Kindest regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. In looking over the postscript to my letter No. 24 I note that there is a typographical error in the first sentence of the last paragraph which completely reverses the meaning. It should have read "wilder charges" rather than "milder charges".

Is there any conceivable factual basis for this continued repetition in Chinese students' letters to "applying for permission to INS" to return? In the absence of word to the contrary I am assuming I am still on absolutely solid ground in saying they do not apply to anybody for anything. I have in mind the income tax clearance but that has never been raised.

If the assignment of Stanley here, which I still think is the best plan, cannot be worked out I would agree that the detail of Holdridge would be useful.

(540)

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613

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46
Action
FE

Info
RMR

SS

Control: 10514
Rec'd: March 17, 1956
12:43 a.m.

FROM: The Hague

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1474, March 16, 6 p.m.

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611.93/3-1656

SENT DEPARTMENT 1474; REPEATED INFORMATION GENEVA 17, TAIPEI 1.

Foreign Office official has informed Embassy representative that Chiao Kwang-hua, Chinese Communist Deputy Minister Foreign Affairs, discussed with Zeeman, Netherlands Charge Peking March 4 communique which Chinese Communists issued re Geneva talks. Chiao pointed out that, although communique threatened US with rupture talks unless either October 27 or December 1 proposals accepted, Chinese Communists had deliberately fixed no time limit for such acceptance.

Zeeman reported that he feels this observation was made to him for specific purpose of relay to US Government. It was his impression that Chinese Communists were willing, despite tenor of communique, to continue talks in Geneva.

MATTHEWS

MAM:MAA

Action Assigned to: CA/DIR
Action Taken: Noted
Date of Action: 3/17/56
Action Office Symbol: CA
Name of Officer: Willoughby
Direction to DC/R: File

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614

09749

1956 MAR 19 PM 6 21

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1769
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

1. At March 22 meeting follow guidance given Department's 1751.

2. Telegraphing separately for your background reports ~~of~~ Secretary's conversations ~~in~~ New Delhi, Taipei and Tokyo.

3. Also telegraphing separately for your background report on Grand Jury investigations New York and San Francisco into passport frauds among persons Chinese race, since Wang might seize this as pretext ~~to~~ charge persecution Chinese in US.

4. Return soon Spielman history of talks to date with your suggested revisions as this might be required on short notice if Communists broke off or carried out threat ~~to~~ publish complete record.

Hoover, ACTING

(WJS) HOOVER

CSA

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11174

Confidential File

611.93/3-1956

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 3/19/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WJS William J. Sebald

Clearances: L - Mr. Phleger (in substance) WJS

CA - Mr. McConaughy

Bureau of FOR EASTERN AFFAIRS 540 pm

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09750

1956 MAR 19 PM 6 22

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY 1770

Origin

Info

Our 1770 Paragraph 3.

During past several years investigations by Consulate General Hong Kong have revealed extremely high incidence of fraud among Chinese claimants to American citizenship. Many such fraudulent claimants to American citizenship on being denied passport Hong Kong took advantage of provision of law which permits claimant to institute civil action against Secretary of State in Federal Court to prove citizenship. Some 1350 such cases now pending, including 700 in San Francisco.

In February 1956 Grand Juries were empaneled in New York and San Francisco investigate passport fraud cases. In San Francisco Grand Jury subpeonaed officers of large number Chinese associations, directing them submit records of membership, financial contributions and photographs in order obtain independent, accurate records Chinese family relationships in this country.

Chinese communities in US were alarmed by Grand Jury action and appealed to Chinese Government which made representations to US. Alarm reportedly due in part to rumor that Grand Jury compiling roster of names

Chinese

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DC/T Encl 55

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Chinese in US to turn over to Chinese Communists. Department assured Chinese Embassy no truth in rumor and emphasized that legal rights of all Chinese residents US fully protected. Department pointed out investigation directed solely at fraudulent claimants to American citizenship and those who aid and abet them.

Hoover
ACTING
(Copy) HOOVER

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 543

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616

09768

1956 MAR 19 PM 6 51

OC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA /771

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

(CODE ROOM: Please repeat Taipei's 848, March 18, Control 10953.)

Hoover HOOVER
ACTING
(WPMcC)

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RE: Summary of Conferences with President Chiang

OC/T
Cat 55
Cat

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Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

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SS
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SP
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L

Control: 12226
Rec'd: MARCH 20, 1956
2:28 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1652, MARCH 20, 5 PM

RM/R Central Files

611.93/3-2056

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FROM JOHNSON

RE DEPTEL 1769

REPORTS CONVERSATIONS NEW DELHI NOT (REPEAT NOT) YET RECEIVED OTHER THAN SUMMARIES OF MEMOS CONTAINED DEPTEL 1750. TOKYO CONVERSATION ALSO NOT RECEIVED.

DRAFT HISTORY TALKS TRANSMITTED BY LETTER MARCH 17.

GOWEN

JMD

Action Assigned to CAID

Action Taken cleared

Date of Action 3/21/56

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1956 MAR 21 AM 7 23

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 545

Department of State

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[ ] CHARGE TO

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10211 617
1956 MAR 20 PM 3 44
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1772

Origin
Info:

FOR JOHNSON

(CODE ROOM: Please repeat Colombo DULTE 22, March 11, Control 6736.)

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ACTING
HOOVER

Re: Summary of views Nehru expressed to Secretary.

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611.93/3-2056 CS/W

SECRET FILE

Drafted by: E:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 3/20/56
Clearances:

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

S/S-CR
MAR 20 1956 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 546

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☒ CHARGE TO

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10637 619

1956 MAR 20 PM 8 25

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON 1776

Origin

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Following is text Tokyo's 2237:

(Code Rm. please repeat Tokyo's 2237, Control 12066 and 12065)

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CS/W

Homer

ACTING

(WPMcC) HOOVER

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

DC/B
Incl 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 3/20/56

Telegraphic transmission classification approved by: WPMcC Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

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547

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

120

58-B
Action
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Control: 13095
Rec'd: MARCH 21, 1956
3:07 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1658, MARCH 21, 7 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

CONCUR CLOUGH'S MEMO TO MCCONOUGHY MARCH 12 THAT NOT RPT NOT DESIRABLE ARC ATTEMPT BY LETTER SEEK ASSISTANCE CHICOM RED CROSS RELEASE 13. NICHOLSON SHOULD HOWEVER UTILIZE ALL POSSIBILITIES AT MAY MEETING TO IMPRESS ON CHICOM RED CROSS AMERICAN CONCERN CONTINUED DETENTION 13.

GOWEN

OW

Action Assigned to: AF/D/IR

Action Taken ——

Date of Action ——

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer ——

Direction to RC/R

611.93/3-2156

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1956 MAR 22 AM 7 33
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621

31-L

Action

FE

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CORRECTED COPY
3/24/56 9:15 a.m. (CWD)

Control: 13550
Rec'd: March 22, 1956
10:23 a.m.

1956 MAR 26 AM 8 03

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1661, March 22, 3 p.m.

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

Action Assigned to Caplin

Action Taken

Date of Action 1/6

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. One hour forty minuite meeting this morning. No change whatever.

2. Wang's opening statement was devoid of any new content and closed with reiteration I choose between their two drafts. In response my last meetings characterization his position as war-like ultimata he made this charge against US citing alleged statement by Air Force Major General Hunter Harris to effect in even outbreak fighting Matsus would be no question but that there would be joint air support. I reiterated our position including willingness listen any reformulation essential points our January 12 ammendments contrasting with their ultimatum and take it or leave it attitude. Renunciation closed with each of us hoping other would meet position of other at next meeting.

3. I attacked their March 11 statement as not helpful to negotiations and as containing gross distortions and misstatements of fact including charge we had pretended Indians making statement, I had admitted 32 Chinese detained, etc. Also made statement on Father Houles sentencing statement "protesting outrage" US authorities causing death of Daniel Pao (Pao Che-en) (See FBIS March 15 daily report) who placed under surveillance in 1950 after trying to return and in 1952 "forcibly" sent to sanatorium "on pretense" he had TB and where he "mysteriously" died two months later obviously as result of US "persecution". I made vigorous reply characterizing charges regarding Pao as desperate and absurd attempt cover up failure release 13 and characterized CHICOM treatment imprisoned Americans and other foreigners as "barbarous".

5. Meeting closed on this acid and acrimonious note.

6. Next meeting Thursday March 29.

7. Departing for Prague tomorrow morning; returning Tuesday.

SW:CRH:11

CONFIDENTIAL GOWEN

661.93/3-2256

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FEB 27 1958

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NCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

549

1-6

53-1

CONFIDENTIAL

623

Action
FE

Info
RMR
SS
G
SP

Control: 13715
Rec'd: March 22, 1956
2:46 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1663, March 22, 3 p.m.

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PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

Comments today's meeting.

While there was some indication Wang might be attempting goad me into saying I saw no point in continuing talks given their present position, he did not push hard and made no attempt move further toward break. In accordance pattern last few meetings he did not make any attempt meet my points and rebuffed my efforts draw him into substantive discussion. In general might characterize his attitude today as willingness continue endurance contest and continued unwillingness make slightest move to break deadlock.

GOWEN

ECM/6

611.93/3-2256 PA

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Control Taken
Rec'd: MARCH 23, 1956
4:07 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1668, MARCH 22, 10 PM (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

Date of Action

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FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED 41ST MEETING SAYING STATEMENT I MADE LAST MEETING ENTIRELY UNSATISFACTORY. HE GAVE ONLY POINTS TO LACK SINCERETY MY SIDE TO REACH AGREEMENT PROPOSED DECLARATION. ONE WOULD NOT FAIL SEE IT WAS ATTEMPT MY PART BY DISTORTING STATEMENT HE MADE MARCH 1 TO EVADE REPLY HIS QUESTION AS TO WHICH OF TWO DRAFTS HIS SIDE I PREPARED ACCEPT.

2. WANG SAID AT THAT MEETING I EVEN TERMED HIS PROPOSAL FOR FONMINS CONFERENCE A PREREQUISITE AND WAR-LIKE ULTIMATUM, SUCH ASSERTION ENTIRELY UNFOUNDED. EXACTLY CONTRARY MY ALLEGATION, FONMIN CONFERENCE HAS BEEN ACCEPTED THOURGHOUT WORLD AS PROVEN MEANS RESOLVING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. THEIR INSISTENCE FONMINS CONFERENCE IS MANIFESTATION THEIR SINCERE DESIRE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. HOWEVER, IN LIGHT MY UNJUSTIFIED INSISTENCE CONFUSING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES AND MATTERS CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AS WELL AS US INTENT CONTINUE SEIZURE TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS, IT CLEAR IT EXACTLY MY SIDE WHICH MAKING THREATS AND ULTIMATA.

3. WANG SAID RECENTLY FOR INSTANCE CHIEF OPERATIONS FEAF MAJ GENERAL HUNTER HARRIS KNOWN TO HAVE DECLARED THAT IN EVENT OUTBREAK FIGHTING MATSUS, JOINT AIR SUPPORT WOULD BE OUT OF QUESTION (APPARENT INTENT OF WANG WAS TO SAY, "WOULD BE UNQUESTIONED"). HIS REVELATION AMOUNTS TO DECLARATION TO CHINESE PEOPLE THAT US PREPARED USE FORCE AGAINST CHINA. THAT IS ANOTHER FLAGRANT EXAMPLE OF WAR CLAMORING. AGAINST THIS HE MUST LODGE SERIOUS PROTEST. IF MY SIDE WILL NOT PROMPTLY STOP SUCH PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS, SITUATION COULD ONLY

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BE INTERPRETED ATTEMPT DISRUPT TALKS AND GRAVE CONSEQUENCES MUST BE BORNE ENTIRELY MY SIDE.

4. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO SAID AT MARCH 1 MEETING I FOUND HARD RECONCILE HIS STATEMENT THAT MEETING WITH HIS PREVIOUS POSITION. THIS AGAIN DISTORTION FACT. AFTER 21 SESSIONS BETWEEN US COULD IT BE POSSIBLE POSITION THEIR SIDE THIS REGARD NOT BEEN AMPLY CLEAR? WAS IT NOT CONSISTENT STAND THEIR SIDE TO INSIST REMOVAL SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE AND TO CATEGORICALLY REJECT ANY ATTEMPT INTERJECT CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS INTO NEGOTIATIONS OR MAKE THEM SUBJECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN US? IT CONSISTENT ALSO WITH THEIR INSISTENCE ON FONMINS CONFERENCE. AS REGARDS THEIR PROPOSAL FONMINS CONFERENCE, HE BEEN STRESSING ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION THAT WITHOUT SUCH CONFERENCE NO WAY TO CARRY OUT DECLARATION AND DECLARATION WOULD CONSEQUENTLY BECOME SCRAP PAPER.

5. WANG SAID IN ORDER REACH AGREEMENT SPEEDILY ON DECLARATION, TWO DRAFTS WHICH BEEN PUT FORWARD BY THEIR SIDE WERE EXCLUSIVELY FAIR AND REASONABLE PROPOSALS. WHICH OF THESE TWO DRAFTS WAS I WILLING ACCEPT? THIS WAS THE ONE QUESTION TO WHICH THEIR SIDE CONTINUED SEEK ANSWER FROM ME.

6. IN RESPONSE, I SAID AS I TOLD HIM AT LAST MEETING, I FELT POSITION EMBODIED HIS GOVT'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 4 AND WHICH HE HAD SET FORTH OUR MEETINGS BEFORE AND AGAIN SET FORTH TODAY, WAS ONLY RESULTING DRAGGING OUR TALKS BACKWARDS. SINCE OCT LAST YEAR, I BEEN TRYING FIND BASIS FOR AGREEMENT WITH HIM ON DECLARATION USE FORCE.

7. I SAID US HAD, IN ITS OBLIGATION UNDER UN AND IN ITS ARRANGEMENTS FOR COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE IN FAR EAST AS WELL ELSEWHERE IN WORLD, MADE CLEAR BEYOND QUESTION OR DOUBT IT WOULD NEVER INITIATE USE FORCE IN SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. THESE NOT ONLY WORDS, BUT BEEN FULLY ESTABLISHED BY ACTIONS US. US HAS IN PAST AND HAS MANY TIMES REITERATED HOWEVER THAT IT WILL NEVER SUPINELY SURRENDER TO AGGRESSION

OR INITIATION OF USE FORCE BY OTHERS, AND IF OTHER NATIONS DO USE FORCE US IS DETERMINED DEFEND ITSELF AND ITS ALLIES. NO STATEMENT MADE BY ANY RESPONSIBLE SPOKESMAN US GOVT HAS EVER BEEN CONTRARY TO THIS AND I SATISFIED NONE EVER WILL BE.

8. I SAID WHEN WE CAME HERE IT WELL KNOWN TO WORLD THAT ONE SIDE IN THESE DISCUSSIONS WAS THREATENING TO INITIATE USE FORCE TO RESOLVE SITUATION WITH WHICH IT WAS DISSATISFIED. PURPOSE OF PROPOSALS WHICH I HAD MADE THIS REGARD WAS REMOVE OVERHANGING THREAT FORCE AND MAKE POSSIBLE PEACEFUL DISCUSSION AND SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. I THOUGHT HE SHARED THIS PURPOSE. I THOUGHT HE AGREED ME AS TO GENERAL CHARACTER DECLARATION WE SOUGHT. OBVIOUSLY SUCH DECLARATION MUST APPLY UNEQUIVOCALLY TO ALL SITUATIONS WHERE DANGER RESORT FORCE BY ONE SIDE EXISTED. YET HE STILL PERSISTED IN REFUSING EMBODY IN SUCH DECLARATION STATEMENT THAT MADE CLEAR IT DID APPLY ALL SUCH SITUATIONS. HE REFUSED MAKE IT CLEAR THAT DECLARATION APPLIED PRECISELY TO THAT SITUATION WHERE THREAT USE FORCE BEEN MOST EXPLICIT.

9. I SAID SUCH DECLARATION I THOUGHT WE BOTH AGREED MUST NOT EMBODY ANY PREREQUISITE CONDITIONS. YET THEIR POSITION, THAT THEY HAD SET FORTH PUBLICLY AND SET FORTH OUR MEETINGS HERE, WITH RESPECT FONMINS MEETING I COULD ONLY INTERPRET AS EFFORT ESTABLISH PRE-CONDITIONS. HIS EVASION AT OUR LAST MEETING AND AGAIN THIS MORNING OF REASONABLE AND LOGICAL QUESTIONS WHICH I ASKED HIM IN THIS REGARD ONLY FURTHER DEMONSTRATED THAT THIS THE CASE. I RAISED THESE QUESTIONS HE WOULD RECALL, IN ORDER DEMONSTRATE THAT DECLARATION ON CONDITIONS HE LAID DOWN WOULD BE ENTIRELY LACKING IN ANY MEANINGFUL CONTENT AS A RENUNCIATION FORCE.

GOWEN

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Action Assigned to
Control: 14040
Rec'd: MARCH 23, 1956
4:16 AM
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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1668, MARCH 22, 10 PM (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

10. I SAID AS I POINTED OUT OUR LAST MEETING HIS GOVT SEEMS BE PROPOSING THESE TERMS ALMOST AS ULTIMATA. HE HAD PRESENTED TWO DRAFTS HERE WHICH MET HIS POSITION. HE SAID THAT US COULD CHOOSE BETWEEN HIS TWO DRAFTS. IT HARD TO CALL THAT SERIOUS OR SINCERE NEGOTIATION. WAY TO NEGOTIATION DID NOT LIE IN ISSUANCE SUCH TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT POSITIONS.

11. I SAID IN CONTRAST HIS POSITION, I WITHDREW PREVIOUS DRAFT OF NOV 10 MY SIDE TO WHICH HE OBJECTED AND ADOPTED HIS DRAFT DEC 1 AS BASIS OUR NEGOTIATIONS. AT OUR JAN 12 MEETING I EMBODIED AMENDMENTS TO HIS DRAFT WHICH I CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL TO MAKE IT MEANINGFUL. HE HAD CONTINUED TO MIS-INTERPRET AND MISREPRESENT INTENT IN PLAIN WORDS THAT JAN 12 DRAFT.

12. I SAID I HAD OFTEN SAID HERE I THOUGHT THAT HIS POSITION WAS NOT WELL TAKEN. HOWEVER, IF HE HAD OTHER THOUGHTS ON WAY CONCEPTS THEREIN COULD BE STATED I WOULD BE GLAD LISTEN THEM. I HAD ISSUED NO ULTIMATUM, I HAD TAKEN NO TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE IT POSITIONS. I HAD AND WOULD CONTINUE TRY DO MY UTMOST TO REACH REAL AGREEMENT WITH HIM ON BASIS HONEST NEGOTIATIONS. I DID NOT SEE HOW HE COULD FEEL THAT ISSUANCE ULTIMATA SUCH AS HE HAD AGAIN ISSUED THIS MORNING HELPED IN PROGRESS OUR TALKS HERE AND IN RESOLUTION TREMENDOUSLY IMPORTANT PROBLEMS WE CALLED UPON TO DEAL WITH HERE.

13. I SAID I DID NOT SEE HOW HIS GOVT FELT THAT STATEMENTS SUCH AS IT AGAIN MADE MARCH 11 WERE HELPFUL TO US. FOR EXAMPLE,

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IN HIS GOVT'S MARCH 11 STATEMENT IT SAYS MY GOVT HAD FORBIDDEN INDIAN EMBASSY MAKE ANNOUNCEMENTS. I COULD ONLY CHARACTERIZE THIS AS WILFUL AND COMPLETE MISSTATEMENT OF FACT. I HAD TOLD HIM HERE THAT EVEN IF IT DESIRED DO SO MY GOVT HAD NO WAY PREVENT INDIAN EMBASSY FROM MAKING ANNOUNCEMENTS AND HAD NOT SOUGHT DO SO. ANYONE HAVING SLIGHTEST FAMILIARITY MY COUNTRY WOULD IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZE ABSURDITY THIS, AND OTHER SUCH STATEMENTS IN MARCH 11 STATEMENT HIS GOVT. I HONESTLY DID NOT SEE HOW IT HELPED THESE TALKS. I DID NOT BELIEVE IT EVEN ACCORDED WITH GENUINE INTERESTS HIS OWN SIDE. I MIGHT MENTION ANOTHER DISTORTION FACT HIS MARCH 11 STATEMENT, ATTEMPT MADE THERE TO GIVE IMPRESSION I HAD ADMITTED MY GOVT'S RESTRICTION DEPARTURE 32 CHINESE. WHAT PURPOSE WAS SERVED BY THIS SORT JUGGLING OF WORDS? AGAIN WHY DID HIS GOVT DECLARE THAT ALL AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY FREE TO CONTACT OFFICE UK CHARGE D'AFFAIRES WHEN WE KNEW AS MATTER FACT THEN ONLY 6 OF 13 REMAINING PERSONS DESIRING RETURN HAD BEEN PERMITTED DO SO?

14. I SAID I HAD HOPED IT NOT INTENTION HIS GOVT IN ISSUING STATEMENTS THIS KIND TO FACE MY GOVT WITH WHAT AMOUNTED TO ULTIMATA, TO FORCE MY GOVT TO AGREE HIS DEMANDS. I COULD ASSURE HIM THAT NO TACTIC COULD BE MORE MISTAKEN OR MORE CERTAIN OF FAILURE. I HAD HOPED THAT IF THIS WAS INTENTION HIS GOVT IT HAD BEEN ABANDONED. HOWEVER, HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING GAVE ME NO GROUNDS FOR FEELING IT HAD DONE SO. I WOULD HOPE THAT BY NEXT MEETING HIS GOVT WOULD HAVE ABANDONED HIS INTENTION AND WE WOULD BE ABLE PROCEED IN ORDERLY MANNER TO DISCUSSION OF DECLARATION UNEQUIVACALLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCING USE FORCE. I WOULD HOPE THAT IT WOULD ENABLE US RESUME PROGRESS WE SEEMED FOR TIME TO BE MAKING, RATHER THAN BE DRAGGING US BACKWARDS WHERE WE WERE LAST OCTOBER.

15. WANG SAID IT SEEMED I HAD NOT MADE ANY ATTEMPT MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING TO ANSWER QUESTIONS HE HAD RAISED PREVIOUSLY. WE KNEW OUR DISCUSSIONS HAD BEEN DRAGGING ON QUITE LONG TIME, IN SPITE FACT THAT THEIR SIDE HAD SUBMITTED

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CONCRETE PROPOSALS AND IN SPITE MY STATEMENT THAT I HAD ACCEPTED THEIR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT AS BASIS DISCUSSIONS. IF BASIS FOR OUR NEGOTIATIONS ALREADY EXISTED, HE SAW NO REASON WHY TWO SIDES SHOULD NOT ADVANCE ON THIS BASIS.

16 WANG SAID HE RECALLED THAT DRAFTS HE PUT FORWARD HAD BEEN SUBMITTED AFTER HIS SIDE HAD GIVEN DUE CONSIDERATION MY VIEWS. AND THEIR DRAFTS HAD UNDERGONE AMENDMENT. THEIR DRAFTS ALSO EMBODIED VIEWS MY SIDE. SINCE THEIR DRAFTS HAD TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION VIEWS BOTH SIDES THEY WERE THEREFORE CAPABLE OF BEING ACCEPTED BY BOTH SIDES.

17. WANG SAID IF AMENDMENTS PUT FORWARD BY MY SIDE DID NOT INVOLVE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CHINA AND DID NOT RAISE ANY PRE-REQUISITE CONDITIONS, SUCH AMENDMENTS WOULD BE CERTAINLY CONSIDERED BY HIS SIDE IF REASONABLE AND EQUITABLE. THEREFORE IT SEEMED HIM FACT WE NOT BEEN ABLE SO FAR REACH AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION AND EVEN THAT THERE HAD BEEN RETROGRESSION IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WAS NOT FAULT THEIR SIDE BUT WAS RESPONSIBILITY US SIDE.

GOWEN

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3/23/56, 1 P.M.
CORRECTED PAGE 1.

Action
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Control: 14043
Rec'd: MARCH 23, 1956
4:31 A.M.

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1668, MARCH 22, 10 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

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Date of Action
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Name of Officer
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FROM JOHNSON

18. WANG SAID I HAD DECLARED THAT US HAD NEVER INTENDED TO INITIATE USE FORCE IN SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES AND THAT US HAD NOT ONLY DEMONSTRATED THIS INTENT BY WORDS BUT ALSO BY DEEDS. HE MIGHT ASK QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER DECLARATION MADE BY MAJ GEN HARRIS IN AN OFFICIAL UTTERANCE, AS HE HAD MENTIONED THIS MORNING, WAS NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF POSITION OF US? IF MAJ GEN HARRIS DID NOT MAKE HIS DECLARATION AS SPOKESMAN OF US GOVT, THEN HIS REVELATION ENTIRELY EXPOSED GROUNDLESSNESS MY STATEMENT. WE NOW IN THIS ROOM DISCUSSING DECLARATION FOR RENOUNCING USE FORCE. COULD SUCH WAR-CLAMORING DECLARATION OF GEN HARRIS HELP OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE?

19. WANG SAID I HAD REFERRED TO SOME POINTS IN MARCH 11 STATEMENT BY HIS GOVT. THESE POINTS IN THEIR STATEMENT WERE NOT ADVANCED WITHOUT BIAS. THEY WERE BY NO MEANS JUGGLING OF WORDS. US COULD ONLY LIVE UP TO ITS WORDS BY TAKING ACTUAL ACTIONS TO CORRECT WHAT IT HAD DONE. TWO DRAFTS THEY HAD PROPOSED COULD BY NO MEANS BE BE TERMED AS ANY ULTIMATUM.

20. WANG SAID HE SURE I ALSO FELT WE HAD SPENT ENOUGH TIME THIS QUESTION. DISCUSSIONS WE BEEN CONDUCTING ON QUESTION OF DECLARATION WERE NOT DISCUSSIONS FOR SAKE OF DISCUSSIONS. THEY MUST BE AIMED AT GENUINE EFFORT TO REACH REASONABLE AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF PROBLEM. THIS A HOPE WHICH THEIR SIDE CONTINUED MAINTAIN.

21. WANG SAID THEY CONTINUED HOPE THAT IT WOULD MAKE MY ATTITUDE CLEAR ABOUT THESE TWO DRAFTS, SO THAT WE MIGHT IN LONG RUN COME TO AGREEMENT ON THIS QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION FORCE. IF WE WOULD WORK ALONG THIS LINE WE WOULD BE HELPING

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OUR TALKS FORWARD RATHER THAN PREVENTING ANY PROGRESS.

22. I SAID OUR DIFFICULTIES WITH REGARD TO DRAFT--AND LET ME SAY NOT ONLY WITH REGARD TO WORDS OF DRAFT, BUT WITH REGARD UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US-- SEEMED TO REVOLVE AROUND TWO POINTS PRIMARILY. FIRST, WAS SPECIFIC MENTION ON TAIWAN AREA AND OTHER WAS SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE. HE HAD SAID MANY TIMES THESE MEETINGS, THAT ANY DECLARATION WOULD COVER TAIWAN AREA. I FOUND IT COMPLETELY INEXPLICABLE THAT HE UNWILLING ACCEPT SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN AREA IN HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT, IF THAT WERE CORRECT.

23. I SAID THE OTHER POINT--WITH REGARD SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE--WAS THAT NEITHER US WOULD IN THIS DECLARATION BE RENOUNCING WHAT WE EACH CONSIDERED TO BE OUR LEGITIMATE RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE SELF-DEFENSE. THESE WERE TWO SIMPLE AND FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITIONS.

24. I SAID I HAD GIVEN HIM MY THOUGHT OVER AND OVER AGAIN ABOUT HOW I THOUGHT THEY SHOULD BE EMBODIED IN DECLARATION. IF HE CONTINUED TO DISAGREE TO FORM OF WORDS I HAD SUGGESTED FOR EMBODYING THESE TWO THOUGHTS I WOULD HOPE THAT AT OUR NEXT MEETING HE WOULD BE ABLE SUGGEST FORM HE WOULD CONSIDER MORE DESIRABLE. I FELT BOTH THOUGHTS WERE FUNDAMENTAL TO MEANINGFUL DECLARATION. BUT I HAD NOT TAKEN HARD AND FAST POSITION ON EXACTLY HOW THEY SHOULD BE STATED. I NOT ABLE THINK OF ANY BETTER WAY OF STATING THEM THAN WHAT WE HAD ALREADY SUGGESTED. IF HE HAD OTHER THOUGHTS, AS I HAD SAID, I WOULD CERTAINLY BE GLAD LISTEN THEM. I DID NOT SEE HOW MY POSITION COULD BE ANY MORE REASONABLE OR SHOW ANY GREATER DESIRE TO GET AHEAD WITH THIS.

25. WANG SAID WITH REGARD TWO POINTS I HAD MENTIONED, NAMELY SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN AREA AND SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE, HE HAD ALREADY MADE HIS POSITION ADEQUATELY CLEAR AND DID NOT THINK NECESSARY HIM TO REPEAT HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENTS. HE MUST HOWEVER REMIND ME THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WHICH WE BEEN CONDUCTING SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO SEEKING REASONABLE AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. THERE WOULD

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BE ENTIRELY NO MEANING FOR CONDUCTING THESE TALKS IF THEY WERE TO ALLOW US TO ACHIEVE DESIGN OF CONTINUING SEIZURE OF TAIWAN BY ANY FORMULA OR ANY WAY. IF US SHOULD IN ANY WAY STILL CLING TO ILLUSION THAT HIS SIDE MIGHT IN ANY WAY CONCEDE OR CAPITULATE OF THIS POSITION MY SIDE IT WOULD BE FUTILE.

GOWEN

CES

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38-39

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3-24-56, 9:45 a.m.
CORRECTED PAGES 1 & 2

Action
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Control: 1804
Rec'd: March 23, 1956
8:03 a.m.

Info
RMR
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FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1668, March 22, 10 p.m. (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

26. Wang said as regards mentioning of Taiwan in our declaration he should say that this was precisely what they had done in their draft of October 27. They had asked me to choose from two drafts of their side. If I were really concerned with mentioning Taiwan area, then why not accept their draft October 27.

27. Wang said I had said I would be ready listen and consider any thoughts he might have. His thoughts were very simple. As he had said they have two drafts. I might choose either these two. He also hoped at our next meeting I would be able make choice from these two drafts so that our talks would move forward. If I had no other matters at hand he would like raise another matter with me.

28. Reading from prepared but handwritten statement Wang continued. He must lodge serious protest against my side over outrage of my authorities in causing death of Chinese student Mr. Daniel Pao. Pao went to US in 1948 study civil engineering at University of Florida. He applied return after receiving master's degree 1950. However my authorities refused him permission and put him under surveillance. This was an overwhelming pressure on his mind. In May 1952 in order strengthen surveillance over him my authorities forcibly sent him sanatorium on pretense his contracting TB. Two months later he mysteriously died obviously he died as result persecution of him by my authorities.

29. Wang said I had often repeated in our meetings pledge that my side had never persecuted Chinese nationals. But no amount sophistry could cover up fact such persecution. He must again demand my side promptly stop such wanton persecution against Chinese nationals and give responsible account death Mr. Pao.

30. Wang said next he would also appreciate any information about those Chinese students and nationals he had asked me to make investigation of and if there any information available he would be

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would be ready listen to it. Also he continued await reply from me about status Chinese in US prisons.

31. I said I wondered what extent his government was willing go in attempt make these absurd allegations regarding Chinese in US in order attempt confuse people regarding their failure release people they said they would release on September 10 last year. His statement regarding Mr. Pao apparently came down allegation that US maintain institutions called sanatoriums where we liquidate people for reasons which are not clear. I had heard many allegations concerning my country over years but I must say this was new one. Liquidation of people or their execution without public and due process of law was something that happily not known my country, contrary situation in other countries with other forms government.

32. I said simply on basis information he had given regarding Pao it appeared very simple case of somebody who contracted TB, was sent to one of sanatoriums which maintained throughout US for treatment this disease, and unfortunately he did not recover. To jump from that to statement that he obviously died of persecution was conclusion that even most gullible person knowing anything about my country could not accept.

33. I said I had not brought into our conversations here what I could only call the barbarous treatment that Americans imprisoned his country had undergone. People who had died in his prisons and who we had only heard of years later, people who had emerged from his prisons broken in mind and body, people who will never forget the terror, the physical treatment they received -- I had not discussed them here, but if it his desire do so I could certainly well do so. These not been isolated experiences but been common experiences not only Americans but of people other nationalities. However, when we came here to begin these discussions I said I did not want engage recriminations with regard past but would look to future and I continue do so.

34. I said one of best and most recent examples I knew of way his authorities carrying out commitment they made was that exemplified in case Father Houle. He would recall I specifically mentioned his case October 20. We had now learned that

on October

on October 30, just ten days later, this man who had been under arrest since 1953 was finally tried and sentenced long term imprisonment. It hard call this permitting his expeditious return to US. Over three months have now passed without single one Americans, who subjects our September 10 announcement being permitted return. It dismal record.

GOWEN

SW:GWL/12

* As received. Correction to follow.

(#) Omissions. Corrections to follow.

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Action Assigned to CA/C

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8:10 A. M.

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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1668, MARCH 23, 10 P. M. (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

35. WANG SAID HE MUST SAY I HAD AGAIN FAILED GIVE PROPER ANSWER TO WHAT HE RAISED. ALLEGATIONS I MADE REGARDING AMERICANS IN CHINA ENTIRELY WITHOUT FACTUAL BASIS. EVEN IN THESE UNJUSTIFIED ALLEGATIONS MY SIDE I HAD NOT BEEN ABLE CITE SINGLE INSTANCE IN WHICH MEASURES AGAINST LAW-ABIDING AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY HAD BEEN TAKEN. I NOT BEEN ABLE CITE ANY INSTANCE IN WHICH PEOPLE DIFFERENT SKIN COLOR HAD BEEN PUT TO DEATH WITHOUT ANY LEGAL PROCEDURES. SUCH BARBAROUS ACT AGAINST HUMANITY COULD NEVER HAPPEN HIS COUNTRY.

36. WANG SAID YET CASES UNHAPPY MR. LIU MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY AND MR. PAO WHOSE NAME TOLD ME THIS MORNING WERE EXAMPLES HOW PEOPLE COULE BE TURNED INTO MADMEN OR DEAD MEN. I HAD SAID THIS WAS SOMETHING NEW ME. HE WOULD NOT SAY IT ANYTHING NEW, BUT WOULD SAY IT FRIGHTENING REVELATION. IT EXTREMELY INHUMAN ACT. IT MOST BARBAROUS ACT. IT IMMENSE INSULT AGAINST CIVILIZED PEOPLE. THEY SHOCKED WHEN HEARD THIS INCIDENT. PAO DID NOT DIE ANY DISEASE, BUT DIED RESULT OBSTRUCTIONS AND PERSECUTION AGAINST HIM. IT BE UNCONCEIVABLE IF U. S. DID NOT CORRECT THIS ACT.

37. I SAID I WILLING LET WORLD JUDGE. I HAD NOTHING MORE THIS MORNING.

38. WANG SAID WORLD WILL KNOW IN WHOSE COUNTRY MOST BARBAROUS OUTRAGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

39. I ASKED IF HE HAD ANYTHING MORE. HE SAID NO. I SUGGESTED NEXT MEETING THURSDAY MARCH 29. HE AGREED. GOWEN

HEK

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Letter to Amb. Johnson (No. 35)

Johnson-Wang talks

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Letter
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2/27/68

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FOR JOHNSON

Origin

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LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for March 29 meeting.

1. Review course ~~XX~~ discussions on return of civilians. Remind Wang this was first item for discussion and its early and satisfactory settlement would have provided solid basis for further progress. Early optimism engendered this country by release some Americans and issuance Agreed Announcement long ago replaced by disillusionment. US Government and people cannot understand why Chinese Communists deliberately choose flout their pledged word if they have serious desire improve relations with US. Failure carry out their public commitment September 10 and attempt obscure this failure by vague unfounded charges concerning treatment Chinese in US can only be interpreted as intended place pressure on US for political concessions. This maneuver cannot succeed. If Chinese Communists seriously intend reach understanding with US on outstanding issues between us they must start by fulfilling their pledge release Americans.

2. On renunciation force maintain posture of being willing consider any Chinese Communist amendments which would not do violence basic principles

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11175

DC/T 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/~~xx~~LHPhleger:ek 3/27/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson ~~[illegible]~~ld

Clearances: CA - Mr. McConaughy FE - Mr. Sebald

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principles our January 12 draft. Criticize their "take it or leave it" attitude regarding their two drafts.

3. We understand how difficult it is for you carry on these discussions and continue repeat arguments and restate positions made many times before. The skill, ingenuity and good temper which you have shown in face of Wang's provocmative and belligerent conduct is admirable. It is desirable that these talks continue and extremely important that any break should be on Wang's initiative and in such a way as to be clearly demonstrable to public. We know you have in mind that you must furnish no basis for any claim that you caused break.

Hoover

ACTING

HOOVER

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11176

SECRET
Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 552

INDICATE: ☐ collect
☒ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

14541

1956 MAR 28 PM 5 49

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1809
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Following for your background.

1. Re Wang's reference last meeting to General Harris statement, Taipei Weeka 12 states local press erroneously quoted Harris as saying US would give air support if Communists attacked Matsu. US public information officer following day denied that General Harris had made statement attributed to him. Consider your best tactic avoid any ~~direct~~ comment this subject as you did last meeting.

2. Re your letter March 15 only discussion between Secretary and Nehru on China problem summarized DULTE 22 rptd Geneva 1772. There was no repeat no discussion of Indian functions under Agreed Announcement. Indians have never expressed x dissatisfaction at cooperation afforded them by Department in carrying out their functions, although in certain respects they have indicated sympathy with broader interpretation of their functions under Agreed Announcement favored by Chinese Communists.

3. INS has assured us Chinese students do not repeat not have to "apply to return". They are, of course, required to show they have discharged income tax obligations.

11177

Drafted by: FE:CA:RMClough:ek 3/28/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger
FE - Mr. Sebald
CA - Mr. McConaughy
SOA

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MAR 28 1956 P.M

Dulles

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Department of State

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FORM DS-747
8-4-54

42A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TOP SECRET COVER SHEET

1. TOP SECRET CONTROL NUMBER

FE-EO-56 99-1a

4. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT(S) *(Origin, subject, reference no. or other pertinent data)*

Letter No. 26 from Amb. Johnson to Mr. McConaughy re Geneva talks

2. COPY INFORMATION

ACTION COPY _____ INFORMATION COPY _____

TELEGRAMS, DESPATCHES, ETC. _____

COPY NO. 1 OF 2 COPIES

5. FORWARDED

4/3/56 (Date) _____ (Top Secret Control Officer)

3. DATE AND NAME OF PERSON PREPARING FORM

4/3/56 Irene K. Berman

6. PERSONS TO WHOM ROUTED OR READING DOCUMENT	7. OFFICE SYMBOL	8. SIGNATURES	9. DATE RECEIVED	10. DATE READ	11. DATE RELEASED
WPM	CA	Wpmcc	4/3/56		4/3/56
		[illegible]	4/3/56		4/3/56
[illegible]	FE				
Mr. [illegible]	FE	[illegible]	4/4	4/4	4/4
	CA		4-4-56		

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Lot 72 D 415

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
APR 3 - 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

EYES ONLY

TOP SECRET

Letter No. 26

EYES ONLY
~~NODIS~~ REVIEW
Cat. B - Condition removed:
... to OSFADRC
... OSFADRC

Ian Brogan
27 Sept 82

March 28, 1956

Krishna Menon proposal for new meeting at Vienna

Dear Walter:

I came back last night from Prague and found your most interesting letter No. 35. I am not particularly surprised at the news it contained nor with the PRC proposal which I am inclined to think is genuine and not just a brainchild of Krishna's. As you know, I have thought all along that they want to do business with us, on their terms of course, but they find our terms on renunciation of force too hard for them. I think that they are substantially right in saying that accepting our formulation would in fact be an acceptance by them of the status quo. And at present they feel entirely too self-confident and sure of themselves to feel under any compulsion to accept the status quo, particularly with respect to the offshore islands.

It is apparent that they feel that they can get easier terms from us if they can find some way to by-pass the Department. Hence their stipulation that our man be a direct representative of the President and not a career Foreign Service officer. This may also indicate that they are having some second thoughts about a Foreign Ministers' meeting.

As far as my talks here are concerned, while on the one hand they may be reluctant to break this contact as long as they feel there is any chance of it developing into something further, and are reluctant to accept the onus for breaking them, on the other hand they may shortly come to the point where they estimate that only by bringing about a break (possibly accompanied by increased actual or threatened stepping up of military activity in the Taiwan area) can they bring maximum pressure on us. In any event, I reluctantly

come

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

TOP SECRET

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come to the conclusion that these talks are going to be steril- of further results, and the length of time they will continue very problematical unless I am able to introduce some new element. I feel I have gone to the very outer limits of my instructions in holding out a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow to them and in trying to get across the thoughts contained in Senator George's letter to the Secretary. I also feel that I have gone as far as I can in the other direction without getting so far down the slippery slope which would lead up to a break that I would not be able to draw back. I know that the Department appreciates that this leaves fairly narrow limits within which I can operate. In connection with the Department's recent guidances, including the guidance for tomorrow's meeting, you can be sure that unless clearly and specifically instructed I am never going to bring about a break and will do my maximum to avoid giving him any basis for claiming I have caused a break. Perhaps my telegrams have at times indicated a greater degree of frustration and exasperation than I have intended and possibly given rise to a little concern I might sometime go too far in a meeting, but you can be sure that I will do my best not to do so. I full well realize that this is a situation which completely transcends in importance any personal feelings I may have and I will not give way to them. I do appreciate the kind and generous words in paragraph 3 of the Department's 1804. I assure you that they give me a big lift. I assume the Department approves of my tactics at a few of the recent meetings of not attempting to drag out the meeting in the face of Gromyko's unwillingness to enter into any real discussion but close it off after I have made my points.

I take very much for the new Defense [illegible] on prisoners. I do not clearly understand whether it is supposed to include all of whatever "accounting" the Communists rendered at Panmunjon in February of this year. I have not yet found any specific mention of that "accounting" under any of the individual names in the new book and the only information I have received on this was Dentel [illegible]. That telegram indicated that of the 2,730 missing [illegible] personnel 1,034 were carried on the list as "no data available". I am curious as to what information was given in regard to the others and whether it covered any Americans. I am also interested in information on how to reconcile this new list with the previous list. From a cursory examination of the new list it indicates that it now contains a total of 438 names (243 Army, 5 Navy, 3 Marine and 187 Air Force) which represents a reduction of 67 (55 Army, 10 Marine, 4 Air Force, plus 2 additional Navy)

over

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over the August 1, 1955 list. This comes out to a total of 505 whereas the August 1 list was 450. Perhaps a further detailed study which I hope to make will explain this, but I would appreciate any readily available information on how these figures are to be reconciled. I am immediately sending back by surface pouch rather than burdening Stanley's baggage with them the briefing book for Hammerskjold and the previous roster from Defense of missing American personnel which I presume you mean by "prisoner book". I am not clear as to what else you may mean by the latter and if this is not correct, please let me know.

I will be looking forward to the arrival of Holdridge.

To break the monotony, Pat and Jennifer are coming down here Thursday and we plan to drive up to Paris on Friday to spend the Easter weekend. I have only been through ~~it~~ on rush trips with the Secretary and Pat had never seen it so this seems like a good opportunity, and I hope that neither Wang nor the Greeks spoil my plans.

My very best to all.

Sincerely yours,

Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

554

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627

1/6

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Action
FE

Info
RMR

SS

Control: 17711
Rec'd: March 30, 1956
4:53 a.m.

Action Assigned to CAIDIR

Action Taken Noted

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1706, March 29, 9 p.m.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. Calm and mild one and a half hour meeting this morning with Wang soliciting and even urging new draft by U.S. and I tossing ball back to his court.

2. I opened meeting with prepared statement incorporating paragraphs 1 and 2, Department telegram 1804. Wang made no attempt to meet, but receding from take it-or-leave-it attitude on their October 27 and December 1 drafts, stated "If U.S. still found those drafts unacceptable, U.S. should put forward new constructive proposal and submit new draft". I, of course, countered pointing out by all logic and normal negotiating procedures it was their turn put forward draft if they genuinely shared our desire for declaration. Much inconclusive fencing during remainder of meeting on point of who should submit new draft.

3. His reply my statement on implementation was very brief, reiterating in low key charges U.S. not carrying out agreed announcement and stating if U.S. has in mind only Americans in China and does not give due consideration problem Chinese in U.S., "this problem can never be resolved". Again raised failure account Chinese in prison and on lists given me and asked for information on Pao's "mysterious" death.

4. He proposed and I agreed to next meeting Monday April 9. In order I could make plans I asked whether he would agree next following meeting Thursday April 19. He asked decision be deferred until next meeting and I told him I expected make proposal April 19 meeting that time.

GOWEN

MAM:DT

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33-39
Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS

Control: 17857
Rec'd: MARCH 29, 1956
12:55 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1707, MARCH 29, 4 PM

Action Assigned to Caplin

Action Taken _____

Date of Action _____

Action Office Symbol _____

Name of Officer _____

Direction to DC/R _____

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PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

BELIEVE WANG CONSIDERS THAT HIS SHIFT TODAY FROM FORMER TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT ATTITUDE WITH RESPECT HIS OCTOBER 27 AND DECEMBER 1 DRAFT WAS MOVE ON THEIR PART TO GET TALKS OFF DEAD CENTER, AND THAT NEXT MOVE IS UP TO US. DO NOT BELIEVE HE WILL SUBMIT ANY NEW DRAFT NEXT MEETING. HOWEVER I FEEL HIS MOVE TODAY GIVES US OPPORTUNITY PRESENT NEW DRAFT WITHOUT SAME DISADVANTAGES AS HERETOFORE, IF WE DESIRE DO SO.

GOWEN

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FEB 27 1959

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1956 MAR 29 PM 3 31

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56-51
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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 18065
Rec'd: March 29, 1956
5:06 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1709, March 29, 5 p.m., (SECTION ONE OF FOUR)

Action Assigned to
Action Taken Noted
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I opened 42nd meeting with prepared statement saying I was very disturbed at course of last few meeting, as well as at apparent absence of intent Wang's government take those simple and fundamental steps that could lead to improvement our relation.

2. I said I had come here last year with high hopes that two of us could, notwithstanding obvious difficulties, find solutions to more pressing practical problems existing between our two countries and thus open road to mutually satisfactory resolution other matters. Success in this could mean much to our two peoples as well as to all other peoples. My hopes had not yet been realized but I felt that issues were too important to permit discouragement or impatience.

3. I said my government proposed and his government agreed first item to be resolved was return of civilians. It was well known when we came here this fundamentally involved from us standpoint question Americans imprisoned in his country or denied exit permits.

4. I said his government had professed concern over question restrictions imposed during Korean war by my government on departure of some few Chinese students with militarily useful technical training. It was well known that all other Chinese have at all times been free to depart if they desired to do so. As I had told him at outset of these talks removal these restrictions had been completed by that time. No amount vague and unfounded charges concerning Chinese in US or introduction extraneous issues could obscure fact. Third party arrangement he had suggested to confirm Chinese in US desiring return his country were free to do so had in fact confirmed it.

5. I said at very outset these talks I had spoken of importance satisfactory resolution problem of Americans in his country. I had pointed

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had pointed out then, and have continued to point out in every way which I am capable, that early and satisfactory settlement this problem would have provided solid basis for further progress. At time we issued agreed announcement I had pointed out very favorable effects its prompt and faithful execution by his government could have on our relations. I had often pointed out to him here optimism over future our relations that was engendered in my country by issuance announcement and release some Americans effected by his government at that time. These releases were understandably taken as grounds for hoping that there would in fact be full implementation agreement and that this unnecessary irritant our relations thereby removed. However, as long months had passed since then, this optimism had, I greatly regretted to say, naturally been replaced by a sense of disillusionment. It simply impossible for my government and people understand why his authorities chose continue flout their pledged word in our agreed announcement of last September 10, if there is serious desire really to improve relations with my country. They could only interpret attempt obscure this failure by resort to vague charges concerning treatment Chinese in my country, charges which every American and every person familiar with my country immediately recognized as unfounded, as attempt to place pressure my country for political concessions. I said I had consistently pointed out that such policy could only be counterproductive. I could not stress too often or too strongly that if his authorities seriously intended to reach understanding with my government on issues outstanding between us there must be fulfillment of first agreement reached between us, our agreed announcement of September 10 last year, that is, Americans still detained in his country must be released. I did not know how I could make words any plainer, or how I could better persuade him of overriding importance this matter. And if I had again spoken at some length on it, it was because of my desire to stress its importance and implications for future of our relations.

6. I said we both agreed that next important practical problem confronting us was situation existing in Taiwan area. In this regard first and most urgent task was to assure that our differences with regard to this problem would not lead to war. I said my proposition was and is very simple -- it is just that

GOWEN

AW/1

Note: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 6:15 p.m. 3/29/56 EH.

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CA/OR

Action Assigned to 3/30/56. 11 p.m.

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Action Taken

Control: 18237

Rec'd: March 29, 1956 11:10 p.m.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Action to DC/R

48

Action

FE

Info

RMR

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G

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1709, March 29, 6 p.m. (SECTION TWO OF FOUR).

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

While we disagree about issues there, we agree we will not plunge our peoples or world into war about them but will discuss them as rational human beings. In putting forward a method of stating this proposition I had tried to respect his views and even offered specifically to agree to his saying that it would be clearly understood that whatever was said was without prejudice to peaceful pursuit of his policies.

7. I said yet he was unwilling to accept this simple proposition. He saw tricks where there were no tricks. He split hairs about what he termed international and domestic matters in an apparent attempt to obtain declaration which would sanction use of force by his country whenever it felt its desires with regard to Taiwan area were not being met. He said he would not agree peacefully to discuss matter unless I first agreed with him that meeting between our two Foreign Ministers was only way it could be discussed. He said his ears were closed to further negotiations on text of any declaration and only choice open to us was between two drafts which he had submitted embodying his points of view. In short his position seemed to be one of renewing his threat to resort to force unless I surrendered to his demand that there be prior agreement to immediate holding of meeting our Foreign Ministers.

8. I said I continued to hope this not his real position and that if he continued to object to form in which I incorporated my amendments to his December 1 draft in my January 12 draft, he would this morning offer alternative language that would enable us proceed to negotiation of meaningful declaration that would honestly assure world that we do not intend to go to war about our differences but would strive to seek their settlement in spirit of peace and goodwill.

9. Wang replied (speaking only from notes) he must say he disappointed

after

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after listening my statement and surprised I had again indulged in unfounded charges concerning Americans in China. He noted I had failed give concrete opinion on question of making declaration between us. I did not seem to have put forward any fresh on constructive opinion which would enable further progress our talks. When we now meeting 42nd time between us he did not see how I thought it would help talks to renew old contentions they had repeatedly refuted in course talks.

10. Wang said when he came these talks last year he also had goodwill and desire resolve differences between us and thus open road to practical settlement differences and improvement relations between us. They also well aware present talks between us not only concerned our two peoples but also have important bearing on peace in whole Far East. If we genuinely desirous settling outstanding issues between us and thus improving relations between us we should accordingly make effort resolve disputes between two countries Taiwan area by peaceful negotiations instead of going to war to resolve them.

11. Wang said if we have these desires it not matter words but of deeds. Even on question of issuance of declaration between us which we now discussing he could hardly find such a desire on part of us. Proposal for making such declaration between us was initiated by my side. They went along with this idea. Two drafts presented by their side and which we had often discussed lately had actually been put forward after due consideration been given my opinions as well as their opinions. These two drafts should therefore be acceptable both us.

12. Wang said in regard these two drafts there no element of coercion in least. As he repeatedly been making clear amendments submitted by me were not acceptable his side. After so much discussion situation confronting us, seemed to him, if I could not find drafts his side acceptable to us (repeat us) then I should put forward constructive new proposals and submit new drafts which I deemed reasonable. Only in this way could spirit of negotiation be demonstrated.

13. Wang said if I refuse accept their proposals and their drafts on one hand while refusing produce new drafts of my own he did not see how could proceed any farther. Therefore if I had genuine desire make progress in talks and eventually reach agreement on question of declaration in talks, he would hope I would be able submit new and concrete proposal and draft on behalf us.

14. Wang said next he wanted discuss question return civilians I had in my statement made many unfounded charges against his side. All these charges he must reject. I had not

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Info RMR 33 G

Control: 18238
Rec'd: March 29, 1956 11:27 p.m.

Action Assigned to 1
Action Taken

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1709, March 29, 9 p.m. (SECTION THREE OF FOUR)

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

Fair attitude when I discussed this problem. It must be clear that agreement last September 10 between us was agreement on question civilians both sides. If I only had in mind 13 Americans in China while neglecting fact there innumberable Chinese in US who have not been able return --in view this situation how could relations between us be improved on this question of civilians? In dealing with this problem if one only has in mind one side, without due consideration other side he would say this problem could never be resolved.

15. Wang said he might bluntly inform me that Chinese Government and people have every day been asking this question: Why US so far been refusing implement agreement and still obstructing return and still refusing give accounting Chinese imprisoned US? He had here in these meetings requested we look into situation 42 Chinese and he not yet received any information from me.

16. Wang said today he would like bring up question four more Chinese in US who not able return his country. Information about them contained this paper which he handing me (names in following telegram). He again requested I make investigation these four individuals.

17. Wang said about case Mr. Pao, which he raised last meeting --mysterious death Mr. Pao cannot be explained Chinese people and Chinese Government. They request account by me as to cause his death and actually how he died in US. He would say this question humanitarianism.

18. I said first regarding question our declaration I must say I not entirely able follow his logic. He would recall history our negotiations on this. As he mentioned I made proposal for declaration first on October 8. He presented draft on October 27.

I explained

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-2-1709, March 29, 9 p.m. (Section 3 of 4) from Geneva(CN-18238)

I explained reasons why US did not consider draft satisfactory and presented new draft November 10. He did not find that acceptable and on December 1 he presented draft. I carefully explained why, although I thought December 1 draft represented some advance over his previous position, I felt it defective some respects and, withdrawing my November 10 draft, I presented draft on January 12 in which I incorporated amendments which I considered essential to make his December 1 draft meaningful declaration.

19. I said if his statements regarding his desire issue such declaration and to find point at which our views could be reconciled have any meaning, it certainly by all laws logic and normal negotiating procedures up to him at this time to submit alternative suggestions if he still did not agree my January 12 draft.

20. I said I tried my best in January 12 draft to produce something which I felt met both our points of view and which I felt he would find acceptable. That draft fully incorporated our views regarding his December 1 draft. If we going get ahead on this and if he really desired get ahead on this it clearly up to his side produce alternative that meets essential points contained my January 12 draft.

21. I said I had not taken any artitrary positions on this and I had in past and continued to express willingness give consideration any thoughts he might have on how thoughts expressed my January 12 draft might be better stated. I had hoped that this morning he would have such suggestions which would enable us get on it. I, of course, disappointed that he had not. I hoped he would have at our next meeting so we could again resume progress on this.

22. I said with regard to civilians I had little to add to what I already said. What I said was very carefully considered and as I pointed out, very important. I only wanted add that statements here, statements on radio, press, vaguely charging that Chinese in US desiring return his country were not able do so, did not constitute facts or evidence that such is case.

23. I said very clear objective test was set up to determine whether or not our agreement regarding civilians was being carried out both sides. This test was third-power arrangement. That test had provided very clear and irrefutable evidence as to who was and who was not carrying out our September 10 agreed announcement.

Action Assigned to DMOIR
Action Taken

24. I said

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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MAR 31 AM 7 47
MAM/RSP/3
BUREAU OF EASTERN AFFAIRS

24. I said in list he gave me this morning I noticed in case Mr. Chen and Dr. Wang he referred to their having made application for permission return. His information this regard, I could only say, simply could not be correct. I had said over and over again here, and I categorically repeating, that any alien in US including any Chinese alien who desired depart US

GOWEN

MAM:DT

(#) Omission. Correction to follow.

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Action Assigned to

Action FE

Control: 18244
Rec'd: March 30, 1956
12:16 a.m.

Action Taken

Info PMR

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

Date of Action

33

NO: 1709, March 29, 10 p.m. (SECTION FOUR OF FOUR)

Action Office Symbol

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION FROM JOHNSON

Name of Officer

makes no application to US Government or any authorities for permission leave.

Direction to DC/R

25. I said we had no exit visa, exit permit, or any other such requirement regarding departure from US by alien. He simply goes down, buys ticket on boat or airplane and goes. I did not ask him accept my word on this. Anyone familiar with US, including Indian Embassy, knows this to be fact and can confirm this to him.

26. Wang said again on question of declaration in statement I had just made I had spoken about this question in such way as to say that "if Chinese side desires make such declaration Chinese side should do thus and so". Now he must ask me whether this indicated US not willing make such declaration.

27. I said I did not quite follow his point.

28. Wang said he might quote actual words. I had said if his statements regarding desire issue declaration and find point on which our views can be reconciled-- "et cetera". It appeared from my statement that I said if his side desired make such statement his side should undertake produce what I had termed alternative suggestions. In view this statement he might ask me if this indicated there no such desire make such declaration on my part. I referred to declaration as desire on their part.

29. I said I did not follow his point. I had submitted draft which I had hoped met his point view as well as our point view and upon which we could find agreement. He had not so far found that acceptable and had said that only choice we had was to choose between his two previous drafts. Last draft before us was one incorporating my amendments his December 1 draft.

30. I said my point simply was that by all laws logic and normal negotiating procedures, if his desire was to find draft on which agreement could be reached, it clearly up to his side to submit alternatives that they would find acceptable and would incorporate thoughts it contained. I had expressed willingness consider any thoughts

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thoughts he might have this regard. I did not know how I could be any more reasonable or show any greater desire to push ahead with essential task of issuing such declaration. My assumption had been that there had been an equal desire to reach such declaration.

31. Wang said if as I said both sides desire to reach agreement then, of course, I could not ask one of two sides arbitrarily to do what I had said.

32. I asked what was there arbitrary about normal, natural and logical procedure of doing such things?

33. Wang said problem was way I had put things in my statement which created impression that it only Chinese side which had been so desirous make such declaration. That why he felt necessary to clarify this matter. If we put things as if one side had desire and other side was without such desire, then pattern our discussions would be quite different.

34. Wang said if matter confronting us was, as I put it, that both us had desire reach agreement then his position regarding making declaration has been quite clear and he had repeatedly indicated January 12 draft presented by me unacceptable his side. And again I had not been able state definitely whether I could accept two drafts submitted by him. I had failed accept two drafts his side despite fact these drafts incorporated points view both us.

35. Wang said so that we could get ahead on this matter it was hoped I would produce new reasonable and constructive formula. And so he looked forward to any new proposals and opinions which I would put forward our next meeting. He desired know if I was going make such new and reasonable proposal next meeting.

36. I said I had already said if there were equal desire get ahead on this certainly all logic and normal negotiating procedures would require him to present some constructive suggestion our next meeting that would meet points view I had expressed where regarding his December 1 draft and I would hope at next meeting he would have such suggestions.

37. Wang said if issuance this declaration was equal desire both us the effort to make progress should be forthcoming from both sides. If I on one hand would not accept their drafts but on other hand would not put forward new proposals it hard him call this attitude of reasonable negotiating.

38. Wang said

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38. Wang said on matter return civilians if return Chinese in US so simple and straightforward that they need only go to buy ticket on boat or plane for passage home and there been no requirements whatever to do with US authorities, then it would seem be entirely to no purpose his bringing up cases 46 Chinese in US these meetings. It would be highly desirable on their part if rosy picture I painted were actually true in case Chinese.

39. I said I had nothing more this morning.

40. Wang said he looked forward to new proposals forthcoming from me next meeting.

41. I said it up to him. I presented last draft.

42. Wang quipped these meetings are negotiations-- we not playing football.

43. I suggested next meeting Thursday April 5. Wang suggested Monday, April 9.

44. I said that was all right. What was his thought regarding meeting after that so I could make plans.

I would suggest meeting Thursday following week, 19th. Wang said we might discuss that matter next meeting. I said I would probably so propose at next meeting.

GOWEN

MAM:SBH/1

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557

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

Action Assigned to CA/PR

37 B

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Action

FE

Control: 18566

~~Rec'd: MARCH 30, 1956~~

Date of Action 11:13 A.M.

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

Info

RMR

SS

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1713, MARCH 29, 10 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING LIST FOUR NAMES HANDED ME BY WANG 42ND MEETING:

. . . . . .

GOWEN

GWL

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611.93/3-29-56

FE

13

FA

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FEB 27 1959

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558

6-10

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Unclassified
☑ Release to NSC concurs
☑ Excise as shown
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to
☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer Date 11/15/89

2 of 2

April 2, 1956

Letter No. 36

SECRET EYES ONLY

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Dear Alex:

With reference to my last letter No. 35, of March 23, 1956, I am now enclosing copies of the two highly classified memoranda of Krishna Menon's recent conversations in Washington, with Sherman Adams, and .... I am sending you the text of these two documents since the flavor is somewhat different from that described in my last letter. My description was based on an oral briefing given me by .... My last letter was written before I had seen the memo of conversation with .... My oral briefing was based on a conversation of a ...., and may more accurately convey the tenor of the conversation than the written memo. I have no way of judging that, but in any event we think that you should have the written summary of the conversation.

We discussed this latest Krishna Menon move with the Secretary shortly after I wrote you last. His reaction was that the move was probably an effort by the Chinese Communists to take an intermediate step in the direction of an eventual Foreign Ministers' Meeting.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

His off-hand reaction was that we had nothing to gain by assenting to Krishna Menon's suggestion, and that we would be walking into a trap if we did.

We all anticipate that Nehru may follow up on Krishna Menon's initiative when he comes to Washington in July. This looks as if it is preparatory to a more active espousal of this proposal on the part of the Indians.

Wang's more flexible and moderate attitude at the last meeting on March 29 amply confirms our feeling that the Chinese Communists are not contemplating an immediate break. Mr. Robertson is in Richmond today but we will have a meeting in ample time to consider the latest developments and get your instructions to you before the next meeting a week from today.

Drumright rather objects to giving up Holdridge for any extended period. He points out that the important reporting on Mainland China developments from Hong Kong will suffer. With the pattern of the talks now getting pretty set, and with the big job of revision of the possible White Paper now finished, we may have to consider cutting you down to one advisor in the near future. Do you feel that you could get along reasonably well with just one man in addition to Col. Ekvall?

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

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March 21, 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY

Enclosed is a memo of conversation between Gov. Adams, Krishna Menon and Ambassador Mehta. The meeting was at the suggestion of the Indians.

We supplied Gov. Adams with appropriate briefing memoranda prior to the meeting.

Herbert Hoover, Jr.

cc: Mr. Murphy
Mr. Robertson
Mr. Allen

Attachment:
Memo dtd 3/19/56
fr Gov. Adams

CONFIDENTIAL

U:HHoover,Jr:smm

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

UNDER SECRETARY
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

March 19, 1956

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Meeting with Krishna Menon and Ambassador Mehta on March 19, 1956.

The purpose of the meeting seemed to center upon the suggestion made by Krishna Menon that overtures should now be made toward a meeting between the Communist Chinese Government and the Americans. The rationale of the suggestion was based on the desirability of exploratory discussions toward the resumption of diplomatic and trade relations.

Prompted by a reference to the possibility of the Formosan question being raised, it was readily admitted that the matter would unquestionably come up, but that the inclusion of Chiang Kai-shek in any such meeting was an obstacle which ought not to be permitted to intervene.

In answer to my emphasis upon the showing by the Chou En-lai Government of good faith and the willingness and ability to support and maintain guaranties and commitments respecting Far Eastern territorial integrities and like questions, Menon made the statement that those were precisely the points that the Chinese themselves raised in their discussion of possible negotiations. The purpose of any such conference in Menon's mind was designed principally to show that a meeting could develop both solutions and good will. In answer to my questions he suggested such a meeting could be held in Vienna, and would be attended by Chou En-lai and a Presidential designee. He thought the Secretary of State would doubtless be too much engaged.

more

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The Indian Ambassador spoke of the Nehru visit. Apparently he wished to convey that the change in Nehru's plans had been brought about only with considerable effort.

No mention of nuclear tests or disarmament was made, and German reunification came up only with perfunctory reference, mainly by Menon's reference to the fact that he had never believed that the Soviets should oppose free discussions between the peoples of divided Germany.

Sherman Adams

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 559

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☒ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

Verbatim Text

00803 631

1956 APR 3 PM 7 13

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1836
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

We are considering having you introduce following reformulation renunciation force announcement at April 19 repeat April 19 meeting:

QUOTE

1. Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and Ambassador Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, agree to announce without prejudice to the pursuit by each side of its policies by peaceful means or its inherent right of individual or collective self-defense:

2. The People's Republic of China and the United States of America are determined that they should settle disputes between their two countries through peaceful negotiations without resorting to the threat or use of force in the Taiwan area or elsewhere;

3. The two Ambassadors should continue their talks to seek practical and feasible means for the realization of this common desire.

UNQUOTE

We believe above reformulation, while not dropping any elements we consider essential, provides opportunity for Chinese Communists to abandon previous

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CS/W

SECRET FILE

11178

DC/S
55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 4/3/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:

CA - Mr. McConaughy

L - Mr. Phleger cleared in substance

S/S-CR
APR 3 1956 P.M.

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Classification

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SECRET
Classification

previous adamant position without loss of face, should they be inclined do so. From US point of view it has advantage constituting further effort on our part find suitable formula and thus permit us maintain strong public position. If this reformulation is adopted we are thinking of having you tell Wang at next meeting that US giving further study to renunciation of force announcement and might have proposal make at following meeting.

Reformulation has not yet been considered by Secretary. Would appreciate your comments.

Dulles DULLES (WS)

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11179

.560

632

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

53-51

Action

FE

Info

RMR

B

P

SECRET

Control: 2364

Rec'd: April 5, 1956

5:54 p.m.

Action Assigned to CA/DIR 1/11

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: Prague

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 426, April 5, 7 p.m.

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 426, REPEATED INFORMATION GENEVA 36

1. Following are my comments on text re formulation contained DEPTEL 1836: A. Do not see any advantage from our standpoint of inclusion at this stage phrase "to the pursuit by each side of its policies by peaceful means." Also do not believe it makes paragraph any more palatable for CHICOMS who have already rejected it as part of November 10 draft. If Department concurs in its inclusion I would in any event prefer to leave it out of initial draft and be authorized offer its inclusion during course of debate if appeared be useful tactic.

B. In light foregoing as well as from standpoint style suggest following for phrasing latter portion first paragraph "Agree, without prejudice to the inherent right of each side to individual or collective self-defense, to announce:" (if phrase mentioned subparagraph "A" above included suggest same order of words, that is "agree" at beginning of clause and "to announce" at end.)

C. With respect paragraph 2 sugguest substitution of "means" for "negotiations" and "and that" for "without" as in our January 12 draft for reasons considered that time. If Department willing accept wording this paragraph setforth DEPTEL 1836 would still prefer adhere formulation as in our January 12 draft and be authorized offer accept form this portion December 1 draft during course debate if appeared be useful tactic.

2. Do not believe there much likelihood that CHICOMs will accept any of the foregoing formulations as "individual and collective self-defense" has now become such a red flag to them. Therefore likely issue will again become crystallized around those words in spite of their repositioning. However believe introduction such reformulation provides useful material for several subsequent meetings, gives CHICOMs opportunity to move if they are looking for way to do so, and greatly improves our public position.

3. However, dependent on our immediate objectives suggest consideration could alternatively be given to inclusion some general phrase

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phrase in first paragraph such as "without prejudice inherent rights either side" which would preserve our position, make draft much harder for CHICOMs to reject and should give us even better public position if they do so. However, anything of this nature would have to be done in initial new draft as reintroduction of self-defense clause may again face us with situation where its acceptance by Wang or alteration by us could appear as yielding on substance Taiwan area dispute.

4. Am returning Geneva Saturday.

AW/2

JOHNSON

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1954 APR 6 AM 7 34
SECRET

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 561

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☒ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

01740 633

1956 APR 5 PM 1 43

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1841
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info

LIMIT DISTRUBITON

Guidance for April 9 meeting.

1. Maintain strong position that Chinese Communists must implement their commitment release imprisoned Americans. Tell Wang that Chinese Communists should discard any illusion that their continued failure live up to their agreement will gain them political advantages. Also that failure carry out in good faith agreement already made is unpropitious basis for attempt make further agreements.

2. FYI We have asked General Swing ascertain from appropriate authorities whether all fifty Chinese aliens now known to be in Federal and State prisons can be released for deportation. If this can be done, we can consider whether their deportation would be advantageous move in securing release of Americans. Our reasoning is that this might improve our public position vis-a-vis Chinese Communists and Indians, increase pressure on Chinese Communists release Americans, and provide face-saving pretext for them do so. Decision not repeat not taken as yet, but under consideration. Request your comment. Bearing this in mind, it appears desirable for Wang continue advance claim that Chinese in prison are

covered

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611.93/4-556 CS/W

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DC/T 55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:L:HPhleger:ek 4/5/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: Cleared in substance with the Secretary

CA - Mr. McConaughy FE - Mr. Sebald

11180

APR 5 1956 P.M

SECRET
Classification

Bureau of FAR EAST...

ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

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covered by Agreed Announcement and entitled exercise right return to China, thus laying further basis for our claim regarding imprisoned Americans, and placing Communists in difficult position if Chinese in US prisons are deported. You should not of course intimate in any way we are considering extending our interpretation Agreed Announcement cover Chinese prisoners, but at same time avoid giving Wang opening to claim American prisoners not covered. END FYI

3. On renunciation force restate US position, but tell Wang positions both sides being restudied and intimate that new US draft may be forthcoming April 19.

4. Prospose next meeting April 19.

Dulles
WSB
" DULLES "

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11181

SECRET
Classification

562
M-578

Copy 1 of 9 copies, Series

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

APR 18 1956

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RM/R

file 634

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: April 6, 1956

SUBJECT: Geneva Talks

PARTICIPANTS:

Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador
Mr. Robertson, Assistant Secretary, FE
Mr. McConaughy, Director, CA

ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State
COPIES TO

FE - (2cc)
CA - (3 cc)
L - Mr. Phleger (1 cc)
Amconsul Geneva for Amb. Johnson - (1cc)
G - Mr. Murphy (1 cc)

(7)

1- Amembassy Taipei - 1
2- Amconsul Hong Kong - 1
3-4 OLI-2
5-7-FILES

APR 19 1956

Amb. Koo asked about the progress of the Geneva talks. Mr. Robertson said the situation was the same. There was no progress. The two sides at Geneva were repeating the same arguments over and over. It was about as if each side were playing a phonograph record.

In response to a question, Mr. Robertson confirmed that the Secretary was keeping in close touch with the Geneva talks. Our position on renunciation of force and the Chinese Communist obligation to release the American prisoners remained firm.

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1.95a.241

(See separate memoranda of conversation entitled, "Recent Asian Trip of Secretary Dulles", "Situation in Cambodia and Viet Nam", "Canadian Position on China Policy Questions".)

611.93/4-656
CS/HM

611.93/4-656
SECRET FILE
FILED
APR 19 1956

Copy No(s) 5/6/7

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb/bp

Destroyed in RM/R
Name C. B. Date 5/5/60

DC/R
Ans'l 29
Rev
Cat

11784

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Deny)
Downgrade to _____
Review Again _____
Reviewer _____ Date 7/2/8

April 6, 1956

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 37

Dear Alex:

You were probably in Paris when we sent you the wire inviting your comments on the prospective rearrangement of our renunciation of force formula. We still want your comments, although since we sent you the initial telegram, the Secretary has approved the idea and your guidance telegram for the next meeting has been dispatched. Since you will not submit the reformulation at the next meeting on April 9 but merely intimate there will be a new draft later, there is still time for us to consider your reaction.

Our thought is that the reformulation will provide a further test of Chinese Communist attitudes and will afford another token of our desire to reconcile the opposing positions. We have changed the reference to the Taiwan area so that it is no longer continguous to the reference to the right of individual and collective self defense. We have adhered to the wording of their draft at every place where we could, and we have given them a peg on which they can gracefully hang a modification of their position, if they have any desire to come to an agreement. We doubt that

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

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they will accept the new formula but we at least have something to gain tactically by introducing it, and we do not depart from our essential position. The redraft is the work of Judge Phleger. It was approved by the Secretary on the afternoon of April 4 when he reviewed the entire course of recent developments at Geneva.

While there may not be much material for new discussions in this revision, it does at least give you a little something to chew on and should take care of the meetings through the 26th of April, which is the earliest date on which Wang could give a Peiping reply to a revised draft introduced on April 19.

We told you in the guidance telegram yesterday about our decision to have I & N. S. actually ascertain if deportation would be possible in each of the 50 cases of Chinese aliens in the U. S. penitentiaries. This is quite a project, but the preliminary survey seems worth while. Enclosed is a copy of our letter requesting the survey which gives our background thinking. We are aware of your view expressed in a recent letter that deportation of Chinese prisoners would not bring about the release of the American prisoners since the detention of the Americans is linked to political demands. We agree with you that the Chinese Communists are using the American prisoners to try to extort political concessions, including a Foreign Minister's Conference. But some of the people working on the matter at this end believe that the release of Chinese prisoners would at least give us a better club with which to hammer the Chinese Communists on the prisoner issue and might well put the Chinese Communists in dutch with even their neutralist friends if they fail to release the Americans following release of Chinese

prisoners. Although you have commented at length on this matter in a recent letter to me we invited your reaction to this proposal so that we will be sure that we have your latest view on this, and also that we may have it in the official record.

I am not surprised that you discovered discrepancies in the figures given in the new Defense Department list of missing military personnel. NA discovered the same discrepancies in reviewing the figures and called them to the attention of Defense. Corrected sheets have been prepared by Defense for your book and are forwarded herewith. There is also enclosed an additional sheet with detailed information on Captain Malcolm Edens which should be filed under Tab 2 in your book.

There is enclosed a copy of the "accounting" given by the Chinese Communists in UNCMAC last February. We delayed sending it to you expecting a more detailed report from UNCMAC, but it later turned out that this was all they had. As you will see it is far from satisfactory. We have been working with Defense on an instruction to UNCMAC asking further specific questions about the accounting. This has not yet gone out due to clearance problems in Defense, but we expect it to go shortly and we will see that you get a copy. The feeling here in both State and Defense was that we should exhaust all possibilities in Panmunjom before we ask you to bring the matter up again in Geneva.

The Prisoner Book which we would like back if you do not need it is a

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SECRET

gray loose leaf binder containing miscellaneous memoranda and other documents collected by Ed Martin when he was Prisoner Officer here. Please send it by air pouch. Dave Osborn should be familiar with it. With the increasing Congressional interest in the problem of Americans detained in Communist China, and queries as to what the Department has done about this problem in the past, we felt this book would be needed more here than in Geneva.

Mr. Robertson is having a little stomach trouble again and is supposed to be taking a rest in bed. However he is insisting on staying on the job for at least a couple of weeks. He is planning to take two weeks rest in bed around the end of this month.

It was good to get your letter No. 26. Messrs. Phleger, Robertson and Sebald read it too and we all found it of particular interest. We hope you and Pat had a good and relaxing Easter weekend in Paris.

Regards and good luck,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Additional Sheet for Tab 2 of Defense book.
2. Copy of the "accounting" by Chinese Communists in UNCMAC.
3. Army Telegram No. FE 800650 from CINUNC Tokyo.
4. Copy of letter to General Swing.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

564

37

SECRET

Action FE

Info RMR SS G SP

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1735, APRIL 8, 7 P.M.

Control: 4044
Rec'd: APRIL 8, 1956
2:06 P.M.

Action Assigned to CAIDR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

RE PARAGRAPH 2 DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 1841

1. AM STILL OF SAME OPINION SET FORTH MYTEL 1572. IMPORTANT NOTE WANG HAS THUS FAR NOT SPECIFICALLY ADVANCED CLAIM THAT CHINESE IN PRISON ARE COVERED (PERHAPS BECAUSE HE HAS CONSIDERED IT UNNECESSARY IN LIGHT MY CLAIM CONCERNING COVERAGE IMPRISONED AMERICANS) BUT BY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT FOR MOST PART HAS RATHER ATTEMPTED TO MANEUVER ME INTO POSITION OF ADMITTING "DISTINCTION" BETWEEN PRISONERS AND "ORDINARY" CIVILIANS AND THAT PRISONERS CAN ONLY BE RELEASED ACCORDANCE OUR LEGAL PROCESSES THUS ACCEPTING JUSTICE HIS POSITION WITH RESPECT IMPRISONED AMERICANS.

2. WHILE DEPORTATION ALL RPT ALL IMPRISONED CHINESE ALIENS, OR DEPORTATION THOSE WILLING TO GO WITH CONFIRMATION BY INDIANS OF THOSE UNWILLING TO GO, WOULD IMPROVE OUR POSITION WITH PUBLIC AND INDIANS AND CONSTITUTE SOME PRESSURE ON CHICOMS FOR ADDITIONAL RELEASES IT WOULD NOT ASSURE RELEASE ALL RPT ALL AMERICANS. CHICOMS COULD RESIST SUCM PRESSURE AS THIS MIGHT CONSTITUTE BY CONTINUING THEIR MAJOR THEME OF U.S. "OBSTRUCTION" TO DEPARTURE STUDENTS AND OTHERS. UNFORTUNATELY EXPERIENCE WITH VICTOR CHOU AND OTHERS INDICATES WE CANNOT COUNT ON MUCH HELP FROM STUDENTS IN DEMONSTRATING FALSITY CHICOM CHARGES EITHER TO PUBLIC OR PEIPING.

3. POLITICAL CONCESSIONS WILL REMAIN PRICE FOR RELEASE ALL AMERICANS. CHICOMS STILL ESTIMATE OUR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE THESE TALKS IS RELEASE AMERICANS, AND ONCE THIS ACCOMPLISHED WE WILL CEASE ANY FURTHER MOVEMENT TOWARD ADJUSTMENT RELATIONS.

GOWEN

GWL

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FEB 27 1959

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* **ACTION COPY**

565

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54-L
Action
FE

Control: 4043
Rec'd: April 8, 1956
2:06 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

EUR
O

NO: 1736, April 8, 7 p.m.

13th

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611.93/4-856

FROM JOHNSON

Stanley's orders expire April 13. If Holdridge for replacement will not arrive prior to April 19 meeting request extension Stanelly's orders. Consider it absolutely essential someone be available during meetings with sole duty maintaining accurate notes so that Osborn can be free to advise and assist me as necessary. Have to anticipate this might well become even more important in future than during recent meetings. It is not possible for Osborn to do both jobs and also believe any reduction my staff present at meetings. to only officer and interpreter would tend give impression we downgrading talks. Stanley's Chinese-language ability has also proven be very valuable and useful and would be desirable replacement also have language qualifications.

Therefore if Holdridge or other similar replacement cannot be detailed strongly renew my suggestion for over-complement assignment Stanley to CONGEN Geneva as most efficient and economical use personnel.

GOWEN

AW/

Action Assigned to E4
Action Taken Telegram to Geneva
For Johnson
Action 4/10/56
Office Symbol FE/EX
Name of Officer M. Serey
Direction to DC/R file

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 APR 9 AM 7 43
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AFFAIRS APR 26 10

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42B

DS-47

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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1. TOP SECRET CONTROL NUMBER

FE-EO-56-109-2a

4. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF ATTACHED DOCUMENT(S) (Origin, subject, reference no. or other pertinent data)

Letter No. 27 from Amb. Johnson re Geneva Talks

2. COPY INFORMATION

ACTION COPY _____ INFORMATION COPY _____

TELEGRAMS, DESPATCHES, ETC. _____

COPY NO. 2 OF 2 COPIES

5. FORWARDED

4/17/56 (Date) Irene K. Berman (Top Secret Control Officer)

3. DATE AND NAME OF PERSON PREPARING FORM

4/17/56 Irene K. Berman

6. PERSONS TO WHOM ROUTED OR READING DOCUMENT	7. OFFICE SYMBOL	8. SIGNATURES	9. DATE RECEIVED	10. DATE READ	11. DATE RELEASED
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[illegible]					
		[illegible]	[illegible]		

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET - EYES ONLY

Letter No. 27

April 8, 1956

Dear Walter:

I returned last night from Bragon and was very interested in reading your letter No. 36 giving further details on Krishna Menon's recent conversations. I greatly appreciate your keeping me so fully and completely informed on this. It would seem from the written [illegible] of Conversation that Menon's approach carries more [illegible] of his own ideas than that of a message from [illegible]. I would certainly agree that we should not at this time [illegible] consideration to assenting [illegible]. In fact, it seems to me that in some ways the [illegible] with [illegible] Prime Minister's personal and special [illegible] with it from our standpoint even [illegible] the Foreign Ministers. It [illegible] that it would tend to give the [illegible] to exploit, that there [illegible] between the President and the [illegible] with respect to the Chinese Communists.

I am enclosing a separate letter on more general subjects.

Sincerely yours,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

EYES ONLY

~~NODIS~~ REVIEW

Cat. A - Caption removed; [illegible] to O/FADRC
Cat. B - [illegible] to O/FADRC
[illegible]
Cat. C - [illegible]
[illegible]
Reviewed by: [illegible] Bragon
Date: 27 Sept 80

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

SECRET - EYES ONLY

Lot 72 D 415

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OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Letter No. 28

April 8, 1956

Dear Walter:

I was remiss in not letting you know that I had left Geneva and returned to Prague last week, my plans for a trip to Paris Easter having fallen through ....

. . . . . .

I was very disappointed to hear about Holdridge and today sent a telegram which summarizes my views. Obviously the man in Stanley's job is fully occupied only on meeting days and I am concerned that something can be worked out that will usefully occupy the person in that job the rest of the time. As I said in my telegram, I still think that Stanley's assignment to Geneva for consular training is a logical and efficient answer from every point of view. The pace of the meetings is of course not my choice and obviously my staff here is not heavily

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

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Lot 72 D 415

heavily pressed. However, when I need people, I need them and it seems to me the issues are important enough to meet my very modest requirements. Dave has assisted Stanley in keeping notes and they provide a very useful cross-check with each other. However, if Dave were to have full responsibility for the notes he would have to concentrate entirely on this and would be unable to offer me any advice or assistance. Even during the recent meetings I have found his advice very useful, he feeding me ideas that occur to him, providing some one with whom I can crosscheck my impressions of ~~one~~ often very fine nuances, and searching through folders for materials that I may unexpectedly need. Wang has two men doing nothing but feeding him ideas and materials (his interpreter keeps their notes). It seems to me that I would be placed at a considerable disadvantage unless I am able to continue something comparable. All of this has, of course, not been of vital importance during recent meetings as issues have been very cut and dried. However, no one can predict when things might become more complicated and active and I cannot honestly feel I can do my best without something comparable to my present setup. Incidentally, as I mentioned in my telegram, although Ekvall is a splendid interpreter it is still very useful to have someone in the room with Stanley's knowledge of Chinese and by comparing impressions and discussing the matter he and Ekvall are often able to clarify subtle and obscure points often made by Wang and which come out only very imperfectly from his interpreter. Also, incidentally, it is entirely out of the question for Ekvall to keep full notes of the meeting.

In this regard, Ekvall's time will be up in June and we may well be having to persuade Defense for a new extension. I hope that you can pave the way on this so that there will not be too much trouble, as he is, of course, absolutely essential.

Also, Miss King's time will be up May 27. I will be very happy to have her stay and she is entirely willing to do so, although she naturally hopes to and should have her home leave before too much more time has passed. If she cannot be extended I would, of course, very much hope that some way could be worked out to send Helenka back here. This would be ideal from the standpoint of both Dave and myself. Incidentally, Dave is making very good use of his time studying Russion at his own expense. I have told him to write to the Department and see whether something could not be worked out that would pay for his lessons and give him credit for the work.

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Spring is as slow in coming here as the Chinese Communists are in thawing with regard to the release of Americans. It is still very cold here in Geneva and we were having a really heavy snowstorm in Prague as I was leaving.

All the best to everyone.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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Control: 1284
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10:19 A.M.

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Date of Action
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1737 APRIL 9 NOON

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FROM JOHNSON

1. VERY MILD ONE HOUR 10 MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING.

2. WANG OPENED WITH STATEMENT HOPING I WOULD HAVE CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS THAT WOULD ENABLE US TO MAKE PROGRESS. I REPLIED WITH EXPRESSION DISAPPOINTMENT HE HAD NO CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS; UNREASONABLE EXPECT ME OFFER SUGGESTIONS MEET HIS OBJECTIONS WHICH I DID NOT CONSIDER WELL-FOUNDED; WILLING COOPERATE FIND LANGUEGE MEET BOTH POINTS OF VIEW AND LISTEN ANY SUGGESTIONS HE HAD CONSISTENT WITH PRINCIPLES I CONSIDER ESSENTIAL. I HOPED THAT HE WOULD AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING "AT LEAST HAVE SOME THOUGHTS THAT WOULD ENABLE ME TO GIVE FURTHER DETAILED CONSIDERATION THIS MATTER PRIOR TO OUR NEXT MEETING". HE CUT OFF ANY FURTHER DISCUSSION, MOVING TO IMPLEMENTATION.

3. IMPLEMENTATION WAS ALONG FAMILIAR LINES, HE GIVING ME THREE MORE NAMES, I MAKING POINTS CONTAINED PARA ONE DEPTEL 1841. ALTHOUGH I GAVE HIM MANY OPENINGS TO DO SO HE SEEMED DELIBERATELY TO AVOID ANY MENTION WHATEVER OF CHINESE PRISONERS IN US, CONCENTRATING ON "ALMOST 50 NAMES" HE HAD GIVEN ME FOR WHICH I HAD NOT ACCOUNTED. IN MY REBUTTAL I CITED HIS FAILURE GIVE ME ANY ADDITIONAL INFO ON YUAN JUI-HSIANG OR REPLY TO MY REQUEST FOR MEDICAL RECORDS ON BRADSHAW AND KANADY AS WELL AS FOCUSING DISCUSSION ON FACT INDIAN EMBASSY HAS NOT YET BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION SINGLE ALLEGATION OF OOBSTRUCTION.

4. HE DEMURRED MY SUGGESTION NEXT MEETING APRIL 19 PRESSING FOR MONDAY APRIL 16 BUT FINALLYHYIELDED TO THURSDAY APRIL19.

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Control: 4464
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3:27 p.m.

Info
RMR

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

SS
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SP

NO: 1742, April 9, 7 p.m.

FROM JOHNSON

Departing for Prague morning April 10 returning Geneva April 17.

Have no comments on today's meeting other than those contained my telegram 1737.

GOWEN

AW/2

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10:46 PM

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Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1746, APRIL 10, 10 PM (SECTION 1 OF 3)

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FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED 43RD MEETING, CONSULTING NOTES TO SAY HE RECALLED AT LAST MEETING HAVING SAID IN ORDER ADVANCE OUR TALKS HE HAD HOPED I WOULD AT PRESENT MEETING BE IN POSITION MAKE NEW SUGGESTIONS ON SUBJECT ISSUANCE DECLARATION AND SO HE READY LISTEN ANYTHING I HAD TO SAY THIS SUBJECT.

2. I REPLIED FROM PREPARED STATEMENT THAT IT WAS I THAT HOPED THAT HE WOULD HAVE SOME NEW SUGGESTIONS THIS MORNING. AT OUR LAST MEETING HE TOOK POSITION THAT IT UP TO ME TO OFFER SUGGESTIONS MEET OBJECTIONS HE HAD VOICED TO AMENDMENTS I OFFERED JANUARY 12 TO HIS DRAFT DECEMBER 1. AS I EXPLAINED HIM AT TIME I FOUND HIS POSITION INEXPLICABLE IF HE REALLY SHARED MY DESIRE ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT THIS SUBJECT. IT OBVIOUSLY UNREASONABLE EXPECT ME OFFER SUGGESTIONS MEET OBJECTIONS WHICH I DID NOT CONSIDER WELL-FOUNDED. AS I HAD CONSISTENTLY STATED I ENTIRELY WILLING COOPERATE IN FINDING LANGUAGE THAT WOULD MEET BOTH OUR POINTS VIEW. I HAD CONSISTENTLY STATED I WOULD BE WILLING LISTEN ANY SUGGESTIONS HE HAD THAT WERE CONSISTENT THOSE PRINCIPLES WHICH I CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL. I HAD LONG HOPED CAREFUL DETAILED EXPLANATIONS I HAD MADE OF OUR JANUARY 12 AMENDMENTS WOULD LEAD HIM PERCEIVE HIS OBJECTIONS THERETO DID NOT HAVE REAL VALIDITY. FAILING THAT I HAD HOPED HE WOULD OFFER CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS FOR ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE. IF HE DID NOT HAVE SUCH CONCRETE SUGGESTIONS THIS MORNING I HOPED HE WOULD AT LEAST THIS MORNING HAVE SOME THOUGHTS THAT WOULD ENABLE ME GIVE FURTHER DETAILED CONSIDERATION THIS MATTER PRIOR OUR NEXT MEETING.

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3. WANG SAID HE BELIEVED HE HAD ALREADY MADE HIS POINTS VERY CLEAR AT OUR LAST MEETING. THEREFORE, HE RATHER DISAPPOINTED I HAD FAILED AGAIN OFFER FRESH SUGGESTIONS THIS MORNING THIS SUBJECT. IT SINCERE HOPE HIS PART THAT AT NEXT MEETING I WOULD BE ABLE DO SO BY OFFERING NEW SUGGESTIONS. IF I HAD NO NEW SUGGESTIONS PUT FORTH THIS MORNING HE WOULD LIKE BRING UP ANOTHER MATTER.

4. WANG SAID THEIR ATTENTION BEEN AGAIN CALLED CASES THREE CHINESE IN U.S. WHOSE RETURN BEING OBSTRUCTED. HE WOULD NOW HAND ME NAMES THESE THREE PERSONS AND WOULD APPRECIATE IF I WOULD MAKE INVESTIGATION THEIR CASES. PARTICULARLY CASE OF CHOU, EVEN AFTER AGREEMENT ON CIVILIANS WHICH REACHED LAST YEAR BETWEEN US WAS ANNOUNCED HIS RETURN STILL BEEN OBSTRUCTED.

(HANDED LIST--NAMES FOLLOWING TELEGRAM). THIS SEEMED INEXPLICABLE HIS SIDE.

5. WANG SAID TO DATE HE HAD MADE REPRESENTATIONS ON NEARLY 50 PERSONS, INCLUDING NAMES THREE PERSONS HE GIVEN ME TODAY. ALMOST THREE MONTHS HAD PASSED SINCE HE HANDED ME FIRST BATCH PERSONS IN HIS LETTER JANUARY 5 TO ME. SO FAR I HAD NOT GIVEN ANY ACCOUNT OR INFORMATION REGARDING THESE PERSONS NOR HAD ANYONE THESE COME BACK CHINA.

6. WANG SAID HIS SIDE VERY DISSATISFIED WITH OBSTRUCTIONS OFFERED THEM IN THEIR RETURN. FACT THESE PEOPLE HAD NOT YET BEEN ABLE COME BACK COULD HARDLY BE RECONCILED WITH PLEDGE FOR EXPEDITIOUS RETURN IN OUR AGREEMENT. ALL THESE PEOPLE HAVE DESIRED RETURN THEIR MOTHERLAND, BUT BEEN PREVENTED DOING SO UP TO NOW. FACT THEY BEEN PREVENTED FROM RETURNING CANNOT BE DISPUTED. MY SIDE CANNOT ESCAPE OR EVADE RESPONSIBILITY FOR UNJUSTIFIED OBSTRUCTIONS AGAINST THEIR RETURN. HIS SIDE WILL KEEP PRESSING THIS MATTER AS LONG THESE PEOPLE NOT BEING PERMITTED RETURN.

7. I SAID IN THIS LIST NAMES HE GIVEN ME THIS MORNING HERE

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I NOTICED THAT UNDER NAME CHOU STATEMENT MADE THAT AFTER OUR AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 LAST YEAR MR. CHOU "AGAIN APPLIED RETURN". I DID NOT KNOW UPON WHAT INFORMATION HE BASED THESE CONTINUED REFERENCES THESE PERSONS APPLYING TO RETURN BUT I SATISFIED IT NOT CORRECT.

8. I SAID I HAD TOLD HIM IN PAST HE NEED NOT ACCEPT MY WORD THAT THERE NO SUCH THING IN U.S. AS ALIENS' APPLYING LEAVE COUNTRY INDIAN EMBASSY OR ANYONE ELSE FAMILIAR MY COUNTRY COULD CONFIRM THIS FACT FOR HIM. I JUST DID NOT KNOW HOW MAKE THIS CLEAR HIM.

9. I SAID SITUATION REGARDING ALIENS DEPARTING MY COUNTRY WAS JUST AS CLEAR, STRAIGHTFORWARD AND SIMPLE AS IT IS WITH REGARD ALIENS HERE IN SWITZERLAND, WITH WHICH WE BOTH FAMILIAR. OR FOR THAT MATTER IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY HERE IN WESTERN EUROPE, WITH WHICH I SURE HE ALSO FAMILIAR. HE AND I BOTH KNEW THAT OURSELVES OR ANY OTHER FOREIGNER HERE IN SWITZERLAND IF HE WANTS LEAVE GETS IN HIS AUTO AND DRIVES TO ANNEMASSE OR ANYWHERE ELSE WITHOUT ANY EXIT PERMIT, EXIT VISA OR ANY OTHER PROCEDURES. OR HE GOES DOWN TO AIRPORT, BUYS TICKET GETS ON PLANE AND GOES ANYWHERE HE WANTS GO. SITUATION VERY SIMILAR IN U.S.

GOWEN

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1:06 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1746, APRIL 10, 10 PM (SECTION TWO OF THREE)

Date of Action
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FROM JOHNSON

10. I SAID THESE PEOPLE DID NOT APPLY ANYBODY TO LEAVE. THEY FREE GO ANY TIME THEY DESIRE. I JUST COULD NOT BE ANY CLEARER OR ANY MORE CATEOGRICAL IN SAYING THAT THEY CERTAINLY NOT BEEN OBSTRUCTED BY ANY AUTHORITY IN U.S.

11. I SAID IT INCREDIBLE THAT, IN MORE THAN SIX MONTHS THAT HAD NOW PASSED SINCE WE MADE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, IF IN FACT ANY THEM BEING OBSTRUCTED THAT AT LEAST ONE CASE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN BROUGHT OUR ATTENTION BY THIRD POWER ARRANGEMENT ESTABLISHED FOR JUST THIS PURPOSE. TO SAY THAT JUST BECAUSE SOMEBODY DOES NOT RETURN HIS COUNTRY HE BEING OBSTRUCTED BY MY GOVERNMENT SIMPLY DOES NOT BEAR LIGHT OF FACTS.

12. I SAID IN ONLY ONE OF CASES HE MENTIONED ME HERE WAS THERE SPECIFIC ALLEGATION OF OBSTRUCTION--THAT WAS CASE YUAN JUI-HSIANG. I WENT INTO THAT CASE BUT INFORMATION HE GAVE ME WAS NOT SUFFICIENT, AS I TOLD HIM SOMETIME AGO, ENABLE ME IDENTIFY HIM. SOME WEEKS AGO I ASKED HIM FOR FURTHER INFORMATION THAT WOULD ENABLE ME GO INTO CASE FURTHER. BUT I NOT YET RECEIVED SUCH INFORMATION.

13. I SAID I MIGHT ALSO MENTION THAT SOME WEEKS AGO HE ASKED ME FOR MEDICAL RECORDS ON MR. LIU AND I WAS PLEASED BE ABLE VERY PROMPTLY REPLY HIS REQUEST. I HAD ALSO ASKED HIM FOR SIMILAR INFORMATION AND RECORDS REGARDING MRS. BRADSHAW AND KANADY BUT HAD NOT RECEIVED HIS REPLY.

14. I SAID FACTS WERE CLEARLY THAT CHINESE DESIRING RETURN

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HIS COUNTRY FREE DO SO. THEY STEADILY ARRIVING HIS COUNTRY FROM U.S.

15. I SAID SITUATION REGARDING AMERICANS STILL REMAINS VASTLY DIFFERENT. IT NOW APPROACHING FOUR MONTHS SINCE LAST AMERICAN RELEASED FROM HIS COUNTRY TO RETURN U.S. I HAD POINTED OUT MANY TIMES HERE AND WOULD NOT GO INTO DETAILS THIS MORNING THAT MY PEOPLE AND MY GOVERNMENT INCREASINGLY FEEL THESE SPECIFIC AMERICANS WHO WERE CLEARLY SUBJECT OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WERE BEING HELD IN EXPECTATION AND HOPE OF EXTRACTING POLITICAL CONCESSIONS FROM MY GOVERNMENT IN EXCHANGE THEIR RETURN.

16. I SAID I HAD SAID OVER AND OVER AGAIN AND I AGAIN SAID THIS MORNING THAT NO POLICY COULD BE MORE MISTAKEN. I FOUND IT VERY DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND WHY HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT EVEN IN ITS OWN INTEREST CARRY OUT AGREEMENT WITH REGARD THESE SPECIFIC AMERICANS. WHOLE SITUATION CERTAINLY DOES NOT ESTABLISH VERY SOUND OR HOPEFUL BASIS TO CONSIDER ENTERING INTO NEW AGREEMENTS.

17. I SAID FACTS OF MATTER WERE THAT NEITHER MY GOVERNMENT NOR ANYONE ELSE COULD CONSIDER THAT OUR AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 WAS REALLY BEING CARRIED OUT BY HIS AUTHORITIES WITH RESPECT THESE SPECIFIC AMERICANS. I AGAIN RENEWED MY REQUEST THAT THIS AGREEMENT BE IMPLEMENTED AND THESE AMERICANS BE PERMITTED RETURN.

18. WANG SAID MY STATEMENT WITH REGARD ABILITY OF FOREIGN NATIONALS TO DEPART FREELY SOUNDED VERY GOOD. HE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TAKE MY WORDS HERE FOR GRANTED. HOWEVER, FACT THAT NEARLY 50 PERSONS, WHOSE NAMES GIVEN ME, HAD NOT BEEN ABLE MAKE DEPARTURE AND STILL UNDER OBSTRUCTIONS FROM DOING SO MADE IT VERY HARD ACCEPT MY STATEMENT.

19. WANG SAID HE ENTIRELY PREPARED ACCEPT INFORMATION GIVEN BY ME REGARDING EXIT PROCEDURES CURRENTLY BEING PRACTICED

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IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES INCLUDING SWITZERLAND. HOWEVER, IN SWITZERLAND THEIR CHINESE NATIONALS HAD NEVER BEEN SUBJECT OBSTRUCTIONS THEIR DEPARTURE BY SWISS AUTHORITIES AND HE HAD NEVER HEARD OF SUCH SETUP AS IMMIGRATION SERVICE IN SWITZERLAND. IF SITUATION WAS INDEED SIMILAR TO PRACTICE IN SWITZERLAND IN WHICH FOREIGN NATIONALS INCLUDING CHINESE NATIONALS COULD FREELY MAKE THEIR DEPARTURE, THEN IT WOULD HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY SUPERFLUOUS FOR BOTH US TO MAKE AGREEMENT WHICH WE DID LAST SEPTEMBER.

20. WANG SAID SPECIFIC PERSONS WHOSE NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME AND WHOSE NUMBER ABOUT 50 PERSONS HAD IN FACT ENCOUNTERED OBSTRUCTIONS AND DIFFICULTIES IN DEPARTURE. IT A MATTER FOR STEPS TO BE TAKEN TO LOOK INTO CASES ALL THESE NEARLY 50 PEOPLE AND IS NOT MATTER OF ONE OR TWO PERSONS ENCOUNTERING OBSTRUCTIONS.

21. WANG SAID IN SPEAKING ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OUR AGREEMENT LAST SEPTEMBER, FIRST OF ALL THEY EXPECT AMERICAN SIDE TO IMPLEMENT OR CARRY OUT AGREEMENT BETWEEN US. FOR SINCE AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN US U.S. GOVERNMENT NOT KNOWN TO HAVE TAKEN ANY NECESSARY MEASURES TO HELP CHINESE IN U.S. MAKE FREE DEPARTURE. U.S. GOVERNMENT ALSO HAS NOT TAKEN MEASURES TO PERMIT EXPEDITIOUS RETURN OF CHINESE NATIONALS. ANY EXCUSES WITH REGARD THIS MATTER CANNOT EXPLAIN MATTER OF RETURN OF CHINESE, I HAD SAID I FOUND IT VERY DIFFICULT MAKE THIS MATTER CLEAR TO THEM. BEST METHOD IN WHICH I COULD MAKE THIS CLEAR THEM WAS TO ALLOW THESE CHINESE RETURN.

GOWEN

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10:32 P.M.

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Action Taken ——
Date of Action ——
Action Office Symbol ——
Name of Officer ——
Direction to DC/R ——

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1746, APRIL 10, 10 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF THREE)

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FROM JOHNSON

22. I SAID IF THESE PEOPLE HE HAD MENTIONED OR ANY OTHERS REALLY DESIRE RETURN AND REALLY FELT THEY BEING OBSTRUCTED, WHY WAS IT THAT AT LEAST ONE THEM HAS NOT BROUGHT HIS CASE TO ATTENTION INDIAN EMBASSY AND IF INDIAN EMBASSY FELT THERE ANY SUESTANCE HIS ALLEGATIONS IT HAS NOT BROUGHT CASE ATTENTION MY GOVERNMENT?

23. WANG SAID HE HAD TOLD ME REASONS IN THIS REGARD MANY TIMES IN PAST. CHINESE NATITNALS IN U.S. WERE CONSTANTLY UNDER UNREASONABLE OPPRESSION OF U.S. INS AND FACT WAS THAT MANY PEOPLE WERE NOT ABLE MAKE KNOWN THEIR FREE WILL. THIS QUITE SUFFICIENT EXPLAIN EXISTING SITUATION WITH REGARD CHINESE.

24. I SAID I RECALLED AS LONG AGO AS LAST DECEMBER SEEING PUBLIC STATEMENT BY INDIAN EMBASSY TO EFFECT IT IN COMMUNICATION WITH MANY CHINESE IN U.S. CERTAINLY IF ANY THEM ALLEGING ANY OBSTRUCTIONS BY MY GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN EMBASSY FELT THERE ANY FOUNDATION FOR IT, IT WOULD HAVE SAID SOMETHING US ABOUT IT.

25. WANG SAID I HAD SAID INDIAN EMBASSY IN COMMUNICATION WITH MANY CHINESE IN U.S. DID I MDAN THAT U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY HANDED INDIAN EMBASSY LISTS CHINESE IN U.S.?

26. I SAID I ONLY REFERRING WHAT INDIAN EMBASSY SAID. ON DECEMBER 20 INDIAN EMBASSY ISSUED STATEMENT FIRST PARAGRAPH OF WHICH READS: "SINCE EMBASSY INDIA ANNOUNCED DETAILS REPATRIATION PROCEDURE FOR CHINESE IN U.S. WISHING RETURN CHINESE MAINLANE, EMBASSY AT WASHINGTON, D.C. AND CONSULATES-GENERAL

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GENERAL OF INDIA NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO HAVE RECEIVED INQUIRIES AND APPLICATIONS FROM CHINESE SEEKING ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE." ONLY CITING THIS SHOWS THAT AS LONG AGO AS LAST DECEMBER INDIAN EMBASSY SAID IT IN COMMUNICATION CHINESE IN U.S. CERTAINLY IF ANY REAL OBSTRUCTION ANY THESE PEOPLE, INDIAN EMBASSY WOULD CERTAINLY CALLED IT OUR ATTENTION.

27. WANG SAID HIS INFORMATION INDICATES INDIAN EMBASSY WILLING INFORM CHINESE IN U.S. OF AGREED ANNOKNCEMENT BETWEEN US LAST YEAR BUT INDIAN EMBASSY HAD FOUND THIS JOB BE VERY DIFFICULT BECAUSE FAILURE U.S. GOVERNMENT PROVIDE LIST CHINESE IN U.S. THEY CONTINUE HOPE U.S. GOVERNMDNT WOULD COOPERATE THIS MATTER BY SUBMITTING SUCH LISTS INDIAN EMBASSY SO AS HELP EMBASSY IN FACT COMMUNICATE WITH CHINESE. HOWEVER ALL THAT ONLY ONE ASPECT OF SOLVING THIS MATTER.

28. WANG SAID ESSENTIAL THING WAS WHAT ATTITUDE U.S. GOVERNMENT WAS ADOPTING WITH REGARD EXPEDITIOUS RETURN CHINESE. IF U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT OPENLY ABOLISH SUCH UNREASONABLE REUIREMENTS AS ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN AND REQUIREMENT APPLICATION PERMANENT RESIDENCE U.S.--IF U.S. GOVERNMENT FAILS TAKE THESE STEPS, PRESSURE HITHERTO EXERTED MINDS CHINESE WOULD NOT BE RELIEVED.

29. I SAID ESSENTIAL THING WAS WHETHER U.S. IN FACT OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE IN U.S. WHO IN FACT DESIRES RETURN HIS COUNTRY. FACT WAS THAT NOT SINGLE FACT SHOWING ANY OBSTRUCTION IN ANY CASE HAS YET BEEN DEMONSTRATED AND I SATISFIED NONE WOULD BE. I WISHED IT WERE SAME SUTUATION WITH REGARD 213 AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY.

30. WANG SAID GREATEST FACT WAS THAT ABOUT 50 SPECIFIC PERSONS HAD NOT BEEN ABLE RETURN. I HAD NOT YET GIVEN ACCOUNT ABOUT THESE ABOUT 50 PERSONS. SO LONG AS EVERY LAST ONE THESE PEOPLE HAD NOT YET BEEN ABLE RETURN, THEY WOULD CONTINUE PRESS THIS MATTER THESE MEETINGS. THEY WOULD CONTINUE DO SO UNTIL THESE PEOPLE HAD IN FACT RETURNED.

31. I SAID

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1746, APRIL 10, 10 P.M., (SECTION 3 OF 3), FROM GENEVA.

31. I SAID IF HE HAD NOTHING MORE I PROPOSED NEXT MEETING THURSDAY APRIL 19. WANG INQUIRED WHETHER I WOULD CONSIDER APRIL 16 MONDAY? I SAID THAT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR ME, AND WOULD MUCH PREFER THURSDAY APRIL 19. WANG SAID HE WOULD NOT INSIST.

GOWEN

GEM

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1856

11.93/4-856

Origin

Info

Your 1736

FOR JOHNSON.

Holdridge departing Paris for Geneva April 13 flight 738 Air France. Stanley to depart as planned.

Dulles
PRS

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61 11.93/4-856

CS/W

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Drafted by: FE/Ex:PSerey:jgh - 4/10/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: FE/Ex Paul Serey

Clearances: (In substance)
CA - Mr. Clough
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Your 426 from Prague.

1. We believe restoration of phrase "to the pursuit by each side of its policies by peaceful means" in paragraph one strengthens our public position and provides you firmer stance from which rebut Wang's argument ~~that~~ US trying trick Chinese Communists into recognizing status quo. Inclusion this phrase makes it unmistakably clear that in draft declaration we seeking only debar use force to alter status quo. Statement in fact reiterates what you have stated in discussions on numerous occasions.

2. We do not envisage use minor changes in wording as negotiating tactic unless at later stage it would appear that such minor textual change would lead to final agreement. We prefer table text which will give us strongest public position in event break and thereafter avoid proposing minor changes for bargaining purposes.

3. Concur your suggestion place "agree" at beginning clause and "to announce" at end.

4. Your suggestions for revising paragraph 2 are good and would improve it somewhat from our point of view. However, we think this consideration

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CA

11182

Drafted by: FE:CA:ANClough/WPMcConaughy:ek 4/11/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
FE - Mr. Sebald
L - Mr. Phleger

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS APR 11 1956 ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

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APR 11 1956 P.M.

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consideration is outweighed by ~~the~~ psychological desirability of retaining unchanged as much as possible from Chinese Communist December 1 draft.

5. Re paragraph 3 URTEL, DEPT not repeat not prepared authorize deletion reference to "individual and collective self-defense." Broadness ~~of~~ proposed substitute wording would permit Communists interpret so as to nullify their renunciation force pledge. Furthermore deletion of self-defense reference after we have insisted on its retention could be readily misrepresented by Communist side as implying that we have receded from our original position.

6. On basis above considerations, reformulation to be introduced April 19 should be that contained DEPTEL 1836 with change approved by (3) above.

7. Reformulation will be referred to as "Second US Revision of Chinese Communist December 1 Counter proposal."

Dulles

" DULLES "

11183

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 573

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

05145 644

1956 APR 12 PM 4 24

DC/T

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FOR AMB JOHNSON

611.93/4-1156

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Following is text Department's 1860 to Geneva:

QUOTE

(Code Room: Please repeat Department's 1860, Control 04671, April 11, 1956)

UNQUOTE

Dulles
(WPMcC)
" DULLES "

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611.93/4-1256

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ch 4/12/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances

EE Mr Donovan by phone
S/S-CR: 2 Kent

S/S-CR

APR 12 1956 P.M.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 574

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT ☒ CHARGE TO

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1956 APR 12 PM 9 22

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-327

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Geneva's ~~xxxx~~ 1739. Close check through Department shows that no repeat no change in Department's position on passports valid for Communist China has taken place. Policy not to reexamine question prior to release of imprisoned Americans remains unaltered. Department unable to find any indication of recent approach by Catledge or any other New York Times representative on this subject.

Dulles "DULLES"

(Ame)

DC/R

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611 93/4-956 CS/W

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611 93/4-956

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 4/11/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Ralph D. Clough

Clearances:

FE - Mr. Sebald
Mr. Robertson
L - Mr. Phleger

EE - Mr. Donovan
SCA - Mr. Chase
P - Mr. McIlvaine
S - Mr. Macomber

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
APR
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 575

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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05763 646

1956 APR 13 PM 1 40

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 1874

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(CODE ROOM: Please repeat Department's telegram to PRAGUE 327, Control 05588, April 12.)

611.93

Dulles
(WPMcC)

DULLES

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611.93/4-1356

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 4/13/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

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APR 13 1956 P.M.

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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/9/82

April 13, 1956

Letter No. 38

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

We are glad that you were able to get the 10 day interval between the last meeting and the next one. Everyone back here is aware that your life is a hard one while you must bear the heavy dual responsibility. The extra breathing space must be welcome.

You may have been somewhat disappointed with the Department's 1860, since the reasoning departed somewhat from yours. We went to some lengths in our telegram to spell out our rationalization so that you would not think your ideas had been summarily dismissed. I believe you will recognize the Department's position as tenable regardless whether you see completely eye to eye with us.

Judge Phleger in particular believes it is important to leave in the reference to the right of pursuit of policies by peaceful means, in order to undermine Wang's argument that we would trick him into accepting the status quo. Judge Phleger also thinks that it is very important from a psychological standpoint to adhere as closely as possible to the wording of the Communist draft. This will give more substance to our contention that we are going a long way to meet Wang's proposition and that our

The Honorable
U.Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

limited amendments of his draft should not make the document unacceptable to him. We are willing to accept slightly less desirable wording in paragraph two in order to preserve this position. Mr. Robertson concurred strongly with Judge Phleger on these points.

The feeling was unanimous that we could not possibly consider doing away with the specific reference to the right of individual and collective self defense. This seems to us a cardinal point, and the cession of the point could undermine the foundations of the protective commitment we seek. Our misgivings on this score assume redoubled force in the light of the importance we have attached to this provision in the discussions to date. If we abandon this phrase now after an issue has been made of it, great significance would inevitably be read into our action, with possibly dangerous consequences.

We are sending you separately a communication delievered to the British in Peiping by the Chinese Communist Foreign Office proposing a general conference on the NNSC and on a political settlement in Korea. This was delivered to us by the British only 24 hours ago and is still under preliminary consideration here. If you have any thoughts on how this ties in with Communist strategy as observed by you at Geneva we would like to have them.

Mr. Robertson saw Congressmen Richards and Dodd yesterday on the matter of the proposed House investigation of the maltreatment of Americans in Communist China. He explained our request to the Senate Subcommittee to postpone a similar investigation, and expressed the hope that the House Committee would do likewise. He stressed that the timing of such an investigation might be wrong at this moment although it could well be useful later

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on. He felt that we should not dissipate the impact of a possible campaign by letting the story of the outrages come out in driblets. If and when we start a campaign it should be well organized and we should get the benefit of the full impact of the whole story. We understand that Father Rigney is testifying before the Senate Subcommittee next week. This is isolated testimony in connection with the book he has written on his experiences which is to be published in a few weeks. We have not objected to his appearances before the Committee.

We have not yet had a reply from Justice to our request for the survey of the deportability of Chinese prisoners. It is undoubtedly a tedious and delicate project. We are continuing to give I & N.S. the data provided by Wang on the Chinese alleged to be encountering difficulty in returning to Mainland China. I hope Nagoski will have some of the information from I & N. S. soon. Of course it is intended only for our own confidential background illumination.

We are running into a real budgetary and personnel problem in keeping you supplied with officer manpower. Hong Kong feels that its reporting on Communist China is going to suffer through Holdridge's absence. FE/EX feels that it is a regrettable waste of scarce officer manpower to have two good men there with little or nothing to do between the sessions. FE/EX has suggested that I inquire of you whether a deal might not be worked out with the Consulate General in Geneva whereby Osborn's services could be made available to the Consulate General a couple of days a week in return for the loan to you of the services of a Geneva Vice Consul on meeting days. This

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would make it possible for us to release Holdridge fairly soon, and it would give Osborn something to do between meetings. It should also benefit the overworked Geneva staff since they would receive more help than they would be giving. FE/EX thinks that this arrangement, while rather unconventional, should be workable. Please let me have your reaction in your next letter.

Regards, and the best from us all,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosure:

Text of Note received by the British in Peiping.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 577

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☒ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
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VERBATIM TEXT

1956 APR 16 PM 7 00
06960
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1892
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info:

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for April 19 meeting.

1. Go over usual ground once more on implementation Agreed Announcement. Deplore long drawn out Communist flouting September 10 obligation. Observe that absence any developments whatever for 4 months affords clear evidence Communists have willfully ceased any pretense of compliance. State that effect on American public opinion, US Government' estimate of dependability Chinese Communist pledged word and on US assessment of character Chinese Communist motives can only be adverse to progress in reaching further agreements. Place on record that 9 Chinese from US known to have crossed Hong Kong border March 18 and 7 more April 7, making total of at least 130 Chinese who have traveled from US to mainland China by ship via Hong Kong since talks began.

2. You granted full discretion as to introduction reformulation renunciation force draft at this meeting. If tactical situation seems to indicate desirability new move along this line on your part, you should introduce it. If you believe circumstances not propitious this meeting, you may refrain from introducing new draft. If draft not introduced this

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb/ek 4/16/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger- in draft
CA - Mr. Clough

11184

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Classification

APR 16 1956 P.M.

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meeting, you should in your discretion either lay groundwork for introduction at next meeting or continue urge merits last US proposal and give Wang full opportunity propose counter draft. If you do introduce revised US draft you should lay stress on lengths to which we have gone in effort to retain as much as possible Wang's draft both in substance and form. You should point out new location self defense clause in preamble and express your belief Wang can find no reasonable grounds for objection to draft in this form. State you assume reference to right self-defense is as important from Wang's standpoint as from ours. Recall that Wang has already implied he would be agreeable to inclusion reference to general area Taiwan in proper context. We believe new formulation affords context he should be able accept.

3. In order insure there will be no misunderstanding full text reformulation as approved by Department quoted verbatim below:

QUOTE

Second US Revision of Chinese Communist December 1 Counterproposal

1. Ambassador Wang Ping-han, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, agree, without prejudice to the pursuit by each side of its policies by peaceful means or its inherent right of individual or collective self-defense, to announce:

2. The

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2. The People's Republic of China and the United States of American are determined that they should settle disputes between their two countries through peaceful negotiations without resorting to the threat or use of force in the Taiwan area or elsewhere;

3. The two Ambassadors should continue their talks to seek practical and feasible means for the realization of this common desire.

UNQUOTE

Dulles

" DULLES "

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CONFIDENTIAL

file 647

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

APR 24 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RM/R

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DATE: April 16, 1956

SUBJECT: Proposed Investigation by Dodd Subcommittee of Mistreatment of Americans in China

PARTICIPANTS:
Robert C. Hill, Assistant Secretary, H
Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary, FE
Rep. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Connecticut)
Rep. Clement J. Zablocki (D-Wisconsin)
Rep. Lawrence H. Smith (R-Wisconsin)
Rep. John Jarman (D-Oklahoma)
Rep. Robert Byrd (D-West Virginia)
Rep. J. L. Pilcher (D-Georgia)
Ralph N. Clough, Deputy Director, CA

(6)

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FE/P - Mr. Lindbeck - 1
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APR 25 1956

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Mr. Robertson expressed his complete agreement with the objectives of the Subcommittee in desiring to investigate mistreatment of American citizens in Communist China. It was purely a question of tactics and timing that he wished to discuss with them. He reviewed the past negotiations with the Chinese Communists for the release of Americans, beginning in June 1954 pointing out that 52 Americans had been released as a result. However, 13 Americans remained in jail in Communist China and we were still engaged in protracted and tedious negotiations to bring about their release. It was obvious that the Chinese Communists hoped to obtain political concessions in exchange for release of these persons, but we had made no concessions and were determined not to do so. We saw no other way to bring about the release of our citizens than to continue to negotiate. We believed that an investigation by the Subcommittee at this time might be counterproductive and therefore hoped that the Subcommittee would delay its investigation. Furthermore, we considered it highly desirable to employ all available material on mistreatment of Americans in Communist China at the psychological moment when it would have the greatest effect. We had a carefully prepared report on this subject, covering 157 cases of Americans who had been imprisoned as well as other material but we did not intend to release this now. It should be released as part of a carefully planned campaign with a clearly defined objective rather than dissipated little by little in an uncoordinated manner.

Members

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APR 25 1956

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Members of the Subcommittee said that their primary concern was the increasing tendency toward accommodation with Communist China which they had noted both in the US and abroad. They were worried that Communist China might be admitted to the UN. They regarded the proposed Subcommittee investigation as a useful means of reminding the American people of the true nature of the Communist regime in China. The question was raised as to whether there would ever be a time when we would not have some American behind the Iron Curtain for whose release we were negotiating. Members of the Subcommittee emphasized the need for constant repetition of Communist China's misdeeds since people had a tendency to forget. They did, however, express great respect for Mr. Robertson's views and promised to give them most careful consideration. They asked for an estimate as to when the Americans might be released and the investigation carried on without any adverse effects.

Mr. Robertson stated emphatically that he knew of no softening towards the Chinese Communists among responsible officials of this Government or within Congress. He repeated the statements which the President had made to Prime Minister Eden. With respect to the question of timing, he said it was impossible to judge how soon the Communists might move on releasing the prisoners.

The members of the Subcommittee expressed their appreciation for Mr. Robertson's presentation. They indicated that they all shared his strong opposition toward any softening of our policy towards Communist China. Chairman Dodd said that as soon as Mrs. Church and Mr. Jackson returned, in the next day or two, the Subcommittee would meet and decide what action to take concerning the investigation.

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FE:CA:R.C.Clough:ek

579

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~~WPM~~
~~WJS~~
~~L. McPhee~~
CA-WPM

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
APR 24 1956
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Department of State
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☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____
Basis-1-301

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 29

April ~~18~~, 1956

Dear Walter:

I returned to Geneva yesterday evening and appreciated receiving your Letters No. 37 and 38 as well as the guidance for tomorrow's meeting. As far as the new draft is concerned I do not say that I was disappointed as it is largely what I expected and believe it is entirely defensible. I am just very doubtful that agreement can be reached thereon and made my comments in order that all possible points of view would receive consideration. I particularly appreciated your spelling out the rationalization for the draft and it is much help to me in formulating the arguments in its defense. While I entirely see the Department's point of view with regard to the self-defense clause, I frankly continue to have some difficulty in convincing myself of its real importance as an issue. To whatever extent any Chinese Communist statement or renunciation of force in the Taiwan area or elsewhere has value, the question of our exercising the right of self-defense against them does not arise. If they violate the declaration and attack I do not see how even the most unfriendly critic could allege that the United States would still be bound by the declaration and forestalled from exercising its right of individual and collective self-defense. However, I agree that in the context of negotiations as they have developed it is difficult to drop the clause, and I felt that now that we were presenting a new draft it would be our only opportunity of doing so and the possibility should at least be considered. Of course the difficulties that we will face if and when agreement is reached on a renunciation declaration are such that there is much to be said for stretching things out along the present line as long as possible. I

think

Walter F. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

LEGAL ADVISER
APR 24 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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think that the new draft has merit viewed in this light. Of course I do not exclude the possibility of the Chinese Communists realizing this and therefore looking for a way to shift their position and getting a declaration issued, substantially accepting our new draft. However, at the moment, this does not seem likely.

I have carefully studied the second paragraph of the Department's 1892 with a view to determining whether there was any way at tomorrow's meeting I could usefully sound out FURTHER the situation before deciding whether to present my draft. I have just not been able to think of any way this could be done except that I plan to try to get him to speak first, which I expect he will refuse, and I then plan to make an opening statement which will present the draft. I am entirely sure that he fully understood my hint at the last meeting with respect to the possibility of a new draft, and if I am coy about bringing it forward it can only be counterproductive. The only thing I might do would be to restate his positions in a form designed to pave the way for the introduction of my draft and wait for his reaction. However, this has the danger of eliciting responses from him which would make it difficult then to introduce the draft. I have, therefore, decided that if he refuses to speak first (it is actually my turn to speak first tomorrow) I will try to avoid accepting any summary rejection on his part by not getting into too much detailed discussion and urging that he take it home and study it. Anyway, you will know how things have come out before you receive this letter, but I wanted you to know my present thinking.

I have interpreted your titling of the draft as "the second United States revision of Chinese Communists December 1 counter-proposal" as a title that would be used if and when there were a public unilateral release by us of the text. In my opening statement I am therefore, although I find it somewhat awkward, laying the groundwork for that terminology. However, in the piece of paper that I am actually handing him I am sticking to the former form of simply showing the date of the draft and entitling it as previously, "Agreed Announcement of the Ambassadors of the United States of America and the People's Republic of China", and as he has always laid considerable store upon such niceties, reversing the order of the names from that which appears in your 1892 so that my name appears first.

Thanks for the corrected information from Defense on the list of missing military personnel. It is certainly a complicated situation when one gets down to the details and you can be sure that I will be happy as long as they continue to handle it

at Panmunjom

at Panmunjom. We have located the "Prisoner Book" and I am sending it to you by air pouch. Sorry for the delay.

As far as the note from the Chinese Communists to the British on the NNSC is concerned, I have no special light to shed on it from this end. It appears to me to be largely an effort to enlist the interest of Sweden and Switzerland in reducing the NNSC as an additional factor in support of the long-standing Chinese Communist position on a Korean conference. A renewal of this at this time of course also fits in well with the whole Communist Bloc peace strategy, to the extent that they are pursuing that strategy probably inhibits them from taking military action against the offshores.

I am hoping that we will shortly get from INS some of the background data we have asked for on the names given me by Wang, as it will certainly help me in knowing how best to handle the matter better in the future here.

I am very pleased at Holdridge's arrival. I have talked to Frank Gowen with regard to your thought of their loaning me a man one day a week to keep the record of the meetings in exchange for Osborn doing some work for the Consulate. With the GATT meeting here now winding up, Gowen says that he would be able to carry it out and is agreeable to such an arrangement. I am, therefore, suggesting that Holdridge stay through the meeting next week which will give him a good cross section of the situation here to carry back to Hong Kong with him, and the arrangement with the Consulate will then go into effect with the first meeting in May. I very much feel with such an arrangement some way should be found of sending Helenka back here and I hope that this can be done. This would enable Miss King to get away for her home leave and on her way to her next assignment where she is undoubtedly needed, while at the same time entirely filling my needs for a secretary at no more cost to the Department than any other arrangement.

Tell Walter to take good care of himself and that I will do my best to sit on the lid while he takes a rest. Regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

April 19
P.S. Have just returned from meeting which went about as expected. Expect it may be a fairly rough session next time. If they want to keep things going they might present a new draft. Will appreciate all ideas anyone may have.

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649

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Control: 10281

Rec'd: April 19, 1956
10:11 a.m.

Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FE
Info

RMR

SS

G

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1797, April 19, 2 p.m.

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FROM JOHNSON

1. One hour 40 minute meeting this morning after Wang refused my invitation to open, I opened with prepared statement making points contained paragraph 2 Department telegram 1892 and at end presenting second revision December 21 counter-proposal.

2. After 15 minute recess requested by Wang he made "preliminary" remarks characterizing draft as changed in form but content same. Did not feel that it represented any new progress. Made three points:

(A) Their position self-defense clause should be deleted not re-positioned.

(B) Taiwan area reference not in context Foreign Ministers meeting as per October 27 draft.

(C) Present Taiwan area reference confuses international and domestic issues to which they are "persistently opposed". However, will "study draft as a whole" and comment detail next meeting. In order avoid freezing positions I refrained from extensive rebuttal and urged careful study of draft which I felt fully met both points of view.

3. I then made statement on implementation in accordance paragraph 1 Department telegram 1892. He replied along similar lines. In meeting today slight reference our failure account for Chinese prisoners, and asserting announcement covered all nationals both countries and not just Chinese students, he gave me no new names. Kanady medical records being transmitted through Red Cross but records on Bradshaw not available as she obtained medical care on own outside of prison. Charged we using alleged insufficiency information on Yuan Jui'Hsiang as "pretext" to avoid accounting on all 49 his names.

4. Next meeting Thursday April 26.

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5.

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-2- 1797, April 19, 2 p.m. from Geneva

5. Proceeding Prague tomorrow morning, returning Tuesday.

GOWEN

CWD:CRH:7

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APR 19 [illegible]
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48-D

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Action FE

Info RMR SS G

Control: 10512
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4:28 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1799, APRIL 19, 6 P.M.

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAYS MEETING

WANG'S REACTIONS TO OUR SECOND REVISION DRAFT ABOUT AS EXPECTED AND PROBABLY WILL FORECAST LINE HE WILL TAKE AT NEXT MEETING.

IF AT NEXT MEETING HE FLATLY REJECTS OUR REVISION WOULD PROPOSE, IN ADDITION REPEATING AS NECESSARY ARGUMENTS ALREADY MADE, STRESS HIS RESPONSIBILITY OFFER ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD MEET OUR MINIMUM CRITERIA OF: (A) OBVIATING POSSIBILITY DISTORTION DECLARATION INTO RENUNCIATION BY UNITED STATES ITS POSITION RE SELF-DEFENSE AND (B) MAKE EXPLICIT RENUNCIATION OF FORCE APPLICABLE TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE.

WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS.

GOWEN

WDR

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 10513
Rec'd: APRIL 19, 1956
4:25 P.M.

1956 APR 20 AM 7 30

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1800, APRIL 19, 4 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF ~~FOUR~~)

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FROM JOHNSON

1. AFTER WANG FAILED AGREEE MY SUGGESTION HE OPEN MEETING, I OPENED BY READING PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. I HAVE AT OUR RECENT MEETINGS BEEN ATTEMPTING OBTAIN YOUR COOPERATION IN FORMULATING LANGUAGE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH US TO EMBODY MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT IN RENUNCIATION USE OF FORCE TO SETTLE OUR DISPUTES. I HAVE PATIENTLY POINTED OUT IN GREAT DETAIL LACK ANY REAL FOUNDATION YOUR STATED OBJECTIONS TO REVISIONS WHICH I SUGGESTED JANUARY 12 YOUR DRAFT OF DECEMBER 1. I HAVE ALSO POINTED OUT THHAT IF YOU NEVERTHELESS MAINTAINED YOUR OBJECTIONS THOSE REVISIONS, AND IF YOUR GOVERNMENT GENUINELY SHARED DESIRE MY GOVERNMENT FOR MEANINGFUL DECLARATION THIS REGARD, IT NOW CLEARLY OBLIGATION YOUR SIDE MAKE SUGGESTIONS THAT WOULD ASSIST US IN FINDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE. I BEEN EXPECTING YOU WOULD OFFER SUCH SUGGESTIONS AND HAVE REPEATEDLY DECLARED WILLINGNESS LISTEN AND CAREFULLY CONSIDER ANYTHING HELPFUL YOU MIGHT-OFFER THIS REGARD. AT LAST MEETING I PARTICULARLY SOLICITED YOUR COOPERATION IN FINDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE AND ASKED FOR ANY THOUGHTS YOU HAD THAT WOULD HELP IN GIVING FURTHER CONSIDERATION THIS MATTER, YET YOU OFFERED NO SUCH SUGGESTION SIMPLY INSISTING YOU HAD MADE YOUR POSITION CLEAR AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS. BECAUSE THIS INSISTENCE, AND IN SPITE OF DIFFICULTIES OCCASIONED BY YOUR UNWILLINGNESS COOPERATE WITH ME IN SEARCH FOR ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVES, I HAVE CAREFULLY RESTUDIED YOUR STATEMENTS OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS CONCERNING REVISIONS WHICH I SUGGESTED JANUARY 12 REMOVE AMBIGUITIES YOUR DECEMBER 1 COUNTERDRAFT. I HAVE DONE THIS IN FURTHER EFFORT MY PART SEE IF SOME WAY COULD NOT BE FOUND RESUME PROGRESS OUR DISCUSSIONS.

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B. IN CONNECTION MY FIRST AMENDMENT CONCERNING RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE, AS I OFTEN SAID, I ALWAYS ASSUMED YOU CONSIDERED THIS AS IMPORTANT FROM YOUR STANDPOINT AS WE DID FROM OURS.

IN FACT YOU HAVE REPEATEDLY DECLARED HERE AND YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS STATED PUBLICLY THERE NO OBJECTION TO OBJECT IN VIEW YOUR GOVERNMENTS PAST ASSERTIONS THAT VERY RIGHT.

C. IN CONNECTION MY SECOND AMENDMENT MAKING CLEAR DECLARATION CONSIDERED BE APPLICABLE BY BOTH SIDES TO TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE, YOU REPEATEDLY AGREED GRAVEST OUR DISPUTES WAS THAT WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA, AND HAVE SAID ANY DECLARATION INTENT DISCUSS AND SETTLE OUR DISPUTES PEACEFULLY MUST COVER OUR DISPUTE THERE. IN FACT, IF MY RECOLLECTION CORRECT, YOU HAVE SAID FAILURE INCLUDE THAT DISPUTE WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO REQUIRING YOUR GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO THERE AND SURRENDER ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHTS.

D. THUS, AS I UNDERSTAND YOUR POSITION, YOUR OBJECTIONS TO MY JANUARY 12 REVISIONS ARE TO NEITHER THEM AS SUCH BUT TO SOME SPECIAL CONNECTION WHICH YOU SEEM SEE BETWEEN THEM. APPARENTLY YOU SAW IN JUXTAPOSITION THESE TWO AMENDMENTS ATTEMPT TO TRICK YOU INTO SAYING SOMETHING WHICH MIGHT BE INTERPRETED AS RENUNCIATION YOUR POSITION WITH REGARD TO MERITS OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA AND RECOGNITION OF STATUS QUO. I HAVE REPEATEDLY ASSURED YOU THERE WAS NEITHER SUCH INTENTION MY PART NOR WAS LANGUAGE OPEN THAT INTERPRETATION. I HAVE REPEATEDLY TRIED MAKE CLEAR MY ONLY PURPOSE HAS BEEN AND REMAINS TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION THAT WILL MAKE IT UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR BETWEEN OURSELVES AND TO WORLD THAT NEITHER US WILL INITIATE USE OF FORCE IN ATTEMPT ENFORCE OUR VIEWS, AND IN THAT ATMOSPHERE WILL SEEK RESOLUTION OUR DIFFERENCES. THEREFORE, IN FURTHER EFFORT REACH AGREEMENT I HAVE RESTUDIED MY JANUARY 12 REVISION YOUR DECEMBER 1 COUNTERPROPOSAL.

E. IN ORDER COMPLETELY REMOVE ANY POSSIBLE BASIS FOR MIS-UNDERSTANDING WHICH APPARENTLY GAVE RISE YOUR OBJECTIONS, I HAVE ENTIRELY SEPARATED MY AMENDMENTS BY PLACING AMENDMENT SELF-DEFENSE IN PREAMBLE OF DECLARATION. IN ORDER MAKE THIS

POINT EVEN CLEARER I HAVE ALSO INCLUDED SPECIFIC STATEMENT IN PREAMBLE TO EFFECT ENTIRE DECLARATION MADE WITHOUT PREJUDICE PURSUIT BY EACH SIDE ITS POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

F. REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA IS MADE ONLY AT END SECOND PARAGRAPH WHICH OTHERWISE RETAINS EXACT LANGUAGE YOUR DRAFT DECEMBER 1. IN ORDER MEET YOUR POINT VIEW I HAVE ALSO DROPPED TWO MINOR LANGUAGE CHANGES WHICH I HAD PROPOSED FOR THAT PARAGRAPH. DRAFT THUS OTHERWISE CONFORMS EXACTLY LANGUAGE AND FORM YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT. MY SECOND REVISION YOUR DECEMBER 1 COUNTERPROPOSAL THUS READS: (I THEN READ SUBSTANTIVE PORTION 2ND REVISION PER PARAGRAPH 3 DEPTEL 1892).

GOWEN

WDR

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48 D

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Action FE

Info RMR SS G SP C L

Control: 10610
Received: APR 19, 1956
7:59 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1800, APRIL 19, 6 P.M., (SECTION TWO OF FOUR)

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

G. AM CONFIDENT THIS DRAFT ENTIRELY CONFORMS RELEVANT VIEWS BOTH SIDES, WITHOUT PREJUDICING VIEWS OF EITHER SIDE ON MERITS OUR DISPUTES. WOULD HOPE PROMPT AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED THIS DRAFT IN ORDER WE CAN PROCEED THESE TALKS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS TERMS.

2. WANG REQUESTED 15 MINUTE RECESS STUDY DRAFT.

3. FOLLOWING RECESS, WANG SAID HE HAD JUST STUDIED DRAFT I GAVE HIM THIS MORNING, COULD ONLY SAY HE DISAPPOINTED WITH IT. JUST AS I HAD SAID THIS MORNING, WE HAD DISCUSSED SUBJECT MAKING JOINT DECLARATION FOR LONG TIME ALREADY, HE VERY DISATISFIED WE SO FAR UNABLE ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT FOR DRAFT PROPOSED DECLARATION. IN MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING I HAD MADE REMARK NECESSARY BOTH SIDES PUSH FORWARD DISCUSS DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN US WITH SPIRIT COOPERATION, BUT DRAFT SUBMITTED THIS MORNING DID NOT SEEM TO HIM OFFER ANY NEW PROGRESS ON SUBJECT. AS I HAD STATED, HITHERTO CENTRAL POINT OF DISPUTE BETWEEN US CONCERNED WITH US CLAIM RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE IN TAIWAN AREA. IN THIS MORNING'S DRAFT I HAD MADE CHANGE IN LOCATION CLAUSE CONCERNING SO-CALLED SELF-DEFENSE RIGHT, BUT AS STATED IN CHINESE PROVERB, ALTHOUGH FORM CHANGED CONTENT STILL ALL THE SAME. THEREFORE, IT SEEMED TO HIM ALL MY DRAFTS---THOSE OF NOVEMBER 10, JANUARY 12, AND THIS MORNING--- WERE IDENTICAL IN SUBSTANCE.

4. WANT SAID HE THEN NOTED REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA IN NEW DRAFT NOT IN CONTEXT FONMIN MEETING AS CONTAINED HIS OCT 27 DRAFT. SUCH REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA AS I HAD MADE THIS MORNING'S DRAFT HAD CAUSED THEIR PERSISTENT OPPOSITION BECAUSE SUCH REFERENCE WOULD MIX UP INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES WITH AN INTERNAL ISSUE. THEY HAD BEEN ASSERTING THEIR OPPOSITION SUCH A REFERENCE TO TAIWAN AREA IN SAME WAY AS THEY HAD BEEN OPPOSED

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SO-CALLED SELF-DEFENSE RIGHT IN OUR DRAFTS. FURTHERMORE IT NECESSARY GIVE FURTHER STUDY DRAFTS WORDING. OF COURSE, HE WOULD GIVE FURTHER STUDY THIS DRAFT, RESERVE FURTHER COMMENT FOR NEXT MEETING.

5. I SAID I HAD JUST COUPLE SMALL COMMENTS ON HIS REFERENCE TO OTHER MINOR CHANGES IN DRAFT. I HAD POINTED OUT IN STATEMENT THERE WERE NO OTHER MINOR CHANGES AND THAT MY PREVIOUS SUGGESTION CHANGES HAD BEEN DELETED AND I HAD GONE BACK PRECISELY TO HIS DEC 1 DRAFT. AS FAR AS ENGLISH TEXT CONCERNED, IT OTHERWISE FOLLOWED EXACTLY ENGLISH TEXT HE HAD GIVEN DEC 1. HAD HE NOTED ANY CHANGES?

6. WANG SAID HE WOULD GIVE FURTHER STUDY TO WHOLE THING.

7. I SAID THAT AS I HAD POINTED OUT MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING, I FELT THIS DRAFT DID ANSWER OBJECTIONS PREVIOUSLY RAISED, DID GIVE US TEXT UPON WHICH WE COULD BOTH AGREE. IT WAS OFFERED IN THAT SPIRIT AND I HOPED WOULD BE STUDIED IN THAT SPIRIT. I LOOKED FORWARD TO HIS REMARKS NEXT MEETING, BECAUSE I THOUGHT IF HE DID STUDY DRAFT IN SAME SPIRIT AS AUTHORS HE WOULD FIND IT AS SOMETHING MEETING POSITION BOTH SIDES. NOTHING MORE ON THAT THIS MORNING AND UNLESS HE HAD MORE I HAD SOMETHING ELSE I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT.

8. WANG SAID HE WOULD GIVE FURTHER STUDY AND MAKE FURTHER COMMENT NEXT MEETING. HOWEVER, AS HE HAD POINTED OUT THIS MORNING, COULD NOT AGREE WITH MY STATEMENT PRESENT DRAFT BEING OFFERED IN SPIRIT OF COOPERATION IN DISCUSSION, BECAUSE THEY HAD ASSERTED OPPOSITION INCLUSION SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE FROM VERY BEGINNING. THEY BELIEVED SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE SHOULD BE DELETED ALTOGETHER FROM DRAFT AND NOT RE-POSITIONED. NEVERTHELESS WOULD MAKE FURTHER COMMENT NEXT MEETING. HE WOULD LISTEN ANYTHING ELSE I HAD TO SAY ON OTHER MATTERS.

9. I SAID IT NOW FOUR MONTHS SINCE ANY DEVELOPMENT WHATSO-EVER WITH REGARD RETURN TO US OF AMERICANS SUBJECT OUR SEPT 10 ANNOUNCEMENT. THERE NO LONGER SEEMED TO BE EVEN A PRETENSE BY THEIR AUTHORITIES CARRY OUT THAT AGREEMENT. I HAD MANY TIMES SPOKEN HERE IN ALL SERIOUSNESS AND EARNESTNESS OF EFFECT

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1-6

48-D INCOMING TELEGRAM CONFIDENTIAL CONTROL: 10610
CORRECTION ISSUED: 4/20/56 1 p.m.

Actn: FE

-5- 1800, April 19, 6 p.m., from Geneva (Section 2 of 4), CORRECTED PAGE THREE.

Info: RMR SS G SP C L

this having on public opinion in my country and on my government's estimate of pledged word his government. I had pointed out before and wished again point out adverse effects their failure permit these Americans expeditiously return is having and effect it will continue have in future discussions here find solutions to problems between our two countries. Certainly release of only six individuals in these 7 long months that have passed since September 10 cannot be interpreted as permitting these people expeditiously to return to own country. This still continued contrast very much with situation concerning Chinese in US, who returning steadily to his country. According our best information, nine Chinese from US were known to have crossed border into his country March 16, seven more April 7, making total at least 130 definitely known to have returned since our talks began. How many more might have returned by other routes I had of course no way of knowing. However, what was undisputable was that Chinese were allowed to return and were returning whenever they wished to do so. For any those who had not returned, had been entirely their personal decision. I hoped in interest our talks here, with their potentialities for future relations between our two countries his authorities would correct the bad situation existing in spite our announcement September 10.

GOWEN

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Action Assigned to ____
Action Taken ____

Date of Action ____
Action Office Symbol ____
Name of Officer ____
Direction to DC/R ____

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Action Taken

CORRECTION ISSUED
4/20/56, 10 p.m.

48-D

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Control: 10641
Rec'd: APRIL 19, 1956
8:28 PM

Action
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Info
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FROM: GENEVA - CORRECTED PAGE 1

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1800, APRIL 19, 6 PM (SECTION THREE OF FOUR)

Action Office Symbol 1/6

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

10. WANG SAID SITUATION RESPECTING RETURN NATIONALS EACH COUNTRY DIRECTLY RELATED TO IMPROVEMENT OUR RELATIONS. I HAD STATED THAT SINCE TALKS BEGAN 130 CHINESE HAD RETURNED TO HIS COUNTRY. BEARING IN MIND EXISTENCE SOME 5,000 CHINESE STUDENTS IN US, WHAT PROPORTION WOULD THE 130 CHINESE WHO HAVE RETURNED MAKE TO THIS INTEGRAL NUMBER?

MIGHT POINT OUT, HOWEVER, SINCE TALKS BEGAN NUMBER AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA HAVING RETURNED MY COUNTRY EXCEEDS TWO-THIRDS TOTAL NUMBER. FROM THESE TWO PROPORTIONS IT IS QUITE CLEAR AS TO WHETHER MORE AMERICANS OR MORE CHINESE HAVE RETURNED TO THEIR COUNTRIES SINCE TALKS BEGAN. AS SUCH, FROM POINT OF VIEW SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT BETWEEN US SITUATION CONCERNING NATIONALS NOT SATISFACTORY HIS SIDE. HAD ALREADY CALLED MY ATTENTION NAMES 49 CHINESE IN US, HOWEVER, I HAD NOT YET GIVEN ACCOUNTINF FOR ANY OF THEM. AT LAST MEETING I HAD REMARKED INFORMATION HE GAVE ME CONCERNING CASE YUAN JUI-HSIANG NOT SUFFICIENT FIND OUT ABOUT HIM AND IDENTIFY HIM. I SEEMED TO HAVE FOUND SOME PRETEXT BY WHICH I WAS REFUSING MAKE INQUIRY AND GIVE ACCOUNTING OF ALL 49 CHINESE WHO HAVE BEEN PREVENTED RETURNING.

THEY HAD PROVIDED SUCH INFORMATION AS NAME, PROFESSION, AND CIRCUMSTANCES OBSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED. NO ONE COULD EVER BELIEVE COUNTRY AS LARGE AS US HAVING SUCH HUGE AND EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATING SETUP AS FBI CANNOT FIND AND IDENTIFY MR. YUAN. THEREFORE, HOPED MY AUTHORITIES WOULD PROMPTLY CORRECT TREATMENT AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINESE IN US WHOSE RETURN BEING PREVENTED, AND GIVE CLEAR ACCOUNTING ALL THESE PERSONS. MY AUTHORITIES MUST NOT ONLY KEEP AN EYE ON AMERICAN OFFENDERS IN CHINA WHO HAVE BEEN SENTENCED ACCORDING TO LAW AND WHO NOW SERVING PRISON SENTENCES IN CHINA, WHILE ALTOGETHER IGNORING FACT CHINESE IN US STILL BEING PREVENTED FROM RETURNING. SUCH AN ATTITUDE THIS PROBLEM ENTIRELY NOT CONDUCIVE PROGRESS OUR DISCUSSIONS. MY AUTHORITIES SO FAR HAD NOT GIVEN SLIGHTEST

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ACCOUNTING CHINESE IN US PRISONS.

11. WANG SAID AS REGARDS MEDICAL RECORDS MR. KANADY AND MRS. BRADSHAW, HE HAD TOLD ME HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD MAKE INQUIRY ABOUT AVAILABILITY THEIR MEDICAL RECORDS. NOW INFORMED ME CHINESE RED CROSS HAD INVESTIGATED. MEDICAL RECORDS KANADY AVAILABLE AND WILL BE FORWARDED ARC THROUGH CHINESE RED CROSS. HOWEVER, MRS. BRADSHAW HAD BEEN RECEIVING MEDICAL CARE ON OWN OUTSIDE PRISON; THEREFORE, HIS AUTHORITIES DID NOT HAVE MEDICAL RECORD.

12. I AID HE HA AGAIN SPOKEN THIS ORNING OF PROPORTION BETWEEN TOTAL NUMBER CHINESE STUDENTS IN US AND NUMBER WHO HAVE RETURNED TO THEIR COUNTRY, AND RELATED THIS TO PROPORTION OF NUMBER AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY. WHO HAD RETURNED. HE HAD RELATED THAT TO OUR SEPT 10 ANNOUNCEMENT AND STATED SITUATION NOT SATISFACTORY HIS GOVERNMENT. I HAD PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT THIS TYPE PROPORTIONING ENTIRELY FALSE. OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DID NOT SAY THAT IF TWO-THIRDS OF AMERICANS IN CHINA RETURNED TO US, US THEN WILL FORCE TWO-THIRDS OF CHINESE IN AMERICA RETURN HIS COUNTRY. IT DID SAY ALL THOSE WHO DESIRE RETURN WILL BE PERMITTED DO SO. IT DOES NOT SAY ONE-HALF, TWO-THIRDS,OR NINE-TENTHS OF THOSE WHO DESIRE RETURN, IT SAYS ALL WHO DESIRE RETURN. SAXS NOT ONLY THEY BE PERMITTED RETURN, BUT RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY AS OF SEPT 10 LAST YEAR. TEST OF PERFORMANCE THEREFORE WHETHER IN FACT IN EACH COUNTRY ALL WHO DESIRE RETURN PERMITTED DO SO AND NO OBSTRUCTION OFFERED THEIR RETURN. WE BOTH KNEW THAT OF AMERICANS WE TALKING ABOUT BEFORE AND AT TIME OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, 13 STILL NOT RETURNED. THEY INDISPUTABLY PEOPLE WHO DESIRE RETURN. WE ALSO KNEW PRIOR TO AND AT TIME ISSUANCE OUR ANNOUNCEMENT, HIS INTEREST WAS WITH RESPECT CHINESE STUDENTS IN US. WE BOTH KNEW THAT UP TO TIME TALKS BEGAN SOME OF THOSE--VERY SMALL NUMBER -- WERE FORBIDDEN BY MY GOVERNMENT RETURN HIS COUNTRY. WE ALSO KNEW THAT AT TIME TALKS BEGAN, MEASURES AGAINST THESE STUDENTS ENTIRELY WITHDRAWN, SO THAT ANY OF THEM WHO DESIRE RETURN CAN. IN SPITE ALL STATEMENTS MADE HERE AND MADE PUBLICLY BY HIS GOVERNMENT, WE BOTH KNEW THAT THIRD POWER ARRANGEMENTS, ESTABLISHED AT HIS REQUEST, CONFIRM SITUATION. THUS FAR IN

THE MORE THAN 7 MONTHS PASSED THERE HAS NOT BEEN BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION A SINGLE CASE IN WHICH US HAS NOT FULLY CARRIED OUT TERMS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. NO AMOUNT OF WORDS OR CHARGES CAN OBSCURE THESE FACTS .

GOWEN

AB

(#) OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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Control: 10648
Rec'd: APRIL 19, 1956
8:57 P.M.

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

1/6

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1800, APRIL 19, 6 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF FOUR)

13. WANG SAID REFERENCES HE HAD MADE TO PROPORTION PEOPLE RETURNING MADE ONLY BECAUSE IN MY EARLIER STATEMENT I HAD DWELT ON NUMBER RETURNEES. OF COURSE, WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR US MAKE REFERENCES THESE PROPORTIONS IF CHINESE IN AMERICA WERE IN FACT NOT BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM RETURNING. HOWEVER, HE HAD REPEATEDLY NOTED THAT CHINESE IN US HAD BEEN SUBJECTED ALL SORTS OBSTRUCTIONS AND THIS SITUATION NOT CHANGED EVEN AFTER OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT LAST SEPTEMBER. THEREFORE, THESE PROPORTIONS HELPED EXPLAIN AND DEMONSTRATE PERFORMANCE OUR RESPECTIVE SIDES REGARDING RETURN OUR NATIONALS AND CARRYING OUT OF AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH AT BEGINNING OUR DISCUSSIONS THEY MADE REFERENCES CHINESE STUDENTS IN US, HOWEVER AGREEMENT BETWEEN US CONCERNED NATIONALS OF BOTH SIDES, AND STUDENTS ONLY A PORTION OF NATIONALS WHO WERE SUBJECT TO AGREEMENT. THOSE 49 WHOSE NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME WERE PERSONS WHO DESIRE RETURN BUT WHO HAVE BEEN UNABLE DO SO. I HAD MADE REPEATED REFERENCES TO 13 AMERICAN OFFENDERS SERVING PRISON SENTENCES IN CHINA BUT HAD NEVER GIVEN REPLY AS TO HOW MANY CHINESE ACTUALLY IN PRISON IN US. HE STILL AWAITED REPLY FROM ME THIS SUBJECT.

14. I SAID I CITED NUMBER ON CHINESE KNOWN RETURNING HIS COUNTRY FROM US TO SHOW THEY ARE STEADILY RETURNING AND AS EVIDENCE NO OBSTRUCTIONS BEING OFFERED THEIR RETURN. IF IN FACT THERE WERE OBSTRUCTIONS OFFERED CHINESE LIVING IN US, THEN THESE PEOPLE WOULD NOT STEADILY BE LEAVING. AS I HAD POINTED OUT, PROPORTIONS THOSE RETURNED TO THOSE IN EITHER COUNTRY HAS NO RELATION WHATSOEVER TO CARRYING OUT OUR AGREEMENT. QUESTION IS ONE OF FACT--WHETHER THOSE DESIRING RETURN ARE BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM DOING SO. HE HAD AGAIN SAID CHINESE IN US BEING SUBJECTED TO "ALL SORTS" OF OBSTRUCTIONS. THERE HAD NOT BEEN SLIGHTEST EVIDENCE HERE ANY KIND OF OBSTRUCTIONS, NOR HAD THIRD POWER EVER PRESENTED ANY EVIDENCE OF OBSTRUCTIONS.

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THERE HAD BEEN NO EVIDENCE ANY OBSTRUCTIONS WHATSOEVER OR OF STUDENT OR ANYONE ELSE BEING PREVENTED FROM RETURNING. THOSE WERE FACTS NOT ALLEGATIONS.

15. WANG SAID THEY HAD CALLED MY ATTENTION CASES 49 PEOPLE WHO HAD NOT RETURNED AND SUCH WAS PRECISELY EVIDENCE OF OBSTRUCTIONS. IF, HOWEVER, AFTER I MADE AN INVESTIGATION I COULD SAY POOR PEOPLE WERE FREE TO RETURN HE WOULD OF COURSE WELCOME SUCH A STATEMENT. WOULD LIKE REMIND ME AGREEMENT CALLS FOR ALL NATIONALS, AND NOT JUST OF NATIONALS ONLY FACTS COULD MAKE A REASONABLE REPLY THIS REGARD.

16. I SAID THAT IF HE HAD NOTHING ELSE I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST NEXT THURSDAY AS DATE OUR NEXT MEETING. WANG AGREED.

GOWEN

WDR

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 4/15

April 20, 1956

Letter No. 39

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Dear Alex:

There is not much to pass on to you this time. I am enclosing a copy of Defense's instruction to the MAC on the missing servicemen. This instruction gives the Defense analysis of the shortcomings in the Communist so-called accounting of March 1. This was drafted about three weeks ago in Defense and has just been cleared.

Your prediction as to the likely reaction of Wang to our second revision of the renunciation of force draft was accurate. I should be surprised if his considered reaction at the next meeting is any different from his off the cuff response at the meeting yesterday. However he will be somewhat more on the defensive following this initiative of ours. You will be able to press him very hard to come up with some revision of his own which would take into account our minimum requirements. We have just received your 1799 and will have some comments on Monday or Tuesday.

We are about ready to mail copies of the Agreed Announcement to the individuals named by Wang whose addresses we have been able to find. We have decided to send out a mere one sentence transmitting letter. It will be in mimeograph form on State Department letterhead but without signature. It will be a circular and the names and addresses will appear only on the envelope. In this way we hope to avoid causing any particular

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador now at Geneva

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Lot 72 D 415

SECRET

uneasiness on the part of the recipient. The letters will be sent by registered mail and the Indian Embassy will be informed. However, we will not give the addresses to the Indian Embassy. At this stage we of course want nothing said about this project to anyone. A copy of the proposed form letter is enclosed along with the printed copy of the Agreed Announcement which we are using. This is the same printed form which was placed on Post Office Bulletin Boards all over the country. You will note it mentions the Indian Embassy in Washington and gives the address.

We are in rather a bad situation with the COCOM and CHINCOM countries because of the delay in the formulation of a U. S. position on the proposed relaxation of the trade controls. We are between the frying pan and the fire on this because of strong congressional sentiment against any concessions at this time. The Foreign Aid Bill may be jeopardized if any concessions are made. Yet the British, the Japanese and the French feel compelled to move rapidly and are urging an early CG meeting. I fear the Chinese Communists are well aware of the awkward situation that has developed. They apparently recognize that they do not need to make any move in the Geneva talks or elsewhere. So I do not anticipate that you will be troubled with the trade issue in your talks.

We are doing a brief talking paper on the Geneva talks for the Secretary for possible use at this forthcoming NATO meeting. We are not going very deeply into the subject in the talking paper. We will send you a copy even though it is pretty cut and dried.

I was glad to get your letters No. 27 and 28 of April 8. I

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sympathize with your position on a number two adviser and hope we can take care of your needs. If you feel strongly that the number two man must have a knowledge of Chinese, the suggestion of an arrangement with the CONGEN at Geneva will not work out. For the present any way we can keep Holdridge there.

We were very sorry to hear of Pat's illness. I hope she is fully recovered now and that better fortune will be yours. Regards and all the best.

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosure:

1. Telegram to CINCUNC Tokyo DA 900776
2. Proposed letter to individuals named by Wang with copy of Agreed Announcement.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 584

INDICA [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

10682 652

1956 APR 24 PM 1 03

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1912

Origin

Info:

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for April 26 meeting.

1. You should continue to press Wang to accept our latest revision of renunciation of force declaration. Record our conviction that it meets every objection raised by Wang which has any plausibility. It fulfills every essential requirement of the situation for each side. It is cast in appropriate terms. It represents serious attempt on US part to arrive at a formulation which would take into account the views of Wang's side concerning form as well as substance. You should strike the recurrent note that we have done our utmost to produce a draft that both sides can accept unqualifiedly and that Communists should accept it, if they are really interested in arriving at solution. We feel that the essential requirements of both sides have been thoroughly aired and that this formulation is the best solution which can be arrived at.

2. We differ from the line of reasoning advanced in your 1799 only in that we would have you urge the merits of our latest revision more insistently and put less emphasis on a challenge or an invitation to Wang to produce a new alternative of his own, if he does not like ours. While

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611.93/4-2456 to CS/W

11187

DC/T
Cat. 55

Drafted by:
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb
FE:CA:RHClough

4/24/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

L - Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)

FE- Mr. Sebald (Cleared in draft)

S/S-CR

APR 24 1956 P.M.

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we of course must remain prepared to consider any new draft which Wang might table, we do not wish to give the impression that we expect him to reject our new draft. Emphasis should be on our firm conviction that our draft is the best that can be done to meet the valid points of each side, rather than on expectation that Wang will now produce revision of his own. We are in better position with Wang rejecting our reasonable draft, than with US rejecting new Chinese Communist draft that is unacceptable, but capable of being misunderstood and misinterpreted.

3. Theme which you should enunciate repeatedly at this meeting is that any conceivable objection to our draft can only be based on unwillingness to accept fully principle of non-resort to force. If Chinese Communists are genuinely willing to make complete renunciation of force without mental reservation or purpose of evasion they can raise no valid objection to this draft. If they have not made this decision then no formulation will achieve the objective. Indispensable requirement is that Chinese Communists make unqualified resolve to give up use of force in pursuit of their objectives.

4. Your statement on detained Americans should follow established lines, but we would suggest a heightened note of insistence in your presentation. You may mention growing sense of outrage in both Houses of US Congress at continued Chinese Communist maltreatment of American citizens and premeditated and malicious failure of Chinese Communists to keep their pledge of September 10.

5. Reject emphatically Wang's allegations that Chinese being obstructed from leaving US. Steady flow of Chinese to China mainland and fact that

Indian

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Indian Embassy has not cited single case of Chinese claiming obstruction is incontrovertible evidence. Wang's assertions that Chinese unable communicate with Indian Embassy patently untrue. Embassy has announced publicly it has received inquiries from Chinese and it has paid transportation for number of Chinese returning to mainland China. If Peiping had been informed by individuals in US that their departure being obstructed ~~/~~ this would mean Peiping was in communication with individuals, directly or indirectly, and could advise them to communicate with Indians. Absence of complaints confirms obvious fact that no obstruction exists, either in communication facilities or in departure.

6. FYI ONLY. Department mailing by registered letter copies of Agreed Announcement to all Chinese named by Wang whose addresses have been ascertained.

Dulles
(W.P. Mack)

11189

SECRET
Classification

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 585

Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☒ CHARGE TO

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10918
1956 APR 24 PM 6 51
DC/T

SENT TO: Amembassy NEW DELHI PRIORITY 2617

611.93/790.11/4-2556

Origin

Info:

Your 2301.

Authorization ~~to~~ extend US official invitation to Chinese Communist delegation or accept official invitation from Chinese Communists can not repeat not be granted. Apart from diplomatic impropriety, such action would be widely misconstrued with consequences harmful ~~xx~~ our interests. No reason why US delegation should be apologetic or evasive about avoidance host-guest relationship with Chinese Communists. This is in accordance with standard protocol practice where recognition has not been granted. No explanation required other than fact of absence diplomatic relations.

US delegation will of course encounter Chinese Communists at functions given by Nepalese Government and other delegations. This need cause no concern.

Dist. Desired (Offices Only)

Dulles (WB)
"DULLES"

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611.93/4-2556 CS/W

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek 4/24/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WB William J. Sebald

Clearances: Protocol - Mr. Simmons; NEA - Mr. Allen; SOA

APR 24 1956 P.M.

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Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
APR 24 1956
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 30

April 25, 1956

Dear Walter:

I received your letter No. 39 when I returned yesterday evening and this morning the guidance for tomorrow's meeting came in. I greatly appreciate the many thoughts incorporated into the guidance which are of great help to me in formulating my presentation which I will have to play entirely by ear tomorrow. I realized after I had sent my 1799 that I may well have erroneously given the impression that I did not intend to vigorously push our draft, as I had not made it clear the last paragraph referred only to a contingent position. Therefore, I think that the comments in paragraph 2 of your 1912 are very well taken and are actually entirely in accordance with my on intent.

Thanks very much for the Defense instructions to MAC on the missing servicemen. I was particularly happy to see that MAC would be asked to refer their proposed statement to Washington which will give you a chance to frame it in more effective terms and keep it consistent with what has been done here.

I can well see the difficulty we are in with regard to the COCOM and CHICOM position, and entirely agree the Chinese Communists will probably realize the situation. I have not seen anything recently in the press on the progress of the Foreign Aid Bill and wonder what the outlook actually is.

With respect to Holdridge, in my letter No. 29 which you will now have received, I said that I had been able to work out an arrangement with Gowen for the loan of a reporting officer from the Consulate General and was therefore willing to release Holdridge. He is planning to leave here on Friday for Hong Kong. I put the necessity of having a second officer to keep the record in the essential category, and a knowledge

of Chinese

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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of Chinese on his part in the desirable category. The arrangement which I suggested with regard to Stanley not having worked out, I find it hard to justify keeping Holdridge sitting here from week to week with nothing really substantive to do between meetings and, therefore, acquiesced to his departure and the arrangement with the Consulate General. It is not the best arrangement from my standpoint, but I can get along. In this connection, it seems to me that the Department ought really to be doing something about training a Chinese interpreter. As you well know, just a knowledge of the language, no matter how good, is not enough. I do not know what we would do if Ekvall were not available, and looking to the future we certainly cannot depend on his always being available. In any event, it is analogous for us as the Department of State to have to depend on Defense in this regard. Good as he is with the language, I know that Stanley felt he would not be up to doing the type of interpreting required in these meetings. However, I should think that he or someone with comparable facility in the language could with intensive training become qualified in this field. Of course, it is not too attractive a field for an FSO but it seems to me that it is a problem that the Department will have to resolve.

Incidentally, I noted in Prague just before I left that the Czech May Day slogans which have just come out this year dropped any mention of support for Chinese Communist liberation of Formosa. I think that this would be particularly significant if the same pattern is followed elsewhere in the Soviet Bloc and suggest that it would be of interest to have DRF make a check into it.

We have received Part II of the White Paper on prisoners, giving a summary of the experiences of individual Americans. Although my comments were not asked for I cannot refrain from saying that it by no means seems to me to be up to the standard of the White Paper itself. To me at least, it simply does not make as effective and convincing a case as the facts justify. My own feeling is that this appendix will be most effective on supporting the White Paper if it sticks to a plain, cold recital of facts avoiding color words and simply letting the facts speak for themselves. I also feel that there is simply too much carelessly and poorly written English in it to be issued as a public document by the Department.

Just as a few examples of what I have in mind: the last paragraph on page 2 under Bersohn, the last sentence beginning

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beginning at the bottom of the page seems to me to be open to misinterpretation by non-Americans and simply not as effective as quoting some statement of Bersohn's following his return. On page 7 under Buol, the statement is made that, "in August 1951 he was removed to a private home and placed in confinement alone with a Communist-provided companion". In the first place, as a matter of English, if he had a companion he was not alone. However, the use of the word "companion" in the sentence without any explanation does not, it seems to me, make any point. It is only when one gets to the end of the section that it is stated that his "companion" was subjecting him to propaganda. On page 8 under Cline, the statement is made that "according to medical reports" he died from being denied needed medicine. The question immediately arises as to whose medical reports? If they are independent reports, we certainly should say so. On page 9 under Dillon, the statement is made "he kept the document until March 27, 1951 when he was searched....." and at the bottom of the section it states his expulsion from China began March 25, 1951. On page 12 under Ford, it seems to me that the logical place for the last sentence is up above following the detailing of his torture. On page 14 under Giffin, the first sentence is a masterpiece of confused writing. As a detail, it also seems to me that where American-sounding names of non-Americans are mentioned, their nationality should be specified. Otherwise, the question immediately arises as to why their accounts are not included in this compilation. On page 17 under Greene, the statement is made, not even in quotes, "his judge decided that since he was only a small cog in the American spy wheel...". Standing the way it does this can certainly be easily distorted and twisted into an admission by us that he was a "cog in the American spy wheel". On page 20 under Kanady, a sentence reads, "after four and a half years of imprisonment he was deported from China in a state of shocking physical and mental damage". This is just poor writing. On page 39 under Rigney, it seems to me that a sentence such as "any visible manifestations of religious devotion were promptly suppressed by cellmates with whom he was undergoing 're-education'", is entirely lacking in "punch". I do not know what the actual facts were but a straightforward statement such as "when he kneeled to pray he was cuffed and spat on by his cellmates", would be much more effective. It seems to me the next following sentence would be much clearer simply stated as "although his treatment subsequently improved, at the time of his release he still weighed only 100 pounds, compared with 180 pounds at the time he entered prison". Also, it seems to me to be much more effective to relate the nine times he "confessed" directly to the account of the torture he underwent. For example, to say that "during one period of interrogation he was denied sleep for 11 successive days and nights" is not very effective stated in that way

 and

and standing by itself. It would be much more effective to say that he was interrogated without any respite for 11 days and nights and that each time he collapsed from fatigue he was beaten into wakefulness until, utterly physically and mentally broken, he signed a "confession". It also seems to me absurd to end the Rigney story with the statement that he became a "model worker in the production of match boxes". The whole account, as many of the other accounts, shifts back and forth between chronological and subject approach in a very confusing manner. Certainly in reading it one is not left with any clear picture of exactly what happened and, as told, the story simply does not have the impact the facts justify. I feel that this is a common fault of most of the accounts.

I have viewed this from the standpoint of our foreign audiences in particular who are the ones that need convincing. I feel that for this purpose the stories can be told much more effectively than they have been. It seems to me that by far the most effective telling would be to have someone simply take the facts as they are known to us and set them down in chronological order in short, simple and factual sentences. I have gratuitiously given my opinion very bluntly and without any knowledge of whose feelings may be involved. However, I am sure that is what you would want and will treat whatever I have said accordingly. I urge that you have someone else sit down with the basic material to see whether something better cannot be produced.

I wonder whether consideration has also been given to the possible reactions of some of the individuals involved where their experiences have been obtained from private interviews and have not thus far been published. I raise the question with respect to the exact content of what ~~he~~ is said with respect to them in this publication as well as with respect to giving any detailed account of their experiences. I assume this has been considered, and only mention it to make sure it is not overlooked, as the Communists would be able to make much of even a single adverse reaction which became public or a public denial of a fact by an individual concerned.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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38-B

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Action Assigned to NOIR
Rec'd: APRIL 26, 1956
Action Taken ~~10:07 A.M.~~

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1818, APRIL 26, 3 P.M.

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

1. ONE HOUR 45 MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. WANG OPENED WITH A BARE AND FLAT COMPLETE REJECTION APRIL 19 DRAFT. GAVE NO SIGN WHATEVER ANY WILLINGNESS COMPROMISE LANGUAGE NOR OF INTENT OFFER ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION.

2. MADE FOLLOWING POINTS IN PRESENTATION:

(A) REQUIRES PRC RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA AND GRC TREATY;

(B) IF PEACEFUL PURSUIT POLICY BY BOTH SIDES TO BE COUNTENANCED, INCLUDING "US POLICY OCCUPATION TAIWAN" WHAT PURPOSE SERVED BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS?

(C) MIXES INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE AND DOMESTIC MATTER; AND

(D) FAILURE COUPLE TAIWAN WITH FMC.

3. IN REBUTTAL I MADE POINTS CONTAINED PARAS 1 AND 3 DEPTEL 1912, AVOIDING ANY INVITATION TO WANG TO PRODUCE NEW ALTERNATIVE. AT CLOSE OF CONSIDERABLE GIVE AND TAKE IN REPLY HIS STATEMENT OUR DRAFT HAD NOT MET THEIR OBJECTIONS I STATED THEIR OBJECTIONS APPEARED TO HAVE TWO ASPECTS. FIRST WAS WHETHER DRAFT PREJUDICED THEIR POSITION AND SECOND WHETHE DECLARATION WAS TO CONSTITUTE UNQUALIFIED RENUNCIATION OF FORCE ALL OUR DISPUTES INCLUDING DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. SATISFIED MY DRAFT FULLY MET ALL OBJECTIONS BASED ON FIRST

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ASPECT. HOWEVER; WITH REGARD SECOND ASPECT, IF PRC PURPOSE IS TO RETAIN ABILITY USE THREAT INITIATE FORCE TAIWAN AREA I AGREED DRAFT DOES NOT MEET PRC POSITION AND US NEVER WOULD MEET THAT POSITION. TO DO SO WOULD BE COMPLETE PERVERSION OF WHOLE PURPOSE OF DECLARATION. WANG MADE NO DIRECT REPLY.

4. I MADE VERY STRONG STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION ALONG LINES PARA 4 DEPTEL 1912. WANG REPLIED ALONG USUAL LINES STRESSING "GROWING DISSATISFACTION CHINESE PEOPLE" WITH US IMPLEMENTATION AND DURING THE EXCHANGE, IN WHICH I MADE POINTS CONTAINED PARA 3 DEPTEL 1912 STRESSING INDIAN EMBASSY HAS NOT BROUGHT OUR ATTENTION SINGLE CASE OBSTRUCTION HE CHALLENGED ME FORMALLY TO STATE THAT "NOT SINGLE CHINESE NOW IMPRISONED IN US".

5. AGREED WANG'S PROPOSAL NEXT MEETING SATURDAY MAY 5. DEPARTING FOR PRAGUE FRIDAY MORNING.

GOWEN

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[illegible]

1956 APR 26 PM 12 22

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Control: 15501
Rec'd: APRIL 28, 1956
12:18 PM

Action Assigned to COLD
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DE/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1825, APRIL 26, 6 PM

COMMENTS ON TODAYS MEETING.

WOULD CHARACTERIZE WANGS PRESENTATION TODAY AS TENDING MORE TOWARD UNWILLINGNESS UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES (EVEN INCLUDING AGREEMENT OUR PART TO FMC) UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCE FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA, THAT IS, ALSO VIS-A-VIS GRC. HOWEVER, ONE STATEMENT (PARA 10 MYTEL 1823) COULD POSSIBLY BE INTERPRETED AS REAFFIRMATION OF POSITION TOWARD WHICH HE SOMETIMES IN PAST APPEARED TO BE TENDING, THAT IS, WILLINGNESS AGREE RENUNCIATION FORCE SPECIFICALLY APPLICABLE TAIWAN AREA IF ASSURANCES FMC ALSO INCLUDED. OF COURSE, EITHER POSITION IS FAR REMOVED FROM OURS.

ALTHOUGH I DO NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY HIS PRESENTING NEW DRAFT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY FOR NEXT MEETING. I SEE NO CHOICE FOR NEXT MEETING EXCEPT TO REITERATE OUR POSITION AND SHARPLY ATTACK HIS MAKING CLEAR THAT IF THERE IS TO BE NEW MOVE IT WILL NOT COME FROM US. ONLY IF IN CONTEXT OF MEETING IT CLEARLY APPEARED USEFUL WOULD I IMPLY ANY INVITATION TO WANG TO PRODUCE NEW ALTERNATIVE.

DEPT WILL NOTE WANG TODAY AGAIN CAREFULLY USED NEW FORMULA ON TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLAANDS (PARAS 3, 4, 8 ETC.) IN USE SINCE MAR 1 MEETING. SUGGEST POSSIBILITY THIS FORMULA MAY HAVE BEEN ADOPTED WITH PUBLIC LAW 4 IN MIND.

GOWEN

HER

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1956 APR 27 AM 6 40

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Action
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Info
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Control: 14895
Rec'd: APRIL 27, 1956
Date of Action 1:56 PM
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1823, APRIL 27, 1 AM (SECTION ONE OF FOUR)

Limit Distribution

FROM JOHNSON.

1. WANG OPENED 45TH MEETING TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT SAYING HE HAS CAREFULLY STUDIED DRAFT I PRESENTED 26TH MEETING AND WAS BOUND STATE THIS DRAFT STILL CONTAINED POINTS THEIR SIDE HAD LONG DECLARED CATEGORICALLY UNACCEPTABLE. INDEED, AS HE HAD POINTED OUT AT LAST MEETING, THIS DRAFT DID NOT DIFFER IN SUBSTANCE FROM ONES I HAD SUBMITTED ON NOV 10, 1955 AND JAN 19, 1956.

2. WANG SAID HIS SIDE COULD NOT BUT CONSIDER THAT AT A TIME WHEN OUR DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT OF ANNOUNCEMENT HAD ENTERED EIGHTH MONTH, MY SUBMISSION OF SUCH DRAFT WAS ENTIRELY AT VARIANCE WITH MY EXPRESSION OF EXPECTATION EARLY AGREEMENT AT LAST MEETING.

3. WANG SAID AS HIS SIDE HAD CONSISTENTLY POINTED OUT, US ALREADY USED FORCE AND THREAT OF FORCE. HAD SEIZED TAIWAN AND WAS TRYING INTERFERE IN CHINAS LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH EMBODIED OUR CLAIM SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE COULD ONLY BE INTERPRETED AS REQUIRING PRC SIDE TO RECOGNIZE STATUS QUO IN TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS US TREATY WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK CLIQUE. OBVIOUSLY THAT WAS WHAT HIS SIDE COULD NOT ACCEPT. YET MY DRAFT STILL CONTAINED CLAUSE ON SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE.

4. WANG SAID, MOREOVER, I HAD ALSO MADE REFERENCES TO WHAT I TERMED "PURSUIT BY EACH SIDE OF POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS". INSOFAR AS US CONCERNED, US POLICY TOWARDS CHINA HAS SO FAR BEEN INTERFERENCE IN CHINAS EXERCISE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OVER TAIWAN, AND IN IT LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS. STATEMENTS I HAD MADE IN COURSE OUR DISCUSSIONS ONLY BORE THIS OUT. SUCH POLICY

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IS INADMISSABLE BY WHATEVER MEANS IT MIGHT BE PURSUED.

5. WANG SAID IF PURSUIT SUCH POLICIES BY US TO BE COUNTENANCED, WHATPURPOSE WOULD THEN BE LEFT FOR ANY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US?

6. WANG SAID INSOFAR AS CHINA CONCERNED, ITS POLICY HAD BEEN LIBERATION OPEN TERRITORY TAIWAN AND OFFSHORE ISLANDS. THIS MATTER OF CHINAS INTERAL AFFAIRS AND ADMITS NO INTERFERENCE BY ANY OTHER COUNTRY, WHICHEVER MEANS CHINA CHOOSES USE.

7. WANG SAID MY DRAFT ALSO RETAINED REFERENCE TO WHAT I TERMED "WITHOUT RESORTING USE FORCE TAIWAN AREA OR ELSEWHERE". HERE AGAIN AS THEIR SIDE HAD LONG POINTED OUT, ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH MIXES UP INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE WITH INTERNAL AFFAIRS IS IMPERMISSABLE AND THEREFORE IS SOMETHING THEIR SIDE COULD NOT ACCEPT.

8. WANG SAID PARTICULARLY SERIOUS ASPECT OF MATTER IS THAT WHILE MY DRAFT MAKES SPECIFIC REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA IT ENTIRELY OMITS ANY REFERENCE HOLDING FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE. THIS ONLY INDICATES THAT US STILL INTENDING OBTAIN DECLARATION WHICH WOULD FREEZE SITUATION TAIWAN AREA AND THEN TO PROCRASTINATE AND REFUSE TAKE PRACTICAL STEP FOR SOLUTION DISPUTE THERE, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN STATUS QUO OF US SEIZURE TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS.

9. WANG ASKED, SUCH BEING CASE HOW COULD IT BE ALLEGED THAT MY DRAFT MEETS POINTS VIEW BOTH SIDES. AS THEY HAD CATEGORICALLY STATED, IF IT DESIRED MAKE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA, THEN SAME ANNOUNCEMENT MUST ALSO PROVIDE FOR HOLDING SINO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOREIGN MINISTERS. MOREOVER, NO SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE MADE, THERE WOULD BE NO JUSTIFICATION FOR DEMANDING REFERENCE TO TAIWAN AREA IN SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT.

10. WANG SAID ANY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BETWEEN US MUST GIVE ASSURANCE BOTH SIDES. ANY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PUTTING A RESTRAINT ON ONE SIDE WITHOUT OTHER SIDE OFFERING ANY ASSURANCE COULD NOT BE MADE BASIS FOR REACHING AGREEMENT.

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11. WANG SAID AS HE HAD POINTED OUT, FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RESPECTIVE DRAFTS OUT TWO SIDES WAS THAT THEIR DRAFTS EMBODIED POINTS ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES AND DID NOT CONTAIN ANYTHING UNACCEPTABLE EITHER SIDE, WHEREAS MY DRAFTS REQUIRE THEIR SIDE SURRENDER RIGHTS AND ACCEPT DEMANDS WHICH THEIR SIDE CANNOT ACCEPT SAME COMMENT APPLIES FULLY MY APRIL 19 DRAFT.

12. WANG SAID HE MUST STATE IN ALL SERIOUSNESS THAT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON MATTER ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT, SUCH ANNOUNCEMENT MUST BE FAIR AND REASONABLE, ON BASIS EQUALITY FOR BOTH SIDES. MY DRAFT,HOWEVER, FELL SHORT OF THIS MARK.

13. I SAID IN THESE DISCUSSIONS I THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT WE KEEP IN SIGHT FUNDAMENTAL INVOLVED THIS MATTER. AS I OFTEN SAID, PROBLEM WE FACE NOT THE ISSUING ANNOUNCEMENT FOR SAKE OF ANNOUNCEMENT, SIMPLY SAYING SOME WORDS THAT MAY MEAN ONE THING TO HIM ANOTHER THING TO ME, SO WE CAN GIVE SUPERFICIAL AGREEMENT TO WORLD.

GOWEN

TM

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39 CORRECTION 4/30/56 2 p.m. HJP

Action

Control: 14895
Rec'd: April 27, 1956
1:56 p.m.

FE Info
FROM: Geneva

RMR
TO: Secretary of State

SS
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NO: 1823 April 27, 1 a.m. (SECTION ONE OF FOUR)

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Control: 14906
Rec'd: APRIL 27, 1956
Date of Action 2:17 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

NO: 1823, APRIL 27, 1 AM (SECTION 2 OF 4)

Direction to DC/R

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THIS WAS NOT POINT. WHOLE OBJECTIVE MUCH DEEPER AND MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN THAT. MY BASIC SUGGESTION FROM VERY BEGINNING OUR DISCUSSIONS VERY SIMPLY STATED: IS THAT RECOGNIZING THESE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US, NEVER SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES AND PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TAIWAN AREA THAT WE VERY SIMPLY AND STRAIGHTFORWARDLY SAY WE ARE NOT GOING TO GO TO WAR ABOUT THEM. AT SAME TIME, WE WOULD NOT SAY ANYTHING THAT WOULD PREJUDICE VIEWS EITHER SIDE WITH RESPECT THESE DISPUTES. I HAD SUGGESTED HIS GOVERNMENT MAKE SUCH STATEMENT, WE WOULD NOT SAY ANYTHING THAT WOULD PREJUDICE VIEWS EITHER SIDE WITH RESPECT THESE DISPUTES. I HAD SUGGESTED HIS GOVERNMENT MAKE SUCH STATEMENT, AND IF IT DID SO, MY GOVERNMENT WOULD MAKE SIMILAR STATEMENT REITERATING ITS POSITION. HE HAD SUGGESTED FORM AND CONTENT SUCH STATEMENT, TO WHICH I HAD VERY CLOSELY ADHERED IN INCORPORATING VIEWS MY GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD THOSE POINTS WHICH IT CONSIDERS ESSENTIAL TO A MEANINGFUL STATEMENT.

HOWEVER, QUESTION MUCH MORE FUNDAMENTAL THAN THOSE JUST OF FORM AND EXACT WORDS OF STATEMENT; QUESTION IS, IS THERE REALLY AGREEMENT BETWEEN US ON RENUNCIATION USE OF FORCE IN SETTLING DISPUTES, INCLUDING DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. THAT IS, WAS HIS GOVERNMENT, IN ACCORDANCE ACCEPTED STANDARDS INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT, WILLING RENOUNCE FORCE AS INSTRUMENT NATIONAL POLICY?

14. I SAID IF HIS GOVERNMENT HAD MADE DECISION IN FACT TO RENOUNCE FORCE AS INSTRUMENT NATIONAL POLICY, THERE COULD BE NO REAL OBJECTION TO TEXT OF DRAFT WHICH I GAVE HIM APRIL 21 IF THAT DECISION HAD NOT BEEN MADE BY HIS GOVERNMENT. I COULD SEE NO FORMULATION OF A MEANINGFUL DECLARATION WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO HIM. ONLY IF THAT PRINCIPLE WERE ACCEPTED

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WITHOUT MENTAL RESERVATION OR PURPOSE OF EVASION WOULD AGREEMENT ON MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT FOR DECLARATION BE ARRIVED AT BETWEEN US.

15. I SAID HE HAD PREVIOUSLY STATED THAT HIS OBJECTIONS MY OTHER DRAFTS BASED ON CONNECTIONS HE SAW BETWEEN SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE AND MENTION TAIWAN AREA. REVISIONS WHICH I SUGGESTED APRIL 19 REMOVED ANY PLAUSIBLE POSSIBILITY SUCH ARGUMENT. I RESPECTED HIS RIGHT TO HOLD WHATEVER VIEWS HE DESIRED WITH REGARD TO NATURE, ORIGIN, ANY OTHER ASPECT OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. THIS DRAFT PROVIDED NO BASIS FOR ALLEGING IT REQUIRED HIS SIDE RECOGNIZE ANYTHING IT DID NOT WANT RECOGNIZE OR IN ANY WAY PREJUDICE HIS POSITION. WHAT THIS DRAFT DID DO WAS REQUIRE HIS SIDE SAY UNEQUIVOCALLY AND CLEARLY IT WILL NOT USE FORCE TO IMPOSE ITS VIEWS. APPARENTLY IT WAS THAT TO WHICH HE OBJECTED, IN FACT, RATHER THAN TO ANY OTHER ASPECT OF DRAFT. WE HAD DONE OUR UTMOST TO PRODUCE DRAFT WHICH BOTH SIDES COULD UNQUALIFIEDLY ACCEPT AND WHICH SHOULD BE ACCEPTED IF (#) ARRIVING AT SOLUTION.

16. I WAS PUZZLED BY AND COULD HARDLY BELIEVE THAT HE REALLY MEANT HIS STATEMENT ASKING WHAT PURPOSE OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE IF EACH SIDE WERE FREE PURSUE ITS POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS: IF WHAT HE APPEARED BE SAYING WAS THAT HE SAW NO PROSPECT OF A SOLUTION TO QUESTIONS IN TAIWAN AREA UNLESS THEY BE ABLE MAINTAIN THEIR THREAT USE FORCE IN THAT AREA. THERE WAS GREAT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THAT AND A RENUNCIATION OF FORCE THAT WOULD GENUINELY MAKE POSSIBLE REAL NEGOTIATIONS. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THIS STRIKES TO VERY ROOT OF QUESTION BETWEEN US AND REPRESENTS NOT THE SLIGHTEST CHANGE FROM ANNOUNCED POLICY WITH RESPECT USE OF FORCE WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT HAD LONG MAINTAINED. FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION WAS WHETHER HIS GOVERNMENT WAS WILLING WITHOUT RESERVATION OR PURPOSE OF EVASION RENOUNCE FORCE SO THAT THERE WOULD BE GENUINE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. CENTRAL THOUGHT BEHIND MY ORIGINAL PROPOSAL HAD BEEN AND REMAINED THAT GENUINE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN US ON THESE COMPLICATED AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS WERE NOT POSSIBLE UNDER OVERHANGING THREAT THAT ONE SIDE ON ONE PRETEXT OR ANOTHER WOULD RESORT TO USE OF FORCE. RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT SEPARATE AND UNRELATED ITEMS.

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IF ONE WAS REALLY DETERMINED DISCUSS PROBLEM PEACEFULLY, ONE COULD NOT AT SAME TIME THREATEN USE OF FORCE WITH REGARDS THAT PROBLEM. UNLESS HE ACCEPTED THAT PRINCIPLE, I COULD COME NO CONCLUSION OTHER THAN THAT THERE WAS NOT GENUINE SHARING DESIRE MY GOVERNMENT FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

17. I SAID I NEVER HAD AND DID NOT NOW ASK HIM ABANDON HIS VIEWS WITH RESPECT OUR DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA, BUT I DID ASK HIM ACCEPT APPLICABILITY DECLARATION AS A WHOLE TO OUR DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA. NOT JUST THAT PORTION DECLARATION RELATING PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS BUT THAT INDISPENSABLE CONCOMITANT THERETO, OF RENUNCIATION OF FORCE. THE TWO WENT TOGETHER AND COULD NOT BE SEPARATED. I COULD NOT ESCAPE CONCLUSION THAT IN HIS INSISTENCE ON LINKING ANY MENTION TAIWAN AREA TO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING HE WAS, IN FACT, SEPARATING THOSE TWO FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS.

18. I SAID I ALSO COULD NOT ESCAPE CONCLUSION THAT

GOWEN

JMD

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CORRECTION 4/30/56 2 p.m. HJF

Action
FE

Control: 14906
Rec'd: April 27, 1956
2:17 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

SS
G
SP
C
L

NO: 1823 April 27, 1 a.m. (SECTION TWO OF FOUR)

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ACTION COPY

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

CONFIDENTIAL

53-51
Action
FE

Control: 14917
Rec'd: APRIL 27, 1956
2:23 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

Info
RMR
SS
G
SP
C
L

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1823, APRIL 27, 1 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF FOUR)

First Distribution

OBJECTION TO SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE IN ITS PRESENT POSITION WAS BASED UPON AN ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN A DOCUMENT WHICH HE WOULD INTERPRET AS RENUNCIATION BY US OF ITS POSITION. I WAS NOT ASKING HIM RECOGNIZE IN ANY WAY US POSITION WITH REGARD TO MERITS OF OUR DISPUTE. I WAS ONLY ASKING HIM ACCORD TO ME SAME RESPECT FOR OUR VIEWS AS I ACCORDED TO HIS. IF THERE WERE AGREEMENT ON HIS PART WITH ME ON GENUINELY RENOUNCING FORCE AS FIRST ESSENTIAL PRELIMINARY TO SEEKING MEANS OF PEACEFULLY SETTLING OUR DISPUTES, THERE COULD BE NO VALID OBJECTION TO THIS DRAFT. IF THERE WERE NOT SUCH AGREEMENT, DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN US WERE INDEED DEEP AND DISTRUBING.

19. WANG SAID HE HAD GIVEN ME HIS VIEWS WITH REGARD TO MY DRAFT OF APRIL 19, BOTH AT LAST MEETING AND THIS MORNING. IN HIS STATEMENTS HE HAD SPECIFICALLY POINTED OUT REASONS WHY THEY OBJECTED TO AND COULD NOT ACCEPT MY DRAFT. THEIR EFFORTS AT TRYING FIND AGREEMENT ON ISSUANCE RENUNCIATION OF FORCE DECLARATION MUST BE CARRIED OUT ON BASIS OF FAIR AND REASONABLE PROPOSAL. THEIR DRAFTS OF OCTOBER 27 AND DECEMBER 1 WERE JUST SUCH DRAFTS AND FULFILLED PRINCIPLE OF REASONABLENESS AND FAIRNESS. IF US HAD GENUINE DESIRE SETTLE AND RESOLVE GRAVE DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, THERE COULD BE NO REASON FOR NOT ACCEPTING THESE DRAFTS OF THEIR SIDE. HE REGRETTED FIND THAT SOFAR WE NOT ABLE ARRIVE AGREEMENT ON BASIS THEIR DRAFTS.

20. WANG SAID HE OBLIGED NOTE THAT NOW OPINION SUBMITTED BY ME DID NOT CHANGE MY FORMER POSITION AND DID NOT ADVANCE OUR MEETING A STEP FURTHER. THIS MORNING I HAD AGAIN MADE STATEMENTS TO EFFECT THAT I RESPECTED THEIR VIEWS AND RIGHTS IN TAIWAN AREA AND WOULD NOT PREJUDICE THOSE VIEWS AND RIGHTS. HOWEVER MY DRAFT OF APRIL 19 IN ITS TEXT PRECISELY PREJUDICED

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THEIR LAWFUL VIEWS IN THAT RESPECT. HE NOTED IN MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING I HAD MADE REPEATED REFERENCES TO WHAT I SAID HAD BEEN USE OF FORCE AND THREAT OF USE OF FORCE BY HIS SIDE. SUCH REFERENCES IN FACT WERE MADE IN ATTEMPT COVER UP USE OF FORCE BY US IN TAIWAN AREA AND ATTEMPT BY US USE THREAT OF FORCE AGAINST PRC. HIS SIDE HAD CONSTANTLY MADE CLEAR THAT FONMINS CONFERENCE WAS THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS FOR SETTLING GRAVE DISPUTES BETWEEN PRC AND US IN TAIWAN AREA, AND SO IF IT WERE DESIRED MAKE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA IN AGREEMENT, SAME ANNOUNCEMENT MUST MAKE PROVISION FOR HOLDING FONMINS CONFERENCE.

21. WANG SAID I HAD SAID MY DRAFT OF APRIL 19 HAD MET THEIR VIEWS AND HAD REMOVED REASONS FOR THEIR OBJECTIONS, BUT ACTUALLY THIS DRAFT, LIKE ALL OTHERS, RETAINED THOSE FEATURES TOWARD WHICH THEY VOICED THEIR OBJECTIONS. AS SUCH, HOW COULD I SAY IT HAD MET AND REMOVED THEIR OBJECTIONS? AS HE HAD SAID IN HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING, HIS SIDE TRYING TO FIND ANNOUNCEMENT CAPABLE OF BEING ACCEPTED BY BOTH SIDES. MY SIDE HAD REPEATEDLY PROPOSED DRAFTS WHICH THEIR SIDE LONG AGO MADE CLEAR IT OBJECTED TO AND COULD NOT ACCEPT. THIS WOULD NOT HELP RESOLVE PROBLEMS BETWEEN US.

22. I SAID THERE WERE TWO ASPECTS TO HIS OBJECTIONS. ONE ASPECT WAS WHETHER ANYTHING THAT WAS SAID PREJUDICED HIS POSITION WITH RESPECT TO OUR DISPUTES. THE OTHER ASPECT WAS WHETHER OR NOT OUR DECLARATION WAS TO CONSTITUTE AN UNQUALIFIED RENUNCIATION OF FORCE WITH RESPECT TO ALL OUR DISPUTES INCLUDING OUR DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. MY DRAFT OF APRIL 19 WAS SECOND SUCCESSIVE ATTEMPT I HAD MADE ARRIVE FORMULATION WHICH TOOK ACCOUNT HIS VIEWS. WITH REGARD TO ASPECT PREJUDICING HIS POSITION. I WAS SATISFIED IT MET EVERY ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT BOTH SIDES IN THIS REGARD. HOWEVER, IF HIS PURPOSE IN THIS DECLARATION WAS RETAIN HIS ABILITY USE THREAT OF INITIATING USE OF FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA, I AGREED IT DID NOT MEET HIS POSITION AND I NEVER COULD MEET HIS POSITION IN THAT REGARD. TO DO SO WOULD BE COMPLETE PERVERSION OF ENTIRE PURPOSE THIS DECLARATION.

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23. WANG SAID I HAD SAID I HAD MADE SO MUCH EFFORT IN ORDER MEET THEIR VIEWS; HOWEVER, MY DRAFT ACTUALLY DID NOT MAKE SUCH PROVISIONS AS I HAD SAID. ON CONTRARY, MY DRAFT OF APRIL 19 STILL RETAINED THOSE POINTS TO WHICH THEY OBJECTED AND WHICH THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT. IF ONE COULD BE CREDITED WITH MAKING GENUINE EFFORT ACHIEVE A DECLARATION IT WAS HIS SIDE WHICH HAD MADE SUCH AN EFFORT, AS MANIFESTED IN HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT. TO SPEAK ABOUT THE THREAT OF ARMED FORCE, HE COULD SAY ACTUAL PROBLEM WE NOW FACING PCURODGBMH # US THREAT OF FORCE AGAINST HIS SIDE AND NOT HIS ARMED FORCES OCCUPYING US TERRITORY. NOTHING COULD OBSCURE THIS FACT.

24. I SAID IF HAD NOTHING FURTHER I WOULD LIKE SPEAK AGAIN ABOUT OUR SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT ON CIVILIANS. I WISHED TELL HIM VERY PLAINLY, VERY BLUNTLY, THAT SENSE OF OUTRAGE IN MY COUNTRY OVER WHAT I COULD ONLY TERM THE PREMEDITATED AND MALICIOUS FAILURE OF HIS GOVERNMENT RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS AS AGREED IN OUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 WAS GROWING.

GOWEN

WDR

AS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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39

CORRECTION

4/30/56 1:30 p.m. HJP

Action
FE

Control: 14917
Rec'd: April 27, 1956
2:32 p.m.

Info
RMR
SS
G
SP
C
L

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1823 April 27, 1 A.M. (SECTION THREE OF FOUR)

The first paragraph of this CONFIDENTIAL message should read

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1956 MAY 1 AM 11 42
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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CORRECTION ISSUED: 5/1/56 10:20 AM BB

Action
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Info
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SS
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SP
C
L

Control: 15163
Rec'd: APRIL 28, 1956 2:18 AM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1823, APRIL 27, 1 AM (SECTION FOUR OF FOUR)

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FROM JOHNSON

HIS GOVERNMENT SHOULD KNOW THIS WAS PARTICULARLY TRUE OF ALL MEMBERS OF BOTH PARTIES OF BOTH HOUSES OF OUR CONGRESS. THIS WAS AN URGENT AND SERIOUS SITUATION. I WOULD BE DOING A DISSERVICE IF I MINIMIZED OR ATTEMPTED GLOSS OVER THE GROWING FEELING IN MY COUNTRY WITH RESPECT TO WHAT EVERYONE REGARDED AS A VERY STRAIGHTFORWARD CASE OF FAILING CARRY OUT THE PLEDGED WORD OF HIS GOVERNMENT. IT WAS GOING ON EIGHT MONTHS SINCE WE MADE THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 AND IT WAS OVER FOUR MONTHS SINCE ANY AMERICANS HAD BEEN RELEASED. I ASKED HE IMPRESS UPON HIS AUTHORITIES URGENT IMPORTANCE OF IMMEDIATELY DOING SOMETHING ABOUT THIS MATTER.

25. WANG SAID IF WE WERE TO SPEAK ABOUT DISSATISFACTION CONCERNING THE CIVILIAN QUESTION, IT WAS HIS SIDE WHICH WAS DISSATISFIED ABOUT THE SITUATION. HE HAD MADE SO MANY REPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING THE RETURN OF CHINESE FROM THE US. BUT SO FAR HAD NOT RECEIVED ANY RESONABLE REPLY FROM ME. JUST HOW MANY CHINESE WERE THERE IN PRISON IN US--HE HAD RAISED THIS QUESTION MANY MONTHS AGO AND I HAD NOT BOTHERED REPLY THIS SIMPLE QUESTION AS TO HOW MANY CHINESE WERE IN PRISON IN US. COULD I SAY THIS ATTITUDE MY SIDE CONFORMED WITH SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT? HE HAD GIVEN ME NAMES 49 CHINESE WHOSE DEPARTURE BEING OBSTRUCTED IN SPITE OF FACT THESE PEOPLE INNOCENT AND HAD NOT COMMITTED ANY CRIME. HOWEVER, I HAD NOT COMPLIED HIS REQUEST MAKE INVESTIGATION AND GIVE ACCOUNTING OF THEM. SO FAR I HAD NOT GIVEN ANY CONSTRUCTIVE REPLY THIS QUESTION. CHINESE PEOPLE WERE VERY DISSATISFIED WITH OBSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED BY CHINESE NATIONALS IN US. THEREFORE, HE HOPED I WOULD IMPRESS THIS FEELING

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OF CHINESE PEOPLE ON US GOVERNMENT. AND SEE THAT THESE OBSTRUCTIONS AGAINST CHINESE RESIDENTS IN US WERE CORRECTED.

26. I SAID FACTS SHOWED THERE HAD NOT BEEN A SINGLE CASE OF ANY OBSTRUCTION AND HE WELL AWARE OF THAT FACT. FACT THAT INDIAN EMBASSY HAD NOT CALLED OUR ATTENTION TO SINGLE CASE IN WHICH OBSTRUCTION HAD BEEN ALLEGED WAS INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE THAT CANNOT BE DECIDED.

27. WANG ASKED DID I MEAN TO SAY THAT NOT A SINGLE CHINESE WAS LOCKED UP IN US PRISONS?

28. I SAID THERE HAD NOT BEEN A SINGLE CASE OF CHINESE DESIRING RETURN WANG'S COUNTRY WHO HAD ALLEGED OBSTRUCTION OF ANY KIND. I MAKE NO EXCEPTIONS. IF THERE WERE SUCH CASE IT CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE BEEN CALLED TO OUR ATTENTION BY INDIAN EMBASSY.

29. WANG SAID FACT WAS THAT 49 CHINESE DESIRE RETURN BUT HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE DO SO. SUCH WAS A FACT, HE WOULD APPRECIATE MY MAKING FORMAL STATEMENT HERETO THAT THERE NOT NOW SINGLE CHINESE IN PRISON IN US.

30. I SAID IF ANY OF THOSE 49 CHINESE REALLY DESIRED RETURN AND FELT REALLY BEING OBSTRUCTED THEY CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE CONTACTED INDIAN EMBASSY, AND IF INDIAN EMBASSY FELT HAD THERE BEEN ANY FACTUAL BASIS IT CERTAINLY WOULD HAVE CARRIED OUT ITS FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

31. WANG SAID HE COULD ONLY IMPRESS ON ME, BEBE, DBEAIESI SAIISEACIION OF CHINESE PEOPLE WITH REGARD FAILURE TO RETURN THESE 49 CHINESE. THEY WOULD NOT CEASE RAISING THIS MATTER HERE AS LONG AS THESE PEOPLE HAD NOT RETURNED.

32. WANG PROPOSED SATURDAY MAY 5 FOR NEXT MEETING. I AGREED.

WEB:VMM

GOWEN
BUREAU OF
EASTERN AFFAIRS
DEPT OF STATE
1976 MAY 1 PM 4 28

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14 E

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☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/7/52

April 30, 1956

SECRET

Letter No. 40.

Dear Alex:

I went to Charlottesville on Friday to make a speech before the Committee on Foreign Relations there. I have just returned and have not yet had much opportunity to digest your reports on the meeting of April 26. There was no meeting on Geneva over the week-end, either with the Secretary or with Judge Phleger. The Secretary leaves on Wednesday for the NATO session. I doubt if we will see him before then. It may not be necessary since we seem to be locked tight in the present position. There is general agreement that we must stand firm. Hence, no high-level pow-wow seems to be called for at the moment. We agree that you can only reiterate your position at the next meeting, emphasizing the firmness of our stance on this position and picking away at the chinks in ~~his~~ Wang's armour. I believe you very effectively exploited the point that his objections are all related to the fact that he envisages a PRC resort to use of offensive force in certain contingencies.

We have

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Lot 72 D 415

We have finally received a preliminary acknowledgment from Immigration t
to our letter of April 5 requesting a survey of all the Chinese in US prisons. A copy of this acknowledgment, dated April 24 is enclosed. You will note that 8 of the prisoners claim American citizenship and another one is a mental patient rather than a convict. This leaves 42 known Chinese aliens in penitentiaries.

Enclosed are 42 sheets giving the INS reports on each of the names of Chinese mentioned by Wang as encountering interference with departure. We have not yet received INS reports on the remaining 7.

I also enclose as of background interest a good example of the kind of propaganda drive Peiping has been conducting to bring about defections on Taiwan. Such broadcasts by former officials of the CRC, now with the Communists, addressed to their ex-colleagues on Taiwan are an almost daily occurrence. So far they have had no perceptible effect. This particular broadcast is interesting in that it expressly links "peaceful liberation" of Taiwan with the world-wide Communist drive for "relaxation of tensions". This suggests that the Chinese Communists are well aware of the damage military action in the Taiwan area would cause to their general political posture. You will note that the broadcast speaks not only of the "peaceful liberation" of Taiwan (which the Communists are not presently capable of taking with military force) but also of Kinmen, capture of which might be within their capabilities. All of this leads to the conclusion that the Chinese Communists are unlikely to launch any large-scale offensive in the near future and that our estimate is probably correct that continued talks with them make it more difficult for them to resort to military action.

I also

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I also enclose a copy of our briefing paper on the Geneva talks, prepared for the NATO Ministerial Meeting. You will see that this is much less detailed and less sensitive than what we originally contemplated.

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....You were very cooperative to release Holdridge to Hong Kong so promptly. I hope the new arrangement will work out and that neither you nor Dave will suffer unduly, as a result. It seems to us that you should be given the best young officer at Geneva to assist you at the meetings. Your letter No. 29 of April 18 came on the 24th and was read with great interest by Judge Phleger, and Bill Sebald as well as myself. Walter Robertson will continue on sick leave until May 14. He got out of bed to give a major speech at Staunton, Virginia, on April 27 as part of the Woodrow Wilson Centennial Celebration.

Al Westphal, on the staff of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, told me last week that the Dodd Subcommittee probably will not give any further consideration to the question of investigating treatment of Americans in Communist China at least until the end of May. The Committee

Chairman

Chairman has given instructions that no Subcommittee work be done until the Committee as a whole has finished work on the Foreign Aid Bill.

Regards from us all here and congratulations on doing the job precisely the way that is desired here.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Letter April 25, 1956 from Immigration.
2. List of 42 Chinese.
3. Excerpt from BBIS, April 24, 1956.
4. Nato Briefing Paper, "Geneva Talks".

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1943
FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for May 5 meeting.

1. We concur in view expressed your 1825 that, in absence new move on part ~~of~~ Chinese Communists, you should confine your remarks on renunciation force to attack on their position and reiteration ours. Heart of your presentation should be repetition theme which you expressed last meeting: that if Communists genuinely willing renounce force Taiwan area they cannot validly object to our April 21 draft. If their intention is to reserve to themselves option of resorting force there, then any form of words that they accepted purporting to bind them to renounce force in Taiwan area would be fraud on world.

2. Wang appears interpret phrase "without prejudice to pursuit by each side of policies by peaceful means" as meaning acquiescence by Communists in policies pursued by US. (Paragraphs 4, 5 and 6 your 1823.) Point out to him that our draft does not require Chinese Communists acquiesce in US policies. Neither does it require US acquiesce in or agree to Communist policies. Purpose of phrase is simply to make clear that neither side is renouncing ~~anything~~ except prosecution its policies

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611 93/5-256 CS/W

by

11191

DC/T
55

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:ek 5/2/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances: Mr. McConaughy L - Mr. Phleger cleared in draft

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
MAY 2 - 1956
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

S/S-CR
2K
MAY - 2 1956 P.M.

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by armed force. This is action which has been taken by all members UN, including US, as well as other countries. There is no sound reason why Chinese Communists should not take similar action.

3. Inform Wang that eighteen more Chinese from US crossed border into Communist China April 30, making total of at least 146 since August 1, 1955. FYI This figure includes only those proceeding US to Hong Kong by ship in direct transit to Communist China. END FYI This uninterrupted flow Chinese from US to mainland China contrasts sharply with complete cessation in release Americans since December last year, despite September 10 pledge that latter would be allowed expeditiously return. Ask Wang how Chinese Communists expect world believe they are carrying out Agreed Announcement when facts so clearly speak otherwise? US intends faithfully continue carrying out its September 10 pledge, but expects Chinese Communists to do likewise. Their failure to do so makes impossible improved atmosphere they profess to be seeking in these talks.

Hoover, ACTING

(WG) HOOVER

11192

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592

Department of State

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48

658

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FE

Control: 2008
Rec'd: MAY 3, 1956
11:06 P. M.

FROM: GENEVA

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

SS
S
SP

NO: 1840, MAY 3, MIDNIGHT

SENT DEPT 1840 RPTD INFO PARIS 434

FROM JOHNSON

PARIS FOR SECRETARY

WANG'S INTERPRETER CALLED TONIGHT REQUESTING THAT NEXT MEETING BE POSTPONED UNTIL THURSDAY MAY 10. I SUGGESTED FRIDAY MAY 11 IN VIEW SWISS HOLIDAY MAY 10 TO WHICH HE AGREED. I AGREED HIS SUGGESTION THAT EACH ONLY ANNOUNCE TO PRESS POSTPONEMENT WAS BY MUTUAL AGREEMEN FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REASONS.

GOWEN

EMB

Noir

Action Taken Noted.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 MAY 4 AM 8 45
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 9/9/82

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 31

May 3, 1956

Dear Walter:

A few hours after my return from Prague last night, Ekvall received a call from Wang's interpreter asking to postpone the next meeting. I have sent you a telegram on what I think it means if anything and I am making a check with Warsaw which I am repeating to you. Ekvall received the impression from Wang's interpreter that Wang was in town, but I am having inquiries made to find out for sure whether this is the case. He was not on the plane yesterday from Prague and, therefore, if he has returned from Warsaw he must have done so on Wednesday. He went up on the same plane as I last Friday. We met in the airport in Zurich, he having come up the evening before by train while I had come up on the morning plane from Geneva. He had a very attractive lady with him whom he introduced as his wife. As always he was very affable but a lack of a common language inhibits very much any conversation.

. . . . . .

I have received your letter No. 40 and greatly appreciate the information it contained.

I do not want to continue to labor the point, but I cannot help noting that in the enclosed sheets giving the INS reports on the names given me by Wang there is frequent reference to "requesting permission to return". Most of

these

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

these references appear to be referring to the period prior to August 1 last year, but in some cases this is not entirely clear. In one case (No. 19 Liao, S. D.), it states that on January 12, 1956 he "requested permission to return to his home in Hunan (mainland) China," and that on March 9, 1956, "Philadelphia advised Service has no objection to his return". I have difficulty in reconciling this with the "Agreed Announcement" and the categorical statements I have been making here based on the INS assertions to the Department. There is undoubtedly a reasonable explanation but it would relieve my mind if I knew what it was. As other somewhat less clear examples see No. 1 (Shen), No. 4 (Kao), No. 15 (Chang), No. 16 (Tao), and No. 26 (Tseng).

. . . . . .

Regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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46-B
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Control: 2188
Rec'd: MAY 4, 1956
6:30 AM

1
1

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1841, MAY 4, 10 AM

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FROM JOHNSON

HAVE NO EXPLANATION FOR WANG'S REQUEST POSTPONE NEXT MEETING, IT APPEARS HE PROBABLY IN GENEVA BUT AM ATTEMPTING CONFIRM. IF THEY REQUIRED MORE TIME COORDINATE SOME NEW MOVE WOULD SEEM THAT HE COULD HAVE JUST MARKED TIME AT MAY 5 MEETING. THEREFORE AM INCLINED THINK REASON FOR POSTPONEMENT IS PROBABLY EXTRANEOUS TO THESE TALKS AND THAT IT DOES NOT PRESAGE ANY NEW MOVE ON THEIR PART. HOWEVER CANNOT EXCLUDE LATTER POSSIBILITY. AS ONE POSSIBILITY SUGGEST THAT IF THERE IS ANY FACTUAL BASIS FOR CHICOM STATEMENTS MENTIONED DEPTEL 1941 THEY MIGHT BE PLANNING FACE US WITH RELEASE OF SOME PRISONERS ACCOMPANIED BY NEW DRAFT PARTIALLY MEETING OUR POSITION BUT WITH PROVISION FOR FMC.

WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT'S ESTIMATE OR ANY FACTUAL INFO THAT MIGHT ASSIST ME IN ANTICIPATING POSSIBLE MOVES THEY MIGHT MAKE AT MAY 11 MEETING.

GOWEN

SBH

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 MAY 4 AM 8 40
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Name of Officer

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Control: 3169
Rec'd: May 5, 1956
2:02 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1849, May 5, 4 p.m.

SENT WARSAW 6, REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT 1849.

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

Wang asked for postponement our May 5 meeting to May 11. Do you know of any development that would require his presence in Warsaw during that period? He traveled to Warsaw April 27 presumably attend May 1 celebration but I have not (repeat not) been able to determine whether or when he returned Geneva.

GOWEN

SW:RBW

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken Noted

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Date of Officer WPMcC

Direction to DC/R

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611.93/5-556

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1956 MAY 7 AM 7 52

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Number 2 of 6 Copies, Series
May 7, 1956

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Excise as shown
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Downgrade to ____
Review Again ____
Reviewer ____ Date 9/

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 41

SECRET

Dear Alex:

We were mildly surprised at the postponement of last Saturday's meeting. We agree with you that some developments unrelated to the Geneva talks probably prompted the postponement request. The only development we can think of which might have a relationship is the Chinese Communist request for a Conference on Korea. Peiping undoubtedly is closely watching the reaction to its note of April 9. It is just possible that their tactics in pressing for a high level conference at Geneva are related to the reaction to their request for the multilateral conference on Korea. However they could hardly expect to get a reply from the 16 before the next meeting and I doubt that this is the real explanation for the delay. Incidentally Bob Murphy met with representatives of the 16 last Friday the 4th. At that time he gave them a copy of our draft note and asked for the reactions of their Governments. It was agreed that the British should present a concerted reply on behalf of the 16. The next meeting of the representatives of the 16 is to take place on Wednesday the 9th. We hope to have reactions of the Governments then. There is general agreement that no new conference should be agreed to in the present circumstances. But there is less uncertainty about how

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

SECRET

the handling of the UNSC problem will come out. We are sending you a copy of our draft note.

We have a single copy of the William L. White report on the treatment of American POW's. We are trying to get another copy which we can send to you. What we have received seems rather fragmentary. It deals almost exclusively with the contrast in physical treatment of POW's by the UN Command and by the Communists. There is little or no examination of germ warfare confessions brain washing in the Communist POW camps or the Communist subversive organization in the UN POW camps. Nor is there any adequate treatment of the exchange of prisoners following the Armistice Agreement or the illegal detention by the Communists of ~~the~~ UNC personnel inside China after the prisoner exchange.

It is our feeling that your instructions for the meeting of last week which was never held will still be good for the meeting of May 11, ~~bearing~~ unforeseen developments. However we will consider today and tomorrow whether any slight revision is called for.

There is enclosed a copy of a letter received by ... the well known Chinese foreign trader and expert on tungsten, from ... lives in New York and is now a naturalized American citizen. ... wrote the letter from Stockholm where he was attending a Communist "International Peace Conference". ... is a leading industrial engineering 756 specialist in alkalies especially caustic soda. ... says he is not a

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Communist and he is satisfied that the letter was written under duress. This is a part of the general Communist campaign to induce the return of nationals, especially those who have something to contribute to the industrial and technological development plans. We have heard that all residents of Kwangtung Province are now required to give full particulars of any relative residing in the U. S. This will probably be extended to all provinces and signifies that the campaign may be getting into higher gear. We can expect a bigger spate of propaganda on the subject of the return of Chinese.

Of the registered letters which we sent to Chinese mentioned by Wang, we have return receipts from 23. Four letters have been returned as undeliverable - addressee unknown. The remaining 6 have not yet been heard from. (Attached is a breakdown of the registered letters.)

Considerable pressure is being brought to bear on the Secretary at Paris by the British and others for immediate relaxation of the CHINCOM controls. Under the recent NSC decision any relaxation is to be handled on a "exceptions" basis rather than through deletions from the control lists . The problem still poses a dilemma for us.

The Hua Chiao Jih Pao in Hong Kong recently published a report that the Bureau of Civil Affairs of the Kwangtung Provincial Government was requiring families of students in the U. S. "or in other capitalistic countries" to register. We mentioned this report to the British, who queried Peiping about it and were informed by O'Neill that he had not heard of any such registration. Although we have no confirmation of the

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report and Hong Kong newspapers are not noted for their reliability, this would be a likely step for the Chinese Communists to take. It may foreshadow a flood of additional names from Wang Ping-nan. A copy of the report is enclosed.

I am writing you a separate letter on the proposed replacement of Osborn with Comiskey. Although the telegram tells you the whole story in essence, I will fill out the details as soon as I have a little time. The pouch is closing now.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Letter to I & N. S. dated 5/1/56
2. Draft reply to Chinese Communist Note, April 9,.1956.
3. Breakdown of registered letters to Chinese in U. S.
4. Letter to . . . . dated April 11, 1956 (English and Chinese)
5. Report published by the Hua Chiao Jih Pao in Hong Kong.

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COMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

661 I-6

CONFIDENTIAL

56-L
Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS
G

Control: 4400
Rec'd: May 8, 1956
1:23 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1855, May 8, 4 p.m.

SENT PRAGUE 41; REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT 1855; WARSAW 7

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM OSBORN

Warsaw's 20 to Geneva repeated information Department 797 notes new Polish Foreign Minister reception May 8. Believe this adequately explains postponement. No record here Wangs having arrived by air past week.

GOWEN

MGG:JJ

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Action Taken
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Officer
to DC/R

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Classification

1956 MAY 9 PM 6 01

DO/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 1967
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

Info

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for May 11 meeting.

1. Instructions DLPTLL 1943 intended for last week considered still valid. You should be governed by them at May 11 meeting.

2. Your 1641. Department has no intelligence which would shed light on reason for Wang postponement request. Appears likely request related his Warsaw duties. We doubt the Foreign Office reception May 6 would have required him cancel Geneva meeting May 5 but presence Chinese Communist Economic Mission in Warsaw headed by Nan Han-ch'en may afford explanation. As Chairman Committee on International Trade and member Standing Committee National People's Congress Nan is figure of considerable importance although not of top hierarchy. If group is actually purchasing complete industrial installations in Poland as reported its negotiations may assume fairly high priority.

3. If postponement request related to tactics at Geneva (which considered unlikely) only known current development which would seem relevant is pending Chinese Communist request of April 9 for multilateral conference on Korea. It is just conceivable that Peiping's tactics in pressing

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11193

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPLeConaughy:ekb 5/9/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger
NA - Hemmendinger

MAY 9 1956 PM

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SECRET
Classification

pressing at Geneva for high level conference may be conditioned by what Peiping can learn of initial reaction of 16 UN nations to Chinese Communist note of April 9. Meetings of representatives 16 countries held in Department May 4 and May 9.

For your background, reaction of 16 to conference proposal strongly negative. This information highly classified at this stage but with so many countries involved immediate leak to Chinese Communists must be considered as probable. Hence Chinese Communist tactics for future Geneva meetings presumably can be devised in light of this knowledge.

Dulles (in full)

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11194

599

R 47

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AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

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☐ Downgrade to
☐ Review Again
☐ Reviewer _____ Date _____

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
MAY 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 32

May 10, 1956

Dear Walter:

I arrived down here at noon today by Air Force plane which the Czechs had permitted to come in and pick me up. I told the Czechs that only in this way could I attend the Foreign Minister's National Day reception last night.

Incidentally, at the reception I met the Brazilian ~~Formation~~ PARLIAMENTARY Delegation, led by Miss Vargas, which had just arrived and is beginning a tour of all the Bloc as well as Communist China. They will spend some time in the United States on their return but will not be coming through Prague. I did the best I could in the hurly-burly of the big reception to brief them on Americans in China in the hope that they might do a little missionary work and at least be prepared for whatever they hear from the Chinese about it. It seemed to be a quite intelligent and very sympathetic group on the whole and I would think that it might be worthwhile for FE to keep in touch with the Brazilian Desk so as to have an opportunity to talk with them when they come through the United States.

Also at last night's reception the Prime Minister (Siroky) took the initiative in asking about my negotiations here. I did a heavy missionary job on him saying I was discouraged and pessimistic because of the failure of the Chinese to carry out their promise to release the Americans, the increasingly serious adverse effects this was having in the United States, and my concern over their unwillingness to renounce force in the Taiwan area. He made no counter argument or defense on their position, and for whatever it is worth, I believe was somewhat impressed with the reasonableness of our position. He commented that it was good that we were at least talking

and

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

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and implied the hope that the talks would not stop. When I raised the economic negotiations we are having with the Czechs in Prague he dismissed them as not really too important or difficult and not at all on the same scale of importance with our negotiations with the Chinese.

Thanks for your Letter No. 41 as well as for the very interesting enclosures.

Incidentally, with regard to the report that you mentioned was in the Hong Kong press on registration of families having students studying abroad, this report originally appeared in the Ta Kung Pao under Canton dateline of March 23 giving the full text of the proclamation by the Kwangtung government (see Hong Kong's China Mainland Press Survey No. 1259 of April 3, page 5). I had assumed that you had seen this.

I desire to thank you most sincerely for the arrangement with regard to Dave remaining here and the family being sent over. I feel that it is the ideal arrangement from every standpoint and I am most happy that the Department has been able to work it out. Needless to say, Dave is also delighted. I know that you will understand that my somewhat sharp note concerning administrative difficulties in my telegram from Prague was introduced only with the thought that it would help you in shaking loose the administrative end.

I hope that you will be equally successful in getting Ekvall's status extended so that we will not be faced with any last minute crisis concerning him. Incidentally, he went to Paris over the weekend and saw Gen. Moorman, the Army Attache there, and reports that he is completely cooperative. He says Moorman fully appreciates the importance of his assignment here and says that he will not raise any question whatever concerning its extension. However, the initiative and additional orders for the extension of his detail must come from the Department of Defense and Moorman can do nothing without authorization from higher authority.

I am afraid it is going to be more of the same old thing at tomorrow's meeting but you will, of course, know the story before receiving this letter which I want to get off in tomorrow's pouch. Regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

alex

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

600

COMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** 663 ACTION COPY

Action Assigned to OA/ORR
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Name of Officer
Action to DC/R

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Control: 6177
Rec'd: MAY 11, 1956
8:05 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1866, MAY 11, NOON

NIACT

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FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING IS TEXT NEW DRAFT HANDED ME BY WANG AT TODAY'S MEETING:

"AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AGREE, WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF MUTUAL RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, TO ANNOUNCE:

"THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ARE DETERMINED THAT THEY SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES IN THE TAIWAN AREA THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE THREAT OR USE OF FORCE AGAINST EACH OTHER;

"THE TWO AMBASSADORS SHOULD CONTINUE THEIR TALKS TO SEEK AND TO ASCERTAIN WITHIN TWO MONTHS PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS FOR THE REALIZATION OF THIS COMMON DESIRE, INCLUDING THE HOLDING OF A SINO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS, AND TO MAKE SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS."

GOWEN

TM

Note: Advance copy to FE 8:45 a.m. 5/11/56 CWO/FED

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 MAY 10 PM 9 30
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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38-D

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Action
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SS

Control: 6262
Rec'd: MAY 11, 1956

Action Assigned
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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1870, MAY 11, 2 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED THIS MORNING'S MEETING BY PRESENTATION DRAFT PREVIOUSLY TRANSMITTED DEPT TOGETHER WITH RELATIVELY BRIEF STATEMENT WHICH DID NOTHING TO CLARIFY ITS OBVIOUS AMBIGUITIES.

2. I AVOIDED ANY SPECIFIC COMMENT AND ASKED SERIES OF QUESTIONS DESIGNED TO CLARIFY ITS AMBIGUITIES. I SPECIFICALLY ASKED IN WHAT WAY DRAFT AVOIDED PREJUDICING U.S. POSITION; WHETHER SECOND PARA. INTENTIONALLY EXCLUDED DISPUTES OTHER THAN THOSE TAIWAN AREA; WHETHER "TWO MONTHS? IN LAST PARA. WAS INTENDED LIMIT VALIDITY DECLARATION TO THAT PERIOD; WHETHER LAST PARA. AS WHOLE MEANT THAT FONMIN CONFERENCE WAS "ONLY PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS"; AND WHETHER "TO MAKE SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS" REFERRED TO "PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS" OR TO FONMIN CONFERENCE.

3. HE AVOIDED ANY DIRECT RESPONSE MY FIRST QUESTION, SAYING THAT MUTUAL RESPECT CLAUSE WAS NOT ONLY "COMMON SENSE" BUT -- "ALSO" TO BE FOUND IN UN CHARTER. IN REPLY TO SECOND QUESTION HE INDICATED THAT LIMITING TO TAIWAN AREA DISPUTE WAS DELIBERATE BECAUSE MY EMPHASIS ON TAIWAN AREA AND SINCE IF SETTLEMENT THAT MOST CRITICAL DISPUTE COULD BE EFFECTED WITHOUT WAR OTHER DISPUTES WOULD PRESENT NO PROBLEM. HIS REPLIES TO MY QUESTIONS ON LAST PARA. WERE COMPLETELY EVASIVE. HOWEVER, "VERY WILLING HEAR ANY IDEAS OR SUGGESTIONS" I MAY HAVE.

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-2- 1870, MAY 11, 2 PM FROM GENEVA

4. AT CLOSE OF THIS PHASE REFERRING TO HIS STATEMENTS ON "PROCRASTINATION" AND OUR SEEKING "FREEZE" SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA, I POINTED OUT TALKS HAD NOT MADE FURTHER PROGRESS BECAUSE OF THEIR AMBIGUOUS POSITION THUS FAR ON RENOUNCING FORCE.

5. I MADE STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION ALONG LINES PARA. 3 DEPTEL 1943 TO WHICH I REPLIED ALONG USUAL LINES STRESSING THAT LAST DECEMBER THEY HAD ASKED FOR ACCOUNTING CHINESE IN U.S. PRISONS, WHO, I COULD NOT DENY, DESIRED RETURN CHINA, AND WE HAD NO RIGHT INQUIRE CONCERNING AMERICANS IN CHINESE PRISONS UNTIL WE MADE SUCH ACCOUNTING.

6. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY MAY 17.

7. PROCEEDING PRAGUE SATURDAY RETURNING GENEVA TUESDAY.

GOWEN

RNS

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1956 MAY 11 PM 12 23

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

602

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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665 1-6

53-H

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Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS
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SP

Control: 6547
Rec'd: MAY 11, 1956
4:21 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1871, MAY 11, 5 PM

Action Assigned to CAD

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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PRIORITY.

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS ON TODAYS MEETING.

"MUTUAL RESPECT" CLAUSE IN FIRST PARA THEIR DRAFT IS ADROIT COUNTER TO SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE. HE EXPECTS EYE WILL COUNTER WITH REINSERTION SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE UPON WHICH HE MAY PROPOSE BOTH CLAUSES BE INCLUDED OR BOTH BE OMITTED. IN THIS CONNECTION HE MAY ARGUE DROPPPING SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE DOES NOT PREJUDICE OUR POSITION ANY MORE THAN DOES DROPPING "MUTUAL RESPECT" CLAUSE PREJUDICE THEIR POSITION.

WITH RESPECT SECOND PARA BELIEVE THEY PROBABLY OPEN TO AN ADDITION OF "OR ELSEWHERE", BUT OF COURSE ENTIRE PARA MUST BE READ IN RELATION LAST PARA.

THIRD PARA IS, APART FROM SUBSTANCE, VERY LOOSELY DRAFTED. ON ONE HAND APPEARS ATTEMPT PICK UP MY PREVIOUS REMARKS ON NOT EXCLUDING FMC AS A "PRACTICAL AND FEASIBLE MEANS" AND ON OTHER HAND TO BE COMMITMENT TO FMC. PRC WOULD, OF COURSE, INSIST ON LAOTEG INTERPRETATION. (THEY HOPE WE WILL BARGAIN ON "TWO MONTH" PERIOD.) THUS IN ESSENCE DRAFT IS SIMPLE REITERATION THEIR POSITION ON FMC CONCERNING TAIWAN AREA AND IS FURTHER REMOVED FROM OUR POSITION THAN THEIR DEC 1 DRAFT. INCIDENTALLY BEST ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF CHINESE TERM RENDERED AS "ASCERTAIN" IN THIRD PARA IS "DETERMINE UPON" OR " DECIDE UPON". (MATTHEWS 1181 - 6393)

BELIEVE THAT AT

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-2- 1871, MAY 11, 5 P.M., FROM GENEVA.

BELIEVE THAT AT NEXT MEETING EYE SHOULD ATTACK DRAFT FROM THIS STANDPOINT, ALSO POINTING OUT WEAKNESSES SUGGESTED BY MY QUESTIONS THIS MORNING. WOULD PARTICULARLY APPRECIATE DEPTS SUGGESTIONS ON BEST TACTIC AND ARGUMENTS ON MUTUAL RESPECT" CLAUSE.

GOWEN

JHF

NOTE: Mr. Waddel (FE) notified 5:40 p.m., 5/11/56 FMH

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Action FE

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CORRECTION ISSUED 5/12/56, 12:14 P.M. LMS

Control: 6658

Rec'd: MAY 12 1956 7:47 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1875, MAY 11, 7 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF THREE)

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FROM JOHNSON

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

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Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

1. WANG OPENED 46TH TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT: AS HE HAD SPECIFICALLY POINTED OUT AT LAST MEETING, US IN DRAFT SUBMITTED ON APRIL 19 STILL REQUIRED THEIR SIDE GIVE UP SOVEREIGNTY AND AGREE TO FREEZING STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA WITH INTENTION LONG PROCRASTINATION WITHOUT OPENING FONMINS CONFERENCE SO AS TO PERMIT US CONTINUE ITS POLICY SEIZURE TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS. THIS WAS WHAT HIS SIDE ABSOLUTELY COULD NOT ACCEPT.

2. WANG SAID HOWEVER TAKING INTO CONSIDERATTION MY REPEATED REQUEST PROPOSED DECLARATION EXPLICITLY APPLY TAIWAN AREA, HIS SIDE WILLING MAKE ANOTHER EFFORT BY OFFERING FOLLOWING AMENDMENT. (HERE WANG READ TEXT NEW DRAFT PREVIOUSLY TRANSMITTED MYTEL 1866.

3. WANG SAID I WOULD CERTAINLY NOTICE HIS NEW DRAFT SPECIFICALLY APPLIED TO TAIWAN AREA PRINCIPLE OF SETTLING DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT RESORTING THREAT OR USE OF FORCE. HE CONSIDERED THIS DRAFT FULLY ACCOMMODATED ALL REASONABLE PORTIONS MY DRAFT.

4. WANG SAID HOWEVER HE MUST VERY FRANKLY POINT OUT SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA MUST BE SEPARATED FROM CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ANY ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS THROUGH AMBIGUOUS WORDS ABSOLUTELY NOT TO BE PERMITTED.

5. WANG SAID SINCE EYE HAD REPEATEDLY INDICATED AS AT LAST MEETING US DID NOT HARBOR ANY SUCH INTENT THEIR SIDE THEREFORE

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CONSIDERED NEW DRAFT SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES.

6. WANG SAID SINCE PROPOSED DECLARATION NOW MADE SPECIFICALLY APPLICAELE TAIWAN AREA IN ACCORDANCE MY REQUEST, IT THEREFORE FOLLOWED THAT SEEKING AND ASCERTAINING (CHINESE WORD HAD SENSE OF -DETERMINING UPON-) MEANS FOR SOLVING TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA MUST ALSO BE SPECIFIED. IN ORDER FORESTALL ANY POSSIBLE LONG PROCRASTINATION TALKS FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT DECLARATION WITHOUT MAKING CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS SETTLE DISPUTES THEIR DRAFT SPECIFIED WE SHOULD SEEK AND ASCERTAIN PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS FOR REALIZATION THIS DESIRE INCLUDING MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR HOLDING SINO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FONMINS WITHIN TWO MONTHS. HE BELIEVED THAT IF BOTH SIDES SHARED SINCERE DESIRE FOR SETTLEMENT TWO MONTHS SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT.

7. WANG SAID THEIR DRAFT ALSO PROVIDES IN PREAMBLE ANNOUNCEMENT DECLARATION SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS PRECLUDING PRINCIPLE MUTUAL RESPECT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY SOVEREIGNTY NON-INTERFERENCE EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THIS SELF-EVIDENT.

8. WANG SAID WE NOW APPROACHING NINTH MONTH SINCE STARTING DISCUSSIONS SECOND ITEM AGENDA. IF US REALLY DESIRES AS REPEATEDLY STATED RESPECT THEIR VIEWS WITHOUT REQUIRING THEM ABANDON SOVEREIGNTY OR POSITION THEN THEY CONSIDERED BOTH SIDES SHOULD AGREE NEW DRAFT WITHOUT DELAY.

9. I REPLIED I WOULD COMMENT SUBSEQUENTLY IN DETAIL ON NEW DRAFT. HOWEVER FEW QUESTIONS I WOULD LIKE ASK IN CLARIFICATION TO ASSIST IN CONSIDERATION IT. FIRST, HE HAD SPOKEN OF RESPECT FOR VIEWS EACH OTHER CONCERNING NATURE ORIGIN OUR DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. I WOULD APPRECIATE ANY AMPLIFICATION HE COULD GIVE ON HOW HE PERCEIVED THIS DRAFT RESPECTED VIEWS US.

10. I SAID NEXT I NOTICED THAT SECOND PARA. AS I READ ENGLISH TRANSLATION APPEARED LIMIT ENTIRE DECLARATION TO DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES TAIWAN AREA. INSTEAD BEING DECLARATION GENERAL APPLICABILITY ALSO HAVING SPECIFIC APPLICABILITY TAIWAN AREA IT SEEMED BE NOW DRAFTED IN FORM THAT HAD APPLICABILITY ONLY TAIWAN AREA. I WOULD APPRECIATE ANY AMPLIFICATION THAT REGARD, WAS DECLARATION NOT TO HAVE APPLICABILITY ANY

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DISPUTE BETWEEN US ELSEWHERE.

11. I SAID I WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE AMPLIFICATION LAST PARA. WITHOUT EXPRESSING OPINION ON SUBSTANCE--HE WELL KNEW MY OPINION THAT REGARD--IT SEEMED ME LANGUAGE AMBIGUOUS. AMBIGUOUS TWO RESPECTS, FROM MY FIRST CURSORY READING. WITH INCLUSION WORDS "WITHIN TWO MONTHS" DID IT MEAN THAT WHOLE DECLARATION HAD EFFECTIVENESS ONLY TWO MONTHS? IF AGREEMENT ON PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS NOT ARRIVED AT WITHIN TWO MONTHS PERIOD, DID HE CONSIDER REMAINDER DECLARATION NO LONGER VALID?

12. I SAID SECOND AMBIGUOUS POINT, IT SEEMED ME WAS PHRASE CONCERNING HOLDING FONMIN CONF. IT NOT CLEAR ME AS THIS READ WHETHER THIS SAYING ONLY PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS REALIZATION COMMON DESIRE IS HOLDING CONF FON MINS OR WHETHER IT MEANT TO SAY HOLDING OF CONF FON MINS ONE OF PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS TO BE CONSIDERED.

GOWEN

CES

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

48

CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Control: 6673

Rec'd: MAY 11, 1956 8:54 PM

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

1/6

Action
FE

Info
RMR
SS
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1875, MAY 11, 7 PM (SECTION TWO OF THREE)

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13. I SAID THESE WERE QUESTIONS THAT IMMEDIATELY STRUCK ME ON READING DRAFT AND I ASKED THEM NOT IN SENSE OF MAKING COMMENTS ON DRAFT. IT SEEMED ME THAT THEY QUESTIONS WHICH CLEARLY AROSE IN INTERPRETING AND CONSIDERING HIS DRAFT. AS CLEAR AND SPECIFIC ANSWERS AS HE COULD GIVE WOULD BE OF ASSISTANCE IN CONSIDERATION HIS DRAFT. IT IN THAT SENSE I ASKED THEM.

14. WANG REPLIED HE CONSIDERED DRAFT SUBMITTED THIS MORNING QUITE CLEAR IN TEXT. HE HAD ALSO MADE EXPLANATIONS VARIOUS PARAGRAPHS. THIS DRAFT DURING STATEMENT THIS MORNING. HE HAD POINTED OUT THIS MORNING DRAFT HAD TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION AND INCLUDED THOSE PORTIONS, MY OPINION WHICH REASONABLE. THIS DRAFT REPRESENTED ANOTHER EFFORT THEIR PART HELP OUR TALKS AND ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT.

15. WANG SAID ACCORRDING TO FIRST PARA THIS TEXT THEY WOULD ACCORD RESPECT TO SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY US AND WOULD NOT ATTEMPT IMPAIR OR INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS US. IN SAME WAY THEY EXPECTED MY COUNTRY RESPECT THEIR RIGHTS THEIR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND ALSO NOT TO TRY INTERFERE AND PREUDPVE# THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

16. WANG SAID TO THEM THIS PARA MATTER COMMON SENSE CONCERNING RIGHTS SOVEREIGN STATES. PRINCIPLES THIS PARA ALSO TO BE FOUND IN UN CHARTER SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED FOR IN CHARTER.

11. WANG SAID IF TWO COUNTRIES COULD ADOPT AND AGREE ON THESE PRINCIPLES STATED IN FIRST PARA THEN HE SHOULD SAY WE WOULD THEREBY LAY FOUNDATION FOR IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. HOWEVER SUCH QUESTION GENERAL IN EXTENT.

18. WANG SAID NEXT WE COME TO SECOND PARA. THIS PARA

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SPECIFICALLY DEALT WITH DISPUTE CHINA-US TAIWAN AREA. TODAY MOST CRITICAL ISSUE BETWEEN CHINA-US PLACING THEM ACUTE OPPOSITON EACH OTHER IS THAT IN TAIWAN AREA AND NOT ANY OTHER PLACE.

19. WANG SAID THEY BELIEVED IF TAIWAN QUESTION COULD BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WITHOUT GOING WAR THEN ALL OTHER ISSUES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WOULD BE SETTLED SAME WAY.

20. WANG SAID AS TO PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS FOR REALIZATION COMMON DESIRE AS SPECIFIED LAST PARA., THEY BELIEVED SHOULD SPECIFY TIME LIMIT FOR SEEKING THESE MEANS SO THAT ANY POSSIBLE PROCRASTINATION FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT CAN BE PREVENTED. AS HE SAID IN OPENING STATEMENT IF WE SHARED SINCERE DESIRE FOR SUCCESS DISCUSSIONS FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT, WOULD NOT BE ANY DELAY OR PROCRASTINATION THAT REGARD.

21. WANG SAID AS HE REPEATEDLY STATED IN COURSE TALKS PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS THEY HAD IN MIND PRECISELY FONMIN CONF. BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. HE ALSO NOTED I HAD NEVER IN PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS EXCLUDED SUCH CONFERENCE FROM CONSIDERATION. FOR MAKING SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS THIS PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS, TWO MONTHS TIME CERTAINLY SUFFICIENT.

22. I REPLIED I STILL NOT CLEAR WHETHER IT INTENDED THAT SECOND PARA WOULD HAVE ANY APPLICABILITY TO DISPUTES OTHER THAN THOSE TAIWAN AREA. IT SEEMED ME AS PARA NOW READ THERE WAS IMPLICATION WITH RESPECT DISPUTES OTHER THAN THOSE TAIWAN AREA PRINCIPLE OF RENUNCIATION FORCE AND SETTLEMENT BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION MIGHT NOT BE APPLICABLE.

23. I SAID I ALSO STILL NOT CLEAR AS TO INTERPRETATION APPLICABILITY OF DECLARATION--WHATEVER REST OF IT MEANT--IF AT END TWO MONTHS AGREEMENT NOT BEEN REACHED. IF AGREEMENT NOT REACHED IN TWO-MONTH PERIOD OR IF SETTLEMENT ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY THEM NOT REACHED IN FONMINS MEETING OR THIS MEETING OR ANY OTHER MEETING DID HIS DECLARATION SAY THEY WOULD AGAIN BE FREE AT THAT TIME RESUME THREAT RESORT FORCE?

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24. I SAID I ALSO NOT CLEAR AND DID NOT THINK LANGUAGE CLEAR ON WHETHER DECLARATION WAS STATING IT ALREADY BEEN DETERMINED BETWEEN US FONMINS CONF ONLY PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS. FOR EXAMPLE LAST PART SENTENCE "TO MAKE SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS"--SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS FOR WHAT? FOR FONMINS CONF? FOR SEEKING AND ASCERTAINING MEANS FOR REALIZATION COMMON DESIRE? WITHOUT EXPRESSING OPINION AT MOMENT, IT SEEMED ME LANGUAGE VERY AMBIGUOUS AS TO WHAT IT ACTUALLY DID MEAN. IF I HAD DIFFICULTY UNDERSTANDING IT, CERTAINLY OTHERS WOULD HAVE MUCH MORE DIFFICULTY.

25. WANG REPLIED AS HE SAW IT MY QUESTION CONCERNING SECOND PARA DRAFT ALREADY BEEN ANSWERED. AS I HAD PREVIOUSLY REPEATEDLY ASKED QUESTION WHETHER PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES INCLUDED DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA THEREFORE PRESENT DRAFT HAD PRECISELY ANSWERED MY QUESTION. IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT HE HAD SAID I WOULD NOTICE NEW DRAFT SPECIFICALLY APPLIED TO TAIWAN AREA PRINCIPLE OF SETTLING DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION WITHOUT RESORTING THREAT USE FORCE. HE THOUGHT THIS SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR.

26. WANG SAID WITH REGARD THIRD PARA ON ATTAINMENT PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS, IF WE AGREED ON PRINCIPLE SETTLING DISPUTES TAIWAN AREA WITHOUT RESORT THREAT USE FORCE AGAINST EACH OTHER THEN IT FOLLOWED PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS REALIZING THIS PRINCIPLE MUST BE SOUGHT. IF WE FAILED SEEK OR FIND SUCH PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS AS SPECIFIED DECLARATION WHAT WOULD BE USE MAKING DECLARATION AT ALL?

GOWEN

MEM

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48 CONFIDENTIAL Action Taken

Action
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Rec'd: MAY 11, 1956
Date of Action 9:40 P.M.

Info
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol

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SP
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NO: 1875, MAY 11, 7 P.M. (SECTION 3 OF 3)

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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27. WANG SAID THIS PARA CLEARLY SAYS WE SHOULD SEEK PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS AND THESE MEANS INCLUDED HOLDING SINO-AMERICAN FONMINS. TEXT THIS PARA QUITE CLEAR. AS TO SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS REFERRED TO THIS PARA THEY MEANT ARRANGEMENTS FOR SUCH CONFERENCE--TIME, PLACE, HOW IT WOULD BE ARRANGED. THIS WAS POSITION THEIR SIDE WHICH THEY MADE CLEAR OVER OVER AGAIN IN COURSE DELIBERATIONS. THAT WAS THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS REFERRED TO HERE.

28. WANG SAID NEVERTHELESS HE WOULD ALSO BE READY LISTEN ME IF I HAD OTHER BETTER PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS IN MIND.

29. I REPLIED I JUST WANTED MAKE ONE MORE COMMENT ON HIS STATEMENT. HE HAD OFTEN IN PAST AND AGAIN THIS MORNING TALKED OF PROCRASTINATION AND NECESSITY AVOIDING PROCRASTINATION AND ATTEMPT AT FREEZING SITUATION TAIWAN AREA.

30. I SAID I JUST WANTED NOTE IT US WHICH LAST OCTOBER PROPOSDD THERE BE RENUNCIATION FORCE SPECIFICALLY APPLICABLE TAIWAN AREA AS ELSEWHERE SO GENUINE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE UNDERTAKEN. IT AMBIGUOUS ATTITUDE WANG'S GOVT. HAD THUS FAR TAKEN WITH RESPECT REALLY RENOUNCING USE FORCE TAIWAN AREA THAT HAD PREVENTED UNDERTAKING SUCH DISCUSSIONS.

31. I SAID I WOULD STUDY HIS DRAFT AND COMMENT IN DETAIL NEXT MEETING.

32. WANG REPLIED HE COULD NOT AGREE WITH REMARKS I MADE JUST NOW. IT MATTER FACT THEIR SIDE AT SESSION OCTTBER 21 OFFERED CONCRETE DRAFT PROPOSED DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION FORCE, IT NOT US WHICH TOOK THIS FIRST INITIATIVE. IF US HAD

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GENUINELY SHARED DESIRE THEIR SIDE MAKE THIS DECLARATION IT WOULD BEEN MADE LONG AGO, IT WOULD BEEN MADE LAST YEAR, INSTEAD OF CARRYING DISCUSSION OVER TO PRESENT. PRESENT DRAFT ANOTHER IMPORTANT EFFORT THEIR PART TO MAKE DISCUSSIONS SUCCESS AND HE DID NOT WANT SEE ANY FURTHER DELAY. THEY HOPED WE ABLE ADOPT THIS DRAFT AND REACH AGREEMENT SPEEDILY.

33. WANG SAID HOWEVER HE VERY WILLING LISTEN ANY POSITIVE CONSTRUCTIVE REMARKS HAD TO MAKE NEXT MEETING WITH REGARD THIS DRAFT.

34. I SAID IF WANG HAD NOTHING FURTHER THAT MATTER I WOULD LIKE NOTE 18 MORE CHINESE ARRIVED HONG KONG APRIL 30 ENROUTE WANG'S COUNTRY. THIS MADE TOTAL 148 WE KNOW OF THAT ARRIVED BY SHIP HONG KONG ENROUTE HIS COUNTRY SINCE AUGUST 1 LAST YEAR. IT BEEN ALMOST FIVE MONTHS NOW SINCE IPR KC# AMERICAN BEEN RELEASED HIS COUNTRY. IT HARD ME SEE HOW HIS AUTHORITIES COULD EXPECT WORLD BELIEVE THEY CARRYING OUT COMMITMENT SEPT 10 LAST YEAR, REGARDING AMERICANS WHEN FACTS SO CLEARLY SPOKE OTHERWISE.

35. I SAID MY GOVT INTENDS FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT PLEDGE MADE OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. AT SAME TIME WE EXPECTED HIS GOVT DO LIKEWISE. IT CLEARLY NOT DOING SO.

36. I SAID I HAD SPOKE MANY TIMES EFFECTS THIS HAVING MY COUNTRY. IF HIS AUTHORITIES REALLY SEEMING IMPROVE ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING TALKS AND RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES SITUATION MUST BE CORRECTED.

37. WANG REPLIED I HAD SAID NUMBER CHINESE NOW RETURNED HIS COUNTRY BUT THESE CHINESE SHOULD BEEN PERMITTED RETURN LONG AGO. OF 49 CHINESE WHOSE NAMES HE GIVEN ME EXCEPT ONE WHO ALREADY RETURNED THEY HAD NO INFORMATION ON REMAINING 48.

38. WANG SAID HE ABLE TELL ME ANY ORDINARY AMERICAN

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CIVILIAN NOW CHINA CAN RETURN MY COUNTRY ANY TIME HE DESIRES. IF THEY NOT NOW RETURNED IT SIMPLY BECAUSE THEY NOT HAVE DESIRE RETURN NOW. THEY COULD NOT FORCE THEM LEAVE COUNTRY OR DEPORT THEM BECAUSE THEY NOT BREACHED CHINESE LAW. AS TO QUESTION PERSONS IN PRISON DURING DISCUSSIONS LAST DECEMBER HE REQUESTED ME MAKE INVESTIGATION CHINESE IMPRISONED US. HOWEVER NEARLY HALF YEAR PASSED WITHOUT MY GIVING HIM ANY INFORMATION ON THEM WHICH HE REGRETTED VERY MUCH. CERTAINLY I COULD NOT TELL HIM THAT PERSONS IMPRISONED US DID NOT DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY.

39. WANG SAID IF I CONCERNED ABOUT AMERICANS IMPRISONED IN CHINA THEN MUST FIRST ALL GIVE THEM SUCH INFORMATION AS ACTUALLY HOW MANY CHINESE NOW IMPRISONED BY MY GOVT US. HE COULD TELL ME VERY FRANKLY IF US REFUSED GIVE ACCOUNTING CHINESE IMPRISONED US, US HAD NO RIGHT MENTION QUESTION AMERICANS IN PRISON HIS COUNTRY.

40. WANG SAID HE HAD SAID MY GOVT NOT SATISFIED WITH SITUATION AMERICANS IMPRISONED IN CHINA. HE COULD TELL ME HIS GOVT, HIS COUNTRY, HIS PEOPLE EVEN MORE DISSATISFIED WITH SITUATION HIS COMPATRIOTS IMPRISONED IN US.

41. I ASKED WHAT AMERICANS WE WERE TALKING ABOUT LAST SEPTEMBER IF NOT ABOUT THOSE AMERICANS DETAINED THEIR PRISONS. WE WERE NOT TALKING ABOUT AMERICANS IN ABSTRACT, WE TALKING ABOUT SPECIFIC AMERICANS AND BOTH US KNEW IT. THERE WAS CERTAINLY NO DOUBT BETWEEN US THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WERE COMMITTING SELVES PERMIT THOSE (REPEAT THOSE) AMERICANS RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY US. THIS THEY HAD NOT DONE.

42. WANG SAID QUESTION WE DISCUSSED WAS QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS BOTH COUNTRIES AND THIS DEALT WITH IN VERY CLEAR TERMS AND WORDS OUR AGREEMENT. AGREEMENT DID NOT SPEAK ABOUT PARTICULAR CATEGORY CIVILIANS. AGREEMENT COVERED ALL CIVILIANS. THEY EXPECTED US IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT ACCORDANCE ITS TERMS.

43. I SAID I HAD NOTHING FURTHER AND ASKED IF NEXT THURSDAY 17TH SATISFACTORY. WANG AGREED.

GOWEN

JMD:MAA

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CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

LETTER No. 42

May 11, 1956

Dear Alex:

We went all out to meet your request to keep Dave Osborn. We took the matter to Mr. Carpenter in order to get it resolved ....

We had the new Indian Minister Hareshwar Dayal in. He called on Mr. Sebald on May 8 for a discussion of the application of the Agreed Announcement. As you will see from the enclosed memo of conversation, the Indian Embassy is a little bit fuzzy on some aspects of the matter.

... informed me in confidence, the other day that the Indian Charge in Peiping had told the ... Charge there that the Indian Embassy here "assisted about 330 Chinese to return to China". I do not know where he got the figure. There is no evidence here that the Indians have been in contact with any such movement of Chinese. They have undoubtedly assisted a few financially. They did not volunteer any information on this and we of course have not pressed them.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva

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Lot 72 D 415

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We will send you a report on the meeting of the representatives of the 16 countries which was held on May 9 with Bob Murphy on the Chinese Communist note. (See Circular 777 May 10) You will recall that we referred to this in our guidance telegram of May 9, No. 1967.

Your letter No. 31 dated May 3 was received on May 8, 1956.

I have asked Nagoski to check the unfortunate language of the Immigration people in reference to "applications for permission to depart". He tells me that the Immigration Service confirms categorically that Chinese do not need "permission" to return and do not have to inform the Immigration Service when they leave the United States. However, some foreigners (and this not confined to Chinese) in the U. S. apparently do not realize this. They may feel that it is necessary, or at least the polite thing, to touch base with U. S. I & N. S. before leaving. Also, some of the prospective Chinese repatriates are under the illusion that the US I & N. S. can help them with tickets and travel reservations. Perhaps some of the U.S. I & N. S. field officers have not always made sufficiently plain to the inquirers that a positive response does not imply that the inquiry was necessary in the first place or that a negative answer could have been given. The one case in which the inquiry was referred from one office to another appears to have been an instance of pure bureaucratic timidity. We have asked I. & N. S. to reexamine its circular instructions to the field offices on this subject to make sure that it is sufficiently emphasized that Chinese need have no dealings with the Immigration Offices in their arrangements for departure.

I agree with your observation in your letter No. 30 about the deficiency in the case histories attached to the Lindbeck report. I have shown Lindbeck your comments and he is working on the matter. We will have some information on this shortly.

. . . . . .

I hope there are no unpleasant surprises in the meeting tomorrow.

. . . . . .

Regards and every good wish,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Copy of Memorandum dated May 9.
2. Copy of Memo of Conversation with Indian Minister

605

CONFIDENTIAL

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : FE - Mr. Robertson

DATE: May 14, 1956

FROM : CA - Mr. Clough

SUBJECT: Developments in Geneva Talks Since April 21.

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
MAY 14 1956
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

There have been only two meetings in Geneva during your absence, one on April 26 and one on May 11. A meeting was originally scheduled for May 5, but was postponed at Wang's request. We don't know why he requested the postponement, but suspect it might have been connected with the presence of a Chinese Communist trade mission in Warsaw.

The meeting on April 26 was relatively short (1 hour and 45 minutes). Wang flatly rejected our April 19 draft and showed no sign of willingness to compromise nor intent to offer an alternative formulation.

On May 11 Wang opened by presenting a new draft. (Tab A) It cuts out our self-defense phrase, replacing it with the phrase "without prejudice to the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs." It also cuts out the phrase "or elsewhere" in the second paragraph, thus limiting renunciation of force to the Taiwan area alone, and makes the pledge not to use force apply only to the US and the Chinese Communists by adding the words "against each other." It also specifies the holding of a foreign minister's conference and sets a time limit of two months for making arrangements for it.

At both meetings Wang demanded an accounting of Chinese imprisoned in the US.

Attachment: (Tab A)

FE:CA:RNClough:bp

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

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May 14, 1956

Dear Ralph:

Reading Walter's latest letter, which came this morning, I feel bad about all the trouble you in CA and FE have had to go to on my account. Believe me I appreciate it from the bottom of my heart, and if there had been any alternative I would gladly have taken it ....

If I can take advantage of this extremely informal context, I'd like to broach an idea or two on the talks, mainly so that if the ideas reflect too much of a drift away from FE's, you can write back and tell me they're all wet. They are not official suggestions, not endorsed by the Ambassador (to whom I haven't shown--but will show--this letter) and don't even reflect any hard-and-fast opinions on my part.

1. Duration of Talks - We will presumably continue unwilling to force a break, so that duration is up to CHICOMS. Their position with respect to continuation of talks will reflect not only their appreciation of the value of the

Ralph N. Clough, Esquire,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

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Lot 72 D 415

of the talks per se, as an instrument for promoting the trend towards accommodation and hurting the GRC, but also their estimate of the prospects for a FMC.

2. CHICOM Estimate of FMC Prospects. - CHICOMS will presumably not want to force the issue of a FMC before Nehru's U.S. visit in July. Question is whether they will want to try to force the issue during Nehru's visit, or whether they may not have another crucial date in mind, the presidential elections in November. They must be aware that we are not going to volunteer any movement towards a FMC, at least before November. They might be content to wait out November. On the other hand, they might try to put the Administration in a pre-election dilemma, by threatening hostilities against the offshores unless we agree to a FMC. Either choice would be very painful, particularly just before election time, but the CHICOMS might figure that with the GOP campaign slogan "Peace and Prosperity" the Administration would choose the FMC as the lesser of two evils.

3. The Worth of a FMC - The thing that bothers me about a FMC, apart from the general damage that a FMC would do to the anti-communist forces in the FE, is what would there be to talk about? Paradoxically, about the safest topic I can think of would be a meaningful renunciation of force. Still, in Europe especially, one senses how much the U.S. needs some

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evidence to point to/show it is not being "unreasonable" in its opposition to Communist China.

4. Our Tactics Vis-a-vis New Draft - Wang's new draft has a lot of bargaining room built in. We can exploit this for two or three months, at least. Here, however, is a point: in order to get the most mileage out of the new draft, it would be a tremendous help to have some idea of the Department's thinking on strategy. One approach on the new draft, designed to get mileage, would be to go through the thing paragraph by paragraph. The first paragraph alone, for example, would be good for three or four meetings. However, in planning this kind of approach, it would be helpful to know more about our objectives. If we are going to be really adamant on the first paragraph as per our April 19 draft, for example, we should save discussion of the paragraph until the last, since once we start insisting on ICSD without "mutual respect" we have put a term to the mileage we can get out of the new draft. What would enable us to get the most mileage would be if we had a "minimum position" draft towards which we could work point by point and paragraph by paragraph--such a draft would, of course, not be tabled until all possible mileage had been squeezed out of Wang's new draft.

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5. A "Minimum-Position" Draft - In the enclosure, I have tried my hand at such a draft. This does not represent my opinion of what would be desirable in the way of a declaration if we had carte blanche. It is merely a sample of the kind of thing that would be a very useful guide for us in getting mileage out of Wang's draft.

In drafting the enclosure, I have tried to protect our position on three points: (a) no sacrifice of self-defense right; (b) renunciation of force applicable to Taiwan; and, (c) U.S. control over whether and when FMC to be held, with implication in any event not until Americans released. The last paragraph in particular is rather treacherous ground, but in any case, the whole enclosure is purely illustrative and not intended as a concrete suggestion.

As to whether Wang would "buy" the enclosed, I have my doubts, but I think it is at least conceivable. He would certainly look darn unreasonable if he turned it down. Whether or not he would buy it, such a draft would at least help us get mileage out of Wang's draft.

Hope I haven't presumed too much on your time. Regards to Doug, Steve, Joe, Allene, Irene, Elaine. Regards and sincere thanks to Walter and Mr. Sebald--and Cappy.

Sincerely yours,

David L. Osborn

Enc. - Draft Agreed
Announcement

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AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE AMBASSADORS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, and Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, agree, without prejudice to the views of either side with respect to the merits of any of their disputes, [or, alternatively, "to the inherent rights of either party"] to announce:

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China are determined that they should settle disputes between their two countries in the Taiwan area or elsewhere by peaceful means only, and are determined they will not resort to the threat or use of force;

The two Ambassadors should continue their talks to settle the practical matters at issue between them and should expeditiously seek such additional practical and feasible means for the realization of the common determination expressed above, [including the holding of negotiations at a higher level]* as may be ascertained to be appropriate and necessary.

*Bracketed clause to be inserted as ultimate "concession" if necessary.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (607)

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1. Communist May 11 counterproposal represents sharp retrogression from their December 1 counterproposal and is entirely unacceptable for following reasons among others;

a. It contains no reservation of right of self-defense.

b. Paragraph 1 amounts to recognition of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Communist China.

c. It is not an agreement to renounce force, but an agreement to settle disputes without using force.

d. It is limited to disputes in Taiwan area.

e. It is limited to renunciation of use of force against each other, and does not renounce use of force by Communists against GRC.

f. It apparently places two months' limit on ambassadors talks, requires holding of Foreign Ministers' conference, and may limit effect of announcement to two months.

2. Our analysis is that Communist proposal is by all odds shrewdest and most dangerous move to date. In effect it would amount to our recognition Communist sovereignty and territorial integrity, leave

11196

Communists

Drafted by: L - Mr. Phleger

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
The Secretary - cleared in draft
FE - Mr. Sebald
CA - Mr. Clough

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
0557
MAY 15 1955
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
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[redacted] Communists free to attack GRC whenever they wished with US barred from use of force to assist defense and would obligate us to agree within two months to hold Foreign Ministers' conference.

3. Tactics in handling this proposal should be directed toward indicating that draft unacceptable and long step backward from their December 1 draft. You should try and lead back to our April 19, second revision as basis for discussion, pointing out that it covers all legitimate requirements of situation, preserving rights of two sides, renouncing use of force, and providing for discussions to settle outstanding differences. Every effort must be made to prevent Wang's proposal from being used as basis for discussion.

4. We should be careful that while rejecting Communist proposal we do so in such a way as not to furnish grounds for break, and your manner of use of material in first paragagraph should be dictated by this requirement. We think best tactic if possible is to get back to discussion US April 19 revision and why no grounds exist for Communists refusal accept.

5. From discussion last meetings it would appear that Wang has taken position all prisoners both US and Chinese are covered by Agreed Announcement, but that Communists are not living up to their agreement because US not releasing Chinese prisoners. Attempt to get Wang to reiterate this position. FYI We have ascertained that only 42 Chinese aliens in all US prisons, and while we have no final word as yet, it may be possible in relatively short time to make arrangements for deportation of Chinese prisoners

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prisoners if release US prisoners can be thereby obtained or facilitated. END FYI

6. You should again call for release of US prisoners and Communist implementation Agreed Announcement pointing out their failure thus far has made it difficult to make further progress in talks.

Dulles
Hoover

= DULLES =

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OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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SECRET

Letter No. 33

May 16, 1956

Dear Walter:

With reference to my letter No. 32 concerning the visit of the Brazilian Parliamentary Delegation to Communist China, I am not clear as to exactly what may have happened. However, on the following evening they denied to Vedeler that they were going to Communist China and I now assume that this must be the fact. There was no possibility of misunderstanding between us at the time I had my conversation with them as several of them with whom I was speaking spoke good English and we talked about it in some detail. However, you can now I think disregard it.

I have received the instructions for tomorrow's meeting and will try to carry them out to the best of my ability. In thinking it through, I have decided that my best tactic for tomorrow is to avoid specifics and simply attack his draft as a whole, then try to steer the discussion to our April 19 draft. I doubt if I am going to be very successful on the latter point but we will have to see how it works out. I figure that if I get into specifics, particularly with respect to the self-defense clause, I will open the door for him to suggest its inclusion along with their mutual respect clause and will find myself mired down in an unproductive morass.

Thanks very much for your letter No. 42. It seems to me that Sebald's discussion with Dayal was an excellent idea and should be very helpful in influencing Indian attitudes.

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

I am very glad to note the action you have taken with INS on the "application for permission to depart" problem.

Regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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609

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

670

33-F

CONFIDENTIAL

Action FE

Info RMR

SS G

Control: 9351
Rec'd: MAY 17, 1956
Action Taken: 10:18 AM

Date ... Symbol
... Officer
Direction to DC/R

This Document must be Returned to the RM/R Central Files

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1895, MAY 17, NOON

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO HOUR MEETING THIS MORNING WHICH I OPENED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT MAKING GENERALIZED ATTACK ON HIS MAY 11 DRAFT. I POINTED TO COMPLETE LACK "ACCOMMODATION" OUR POSITION AND CHARACTERIZED DRAFT AS RETROGRESSION FROM NOT ONLY OUR DRAFT OF APRIL 19 BUT ALSO HIS DRAFT DEC 1. CLOSED BY URGING CONSIDERATION APRIL 19 DRAFT MAKING POINTS CONTAINED PARA 3 DEPTEL 1994.

2. IN GIVE AND TAKE HE REPEATED POINTS MADE LAST MEETING AND MADE CONCERTED EFFORT TO DRAW ME INTO SPECIFIC DISCUSSION PARTICULARLY ON FIRST PARA MAY 11 DRAFT, CLOSING BY HOPE I WOULD HAVE DETAILED COMMENTS NEXT MEETING. IN COURSE THIS DISCUSSION WANG IN REFERRING TO "PEACEFUL ASPIRATIONS" PRC STATED "WILL NOT TOLERATE PRESENT SITUATION (IN TAIWAN JRE) FOR LONG WITHOUT APPLYING SOLUTION" AND IF US SINCERE CAN IT "DESIRE THESE TALKS DRAG ON INDEFINITELY"?

3. DURING GIVEN AND TAKE I AVOIDED SPECIFIC DISCUSSION DETAILS MAY 11 DRAFT FOCUSING ON THEIR UNWILLINGNESS RENOUNCE FMC TAIWAN AREA AND CONTINUALLY URGING APRIL 19 DRAFT AS UNOBJECTIONABLE STATEMENT IF THEY ACCEPTED THIS PRINCIPLE. CHARACTERIZED MAY 11 DRAFT AS NOTHING MORE THAN THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION FMC ON TAIWAN AREA WHILE THEY PRESERVED OPTION USE FORCE THERE. SAID US NEVER WOULD ACCEPT THIS POSITION.

URGED THEY RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION BY NEXT MEETING.

611.93/5-1756

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4. REPLY MY STATEMENT AGAIN CALLING FOR RELEASE 13 HE SAID HOPED I WOULD BE ABLE GIVE HIM INFORMATION ON CHINESE PRISONERS IN US, "THIS WAS UNDERTAKEN BY US IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT".

5. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY MAY 24.

6. PROCEEDING PRAGUE FRIDAY MORNING, RETURNING TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY.

GOWEN

RNS

Note: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 5/17/3:25 p.m. EMB(CWO)

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MAY 17 PM 4 29
OFFICE OF
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(610)

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Action Assigned to EUR 671

Action Taken

53-51

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Control: 9616
Rec'd: MAY 17, 1956
3:20 PM

Action
FE
Info
RMR
SS
P

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1902, MAY 17, 6 P.M.

Date of Action
Direction to DC/R
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Action Taken
Action Assigned to

1 - 6

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PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS ON TODAY'S MEETING:

AT TODAY'S MEETING I DELIBERATELY AVOIDED SPECIFIC COMMENT ON DETAILS HIS DRAFT AND DID NOT AS SUCH MENTION EITHER SELF-DEFENSE OR MUTUAL RESPECT CLAUSES IN EFFORT AVOID TRAPS MAY 11 DRAFT AND KEEP ISSUE FOCUSED ON MAJOR POINT THEIR QNWILLINGNESS RENOUNCE FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA AS SET FORTH OUR APRIL 19 DRAFT. THIS SERVED WELL TODAY AND PROBABLY CAN PROFITABLY BE CONTINUED FOR ANOTHER MEETING OR TWO. HOWEVER, BY THQS SHARPENING BASIC ISSUE BETWEEN US I MAY BE CORRESPONDINGLY REDUCING OUR FREEDOM OF MANUEVER TO KEEP TALKS GOING.

HOWEVER THIS IS ALSO ISSUE UPON WHICH PUBLIC POSITION CHICOMS IS WEAKEST AND UPON WHICH THEY WILL BE MORE RELUCTANT GO TO PUBLIC OR BREAK TALKS. SUGGEST THIS ASPECT WOULD BE MUCH CLEARER IF COMMUNISTS WERE NOT ABLE PUBLICLY CONFUSE BASIC ISSUE WITH EITHER SELF-BEFENSE OR MUTUAL RESPECT CLAUSES. THEREFORE SUGGEST DEPT MAY DESIRE GIVE CONSIDERATION TO METHOD WHEREBY THIS MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED.

WHILE AT TODAY'S MEETING WANG PERMITTED HIMSELF SOME EXTENT BE LED BACK TO DISCUSSION APRIL 19 DRAFT AT SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS HE WILL PROBABLY LIMIT HIMSELF TO FLAT REJECTION THAT DRAFT.

AS ADDITIONAL

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AS ADDITIONAL POINTS DEPT WILL NOTE FROH FULL RECORD THAT TODAY HE WENT FURTHER THAN IN PASTIN, SHAPENING DISTINCTION BETWEEN OFFSHORE ISLANDS AND TAIWAN BY-SPECIFICALLY MENTIONING PENGHUS WITH TAIWAN AND STATING WE HAD NO INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES "ELSEWHERE". JUST POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL MOTIVE FOR THEIR DELETION "ELSEWHERE" MIGHT BE HOPE I WOULD, IN ARGUING FOR ITS RETENTION, AND OTHER DISPUTES SUCH AS KOREA, THUS APPEARING SUPPORT THEIR PROPOSAL FOR KOREA CONFERENCE.

WANG'S STATEMENT PARA 244 LONGTEL, THAT "SITUATION WHERE COUNTRY ALREADY USED FORCE", CARRIED IMPLICATION COMITE PREPARING USE FORCE. RELEVANCE THIS STATEMENT TO CONTEXT OF FMC IN WHICH WANG MADE IT NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR, BUT IN ANY CASE CARRIES CONNOTATIOM OF THREAT AND AS SUCH MAY PROVIDE USEFUL POINT TO ATTACK NEXT MEETING.

DEPT WILL ALSO NOTE HE AVOIDED ANY TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT ATTITUDE WITH RESPECT MAY 11 DRAFT AND SEEMED TO BE INVITING AMENDMENTS. SEEMED PARTICULARLY DESIROUS GETTING ME INTO DETAILED DISCUSSION FIRST PARA, REPEATEDLY CHALLENGING ME TO OPPOSE MUTUAL RESPECT CLAUSE (10-4- 37 LONGTEL).

BELIEVE I WAS SUCCESFFUL TODAY IN GETTING HIM TO GO ABOUT AS FAR AS HE IS GOING TO GO IN LINKING PRISONERS AND PAVING WAY FOR OUR DEPORTATION CHINESE ALIEN PRISONERS AS PRESSURE ON THEM RELEASE REMAINING AMERICANS.

—, GOWEN

JHF

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Action Assigned to CR/O'K

53-H
Action
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Control Act 9938 Taken
Rec'd: MAY 18, 1956
2:24 PM

Info
RMR
SS
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L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1903, MAY 17, 8 PM (SECTION 1 OF 5)

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol 1
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 47TH TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT: QTE I CAREFULLY STUDIED DRAFT YOU SUBMITTED LAST MEETING, IN LIGHT COMMENTS YOU MADE THAT TIME. IN GENERAL, MUST SAY STRUCK BY DISCREPANCY BETWEEN YOUR COMMENTS AND DRAFT ITSELF.

2. FIRST PLACE, YOU SAID LAST MEETING DRAFT FULLY ACCOMMODATED REASONABLE PORTIONS MY DRAFT. PRESUME YOU WERE SPEAKING OF MY APRIL 19 REVISION YOUR DRAFT DECEMBER 1. AS I POINTED OUT IN PRESENTING THAT REVISION, HAD CAREFULLY ADHERED YOUR DRAFT IN PREPARING IT. FACT, IT VERY EXACTLY INCLUDES ALL LANGUAGE YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT.

3. MUST ASK JUST WHAT PORTIONS MY AMENDMENTS BEEN, AS YOU SAY, "FULLY" ACCOMMODATED IN NEW DRAFT? FIRST SUCH PORTION, SO FAR AS BEEN ABLE DISCOVER IN ENGLISH TEXT CONSISTS SOLELY OF THREE WORDS "WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO". NOT BY ANY STRETCH IMAGINATION COULD ANYONE CALL THIS ACCOMMODATION MY AMENDMENT THAT PARAGRAPH.

4. SECOND PORTION MY AMENDMENTS WHICH APPARENTLY INCLUDED IN NEW DRAFT CONSISTS FOUR WORDS "IN THE TAIWAN AREA". SHALL THIS POINT LATER, FOR MOMENT LET ME SAY CONTEXT IN WHICH PHRASE INCLUDED NEW DRAFT VASTLY DEPARTS FROM SENSE MY AMENDMENT DECEMBER 1 DRAFT.

5. THAT IS ALL OF SO-CALLED "ACCOMMODATION MY AMENDMENTS. CANNOT FIND ANY OTHER EXAMPLE "ACCOMMODATION" MY REVISIONS OR POINT VIEW ANYWHERE IN NEW DRAFT. ACCORDINGLY, I LEFT WITH

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SUPPOSITION WHEN YOU SPOKE OF FULLY ACCOMMODATING PORTIONS MY DRAFT, YOU REALLY TALKING ABOUT PORTIONS YOUR OWN DRAFT OF DEC 1, CLAIMING CREDIT FOR ACCOMMODATION YOUR OWN POINT VIEW.

6. UNFORTUNATELY, AS I COMPARE DEC 1 DRAFT WITH YOUR DRAFT MAY 11, SEEMS YOU DONE ONLY SLIGHTLY LESS DAMAGE TO IT THAN TO MY AMENDMENTS. DEC 1 DRAFT, ON SURFACE AT LEAST, SEEMED GENUINE STEP TOWARDS RENUNCIATION FORCE, AND AT TIME I SO INTERPRETED IT. MY PRIMARY CONCERN, WHEN YOU SUBMITTED THAT DRAFT, WAS WITH CERTAIN AMBIGUITIES IT CONTAINED. BY WHAT IT FAILED SAY, RATHER THAN WHAT IT SAID, DEC 1 DRAFT APPEARED CAPABLE MEANING ONE THING ONE SIDE ANOTHER TO OTHER SIDE. DID NOT THEN OCCUR ME YOU TRYING TRICK ME. I DID NOT JUMP TO CONCLUSION AMBIGUITIES DELIBERATE. ON CONTRARY, I FELT YOU WOULD WELCOME SUGGESTIONS TO REMOVE AMBIGUITIES ON TWO SUCCESSIVE OCCASIONS, MADE SUCH SUGGESTIONS. STILL SEEMS ME IF AMBIGUITIES DEC 1 DRAFT NOT DELIBERATE, AND IF YOUR GOVERNMENT WERE GENUINELY WILLING JOIN IN DECLARATION RENOUNCING FORCE TAIWAN AREA, CAN BE NO VALID REASONS FOR YOUR OBJECTIONS MY REVISIONS. STILL SEEMS ME IF YOUR GOVERNMENT NOT WILLING RENOUNCE FORCE TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE, THEN ALL ITS TALK ABOUT DESIRING PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS IDLE AND WITHOUT SINCERITY OF PURPOSE.

7. IT NOW BEGINS APPEAR, IN LIGHT MAY 11 DRAFT, THAT PERHAPS AMBIGUITIES DEC 1 DRAFT WERE DELIBERATE. IN NEW DRAFT, AND PARTICULARLY IN THIRD PARAGRAPH, YOU DELIBERATELY INTRODUCED NEW AMBIGUITIES. YOU HAVE USED LANGUAGE WHICH APPARENTLY PLACES ARBITRARY TIME LIMIT OUR EFFORTS HERE. HAVE USED LANGUAGE WHICH APPARENTLY MEANS YOUR GOVERNMENT THREATENS RESORT FORCE UNLESS RESOLUTION DISPUTES FULLY MEETING ITS UNILATERAL POSITION REACHED WITHIN TWO MONTHS. OTHER HAND, PARAGRAPH MIGHT BE INTERPRETED MEAN EVEN WITHOUT WAITING TWO MONTHS, TWO OF US SHOULD IMMEDIATELY DROP ALL OTHER BUSINESS AND START PREPARING FOR MINS MEETING. SIMPLY NOT CLEAR. WHAT IS CLEAR IS IT REPRESENTS NO SLIGHTEST CONCESSION FROM

BASIC POSITION THIS REGARD YOU TOOK AT VERY OUTSET TALKS UNDER SECOND AGENDA ITEM.

8. RESPECT TO TAIWAN AREA REFERENCE, SITUATION ALSO VERY AMBIGUOUS. IN YOUR STATEMENTS PREVIOUS MEETINGS AND AGAIN LAST MEETING, YOU NOT ATTEMPTED DENY EXISTENCE OTHER DISPUTES BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, ALTHOUGH WE BOTH AGREE DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA MOST IMMEDIATE. INDEED, LAST MARCH, WHEN YOU BEGAN INSIST ON DEC 1 DRAFT OR OCT 27 DRAFT AS ONLY CHOICES BEING GIVEN US, YOU APPEARED TAKE POSITION YOUR DEC 1 DRAFT COVERED ALL OUR DISPUTES INCLUDING THAT IN TAIWAN AREA. LAST MEETING YOU AGAIN TOOK COGNIZANCE EXISTENCE OTHER DISPUTES, SAID YOUR GOVERNMENT HOPED OUR OTHER DISPUTES ALSO BE SETTLED WITHOUT RESORT FORCE.

IF THAT REALLY DESIRE YOUR GOVERNMENT, WHY FEAR SAY SO? WHY HAVE YOU, IN SECOND PARA NEW DRAFT, EXPLICITLY EXCLUDED ANY AND ALL DISPUTES OTHER THAN THAT TAIWAN AREA?

GOWEN

JMD

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33

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CORRECTION ISSUED 5/19/56, 9 A.M. CWD

Action
FE

Control: 10205
Rec'd: MAY 18, 1956
10:31 A.M.

Info
RMR

FROM: GENEVA - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1903, MAY 17, 10 A.M. (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

9. THESE ARE SOME OF REASONS, WHY I FEEL NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTES RETROGRESSION NOT ONLY FROM MY DRAFT APRIL 19 BUT EVEN FROM YOUR OWN DRAFT BECAUSE IF WE GOING GO FORWARD, THEN LET US DO SO , BEGINNING WITH SERIOUS CONSIDERATION APRIL 19 DRAFT. THAT DRAFT COVERS ALL LEGITIMATE REQUIREMENTS OF SITUATION FULLY PRESERVES RIGHTS BOTH SIDES. IS UNAMBIGUOUS RENUNCIATION USE FORCE IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. IT MAKES PROVISION FOR DISCUSSIONS SETTLE OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES.

END QUOTE.

10. WANG (FROM HANDWRITTEN NOTES) SAID HE ALREADY MADE SOME EXPLANATION MOST POINTS COVERED MY STATEMENT. LAST MEETING HE MADE QUITE CLEAR THAT HE SUBMITTED NEW DRAFT REPRESENTING ANOTHER IMPORTANT EFFORT ON CHINESE PART THESE TALKS. SINCE I HAD ASKED HOW NEW DRAFT ACCOMMODATED MY VIEWS HE WOULD LIKE AMPLIFY. THEY MADE QUITE CLEAR NEW DRAFT ACCOMMODATED VIEWS US AND BY THIS HE MEANT IT HAD ACCOMMODATED ALL REASONABLE VIEWS US.

11. (TURNING TO ONE OF SEVERAL SHORT HORIZONTALLY TYPED STATEMENTS) WANG SAID ISSUE BETWEEN US VERY PLAIN. IT US WHICH FIRST MADE PROPOSAL TWO SIDES MAKE DECLARATION. THEIR SIDE ACCEPTED THAT PROPOSAL AND HAD REPEATABLY TAKEN INITIATIVE OFFERING DRAFT. RECENTLY AFTER CONSIDERATION US VIEWS THEY SUBMITTED DECLARATION MAKING PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WITHOUT RESORT USE FORCE SPECIFICALLY APPLY TAIWAN AREA.

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12. WANG SAID HOWEVER AS THEIR SIDE OFTEN POINTED OUT IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE US OCCUPYING TAIWAN TRYING INTERFERE LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS IT ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE MAKE CHINA RECOGNIZE US-CHIANG KAI SHEK TREATY OR RECOGNIZE US CLAIM SELF-DEFENSE TAIWAN AREA OR ACQUIESCE IN CONTINUED CARRYING OUT BY US SUCH POLICY. THAT WHY HE REPEATEDLY STATED CHINA COULD AND COULD ONLY ACCOMMODATE REASONABLE PORTIONS MY VIEWS AND COULD NOT ACCOMMODATE UNREASONABLE VIEWS US. IF US INTENDED INCLUDE IN DRAFT OR CONCEAL IN DECLARATION UNREASONABLE VIEWS, THAT IMPOSSIBLE. THIS POINT SHOULD BE QUITE CLEAR BETWEEN US.

13. WANG SAID SECOND PLACE REGARDING SPECIFIC IMPLICATION TAIWAN AREA PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WITHOUT RESORT THREAT USE FORCE THIS SO STATED BECAUSE THERE EXISTS INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA-US OVER TAIWAN PENGHY ISLANDS.

14. WANG SAID ELSEWHERE DO NOT EXIST ANY INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES IN PRACTICAL SENSE TERM WHERE CHINA AS ONE PARTY CONFRONTS US AS OTHER PARTY SO HE DID NOT SEE ANY REASON MENTION "ELSEWHERE".

15. WANG SAID NEXT I HAD REFERRED TO TIME LIMIT IN DRAFT AND HAD SAID THEIR SIDE TRYING HIKE UP THIS TIME LIMIT TO THREATEN USE FORCE. HOWEVER FACT QUITE CONTRARY. IT THEIR VIEW THAT GIVEN EQUAL SINCERITY BOTH SIDES IT ENTIRELY POSSIBLE IN TWO MONTHS ASCERTAIN PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS AND MAKE SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS SETTLE DISPUTES TWO SIDES TAIWAN AREA.

16. WANG SAID FACT CONFRONTING US TODAY IS THAT US ALREADY APPLIED FORCE AND THREAT AGAINST CHINA SEIZING TAIWAN. CHINA NEVERTHELESS STILL WILLING SETTLE THIS DISPUTE BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS FULLY DEMONSTRATING PEACEFUL ASPIRATIONS ON PART CHINA. HOWEVER THEY COULD NOT TOLERATE PRESENT STATE OF EMPLOYING THREAT AND FORCE AGAINST CHINA TO CONTINUE LONG WITHOUT SOLUTION. THAT WHY THEY BELIEVE ESSENTIAL SET TIME LIMIT FOR SEEKING ASCERTAINING PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS. IF WE SINCERE IN DESIRING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES DID WE WANT GO ON TALKING FOREVER?

GOWEN

CES

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57

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CORRECTION ISSUED EOC
5/20/56, 5:30 A.M.

Control: 10223
Rec'd: MAY 18, 1956
11:02 A.M.

Action Assigned to CA/D
Action Taken

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA - CORRECTED PAGE 1

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1903, MAY 17, 10 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

17. WANG SAID THEREFORE MAY 11 DRAFT THEIR SIDE DEMONSTRATED SINCERE DESIRE PART CHINA ARRIVE AT RESOLUTION DISPUTE BETWEEN US. THIS DRAFT AS HE SAID INCLUDED ALL REASONABLE PORTIONS DRAFTS BOTH SIDES.

18. WANG SAID AS TO APRIL 19 DRAFT HE HAD ALREADY STATED IT MAINTAINED OUR OLD UNREASONABLE POSITION AND AS HE STATED VERY CATEGORICALLY IT NOT ACCEPTABLE THEM.

19. I REPLIED HE HAD AGAIN SAID US MADE PROPOSAL FOR DECLARATION. SEEMED NECESSARY REITERATE WHAT I OFTEN PREVIOUSLY SAID, US PROPOSAL NOT FOR DECLARATION FOR DECLARATION'S SAKE. US PROPOSAL WAS FOR CLEAR DEFINITE RENUNCIATION USE FORCE TO SETTLE DISPUTES INCLUDING DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA.

20. I SAID THIS WOULD AS US POINTED OUT IN ITS PROPOSAL OPEN WAY FOR PEACEFUL DISCUSSION SETTLEMENT DIFFERENCES. FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE STILL SEEMED BE THAT FIRST FUNDAMENTAL STEP RENOUNCING USE FORCE AS INSTRUMENT NATIONAL POLPCY.

21. I SAID QUESTION WAS WHETHER ANY DECLARATION WE ISSUED WOULD IN FACT CONSTITUTE SUCH RENUNCIATION FORCE. OR WHETHER IT WOULD GIVE SURFACE APPEARANCE GOIND SO WHILE RE- SERVING WANG'S GOVT OPTION INITIATING USE FORCE ESPECIALLY TAIWAN AREA ANY TIME IT DESIRE. SUCH DECLARATION WOULD BE FRAUD AND COULD ONLY IN FUTURE AGGRAVATE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US. OTHER HNAD DECLARATION CLEARLY UNAMBIGUOUSLY RENOUNCING USE FORCE COULD OPEN WAY GENUINELY PEACEFUL DISCUSSIONS.

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22. I SAID HE HAD AGAIN THIS MORNING SPOKEN OF REQUIRING THEM ACQUIESCE OR AGREE POLICIES US PARTICULARLY TAIWAN AREA. HE LONG MAINTAINED MY JAN 12 DRAFT REQUIRED THEM ACQUIESCE THOSE POLICIES. ORDER MEET FULLY HIS POINT VIEW THIS REGARD, I HAD SUBMITTED APRIL 19 DRAFT WHICH VERY SPECIFICALLY BY EXACT TERMS STATED IT WITHOUT PREJUDICE PURSUIT BY HIS SIDE ITS POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND SAID SAME THING SO FAR US CONCERNED.

23. I SAID THAT DRAFT MOST CLEARLY DID NOT REQUIRE HIM ACQUIESCE OR AGREE POLICIES US. IT MADE VERY CLEAR THEY NOT RENOUNCING ANYTHING EXCEPT PURSUIT POLICIES BY USE FORCE. DID NOT REQUIRE THEM ACQUIESCE US POLICIES ANY MORE THAN REQUIRED US ACQUIESCE THEIR POLICIES VIEWS. FULLY PRESERVED POSITIONS BOTH US THAT REGARD.

24. I SAID HAD SOME DIFFICULTY FOLLOWING HIS REASONING ON INCLUSION ALL DISPUTES AS WELL AS SPECIFICALLY DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. IN PAST WE BOTH AGREED WE HAD OTHER DISPUTES. THERE OTHER AREAS WHERE WE CONFRONTED EACH OTHER WITH CONFLICTING POLICIES. IF PRINCIPLE RENUNCIATION FORCE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES HAD VALIDITY ONE AREA CERTAINLY HAD VALIDITY OTHER AREAS.

25. I SAID THUS APRIL 19 DRAFT CERTAINLY MET POSITIONS BOTH SIDES IF THERE WILLINGNESS PART HIS GOVERNMENT REALLY RENOUNCE FORCE.

26. I SAID THAT DRAFT ALSO SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED IN LANGUAGE SUGGESTED BY HIM WE CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS DISCUSS SETTLE OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES. WAY GET AHEAD IN DISCUSSION SETTLEMENT DIFFERENCES IS NO LONGER DELAY UNAMBIGUOUSLY RENOUNCING FORCE THEN PROCEED DISCUSS THOSE DIFFERENCES. THAT EXACTLY WHAT PROVIDED BY APRIL 19 DRAFT. HE HAD SPOKEN OF SINCERITY AND DESIRE GET AHEAD WITH TALKS. IF THERE REAL SINCERE DESIRE PART HIS GOVERNMENT GET AHEAD IT COULD CERTAINLY DO SO BY AGREEING DRAFT APRIL 19 THEN TWO US IMMEDIATELY PROCEEDING ACCORDANCE LAST PARAGRAPH THAT DRAFT. I MOST EARNESTLY CONTINUED HOPE WE WOULD DO THIS.

27. WANG SAID HE HAD ALREADY STATED THEY COULD NOT GIVE CONSIDERATION APRIL 19 DRAFT WHICH I MENTIONED IN STATEMENT. THEY HAD DEALT THIS QUESTION MANY TIMES AND HAD STATED WHY THEY CONSIDERED IT UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE IT UNREASONABLE.

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28. WANG SAID FIRST WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR BETWEEN US AS TO PURPOSE ISSUING DECLARATION. PURPOSE WAS RESPECT RIGHTS AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS EACH OTHER. PURPOSE SUCH DECLARATION SHOULD BE SETTLE DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT USE FORCE THREAT. THIS PURPOSE IN ACCORDANCE ACCEPTED GENERAL PRINCIPLES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES.

29. WANG SAID I JUST STATED PRIMARY ISSUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES RENUNCIATION USE FORCE AS INSTRUMENT NATIONAL POLICY. HOWEVER IN POINT FACT SITUATION WE FACED TODAY NOT RPT NOT ONE WHERE CHINA SEIZING TERRITORY ANY OTHER COUNTRY. ACTUAL FACT WAS US ALREADY USED FORCE PURSUIT ITS POLICY AND HAD SEIZED TERRITORY CHINA. IF PROPOSSED DECLARATION SHOULD CONTAIN IMPLICATION FREEZING PRESENT SITUATION TAIWAN AREA, SUCH DECLARATION COULD NOT BE DESCRIBED AS RENUNCIATION FORCE BUT ON CONTRARY IT DECLARATION RECOGNIATION AND ACCEPTANCE ESTABLISHED FACTS AGGRESSION.

30. WANG SAID CHINA ALWAYS PURSUED PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY. THIS POINT FULLY PROVEN OVER YEARS IN STATEMENTS CHINA MADE TOGETHER OTHER COUNTRIES. FACT CHINA NOW ENGAGED TALKS WITH US TO WORK TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES EVEN MORE PROOF THIS PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY CHINA. CHINA WILLING SETTLE DISPUTES WITH US BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS INSTEAD BY USE FORCE OR GOING WAR. PRINCIPLE THIS FOREIGN POLICY SPECIFICALLY APPLIED TAIWAN AREA. IF US SHARED THIS PEACEFUL DESIRE OF CHINA THEY SAW NO VALID REASON NOT ACCEPTING PRINCIPLE THIS PARAGRAPH.

VMM:CES

Action Assigned to CA/DIR
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol CONFIDENTIAL
Time of Origin
Correction to Rpt

GOWEN

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 MAY 22 AM 8 46
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53-H
Action
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Action Assigned to CA/DR
Control: 10278
Rec'd: MAY 18, ~~1956~~
12:16 PM
Action Taken
Date of Action
Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

1-6

Info
RMR
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C
FE

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1903, MAY 17, 11 PM (SECTION FOUR OF ~~ACTION~~ FIVE)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

31. I SAID WANG HAD AGAIN MADE ALLEGATION CONCERNING POLICY MY GOVERNMENT WHICH WITHOUT FOUNDATION AND ENTERED INTO MERITS OUR DISPUTES TAIWAN AREA.

32. I SAID IN EFFECT WANG IMPUGNED GOOD FAITH MY GOVERNMENT REGARD CARRYING OUT TERMS DECLARATION AS IT APPEARED IN APRIL 19 DRAFT, WHAT HAD APPEARED IN EFFECT BE SAYING WAS MY GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ENTERING INTO DECLARATION WITHOUT INTENT CARRYING OUT TERMS LAST PARAGRAPH. I SURPRISED DISAPPOINTED WANG WOULD MAKE SUCH IMPLICATION.

33. I SAID WHEN WE CAME HERE LAST YEAR, SITUATION WITH RESPECT MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES PARTICULARLY TAIWAN AREA EMBODIES GRAVE THREAT PEACE. HAD MY GOVERNMENT WANTED PERPETUATE THAT SITUATION CERTAINLY WOULD NOT HAVE MADE ITS PROPOSAL THESE TALKS. HAD MY GOVERNMENT DESIRED PERPETUATE DANGER ENHERENT SITUATION TAIWAN AREA I CERTAINLY NOT HAVE MADE MY PROPOSAL OCTOBER 8 LAST YEAR.

34. I SAID IF ANYONE HAS SHOWN INTENT PERPETUATING THAT SITUATION IT CERTAINLY NOT BEEN US. IT US WHICH PROPOSED CLEAR UNAMBIGUOUS RENUNCIATION FORCE TAIWAN AREA JUST SO THAT SITUATION WOULD NOT BE PERPETUATED.

35. I SAID QUESTION BETWEEN US STILL SEEMS BE WHETHER HIS GOVERNMENT DESIRES PERPETUATE SITUATION WHERE IT HOLDS SELF FREE INITIATE USE FORCE THAT ARDA WITH CONSEQUENT DANGERS PEACE AND DIFFICULTIES FINDING PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS.

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36. WANG SAID IN ATTENDING THESE TALKS THEY HAD ALWAYS HELD HOPE REACHING DEFINITE RESULTS. SINCE WE NOW DISCUSSING DECLARATION WE SHOULD TRY FIND WAY OUT IN RESPECT DECLARATION ITSELF. HE HAD MANY TIMES EXPLAINED TERMS AND CLAUSES MAY 11 DRAFT ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES.

37. WANG SAID THERE THREE PARAGRAPHS HIS DRAFT. FIRST DEALT MAINLY WITH MUTUAL RESPECT RIGHTS BOTH SIDES. HOW COULD THERE BY ANY OPPOSITION THIS PARAGRAPH? THIS PARAGRAPH NOT SPUR-OF-MOMENT CREATION IT DEALT WITH FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE ON WHICH REST INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF STATES. THESE PRINCIPLES NOW BEING WIDELY APPLIED BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SYSTEMS. HE COULD NOT IMAGINE ANY OPPOSITION THIS PARAGRAPH. NOR COULD THEY INCLUDE THIS PARAGRAPH PRINCIPLES WHICH CONTRARY TO THAT OF MAY 11 DRAFT.

38. WANG SAID SECOND PARAGRAPH DEALT WITH QUESTION WE HAD DISCUSSED VERY LONG TIME. THIS PARAGRAPH THEY HAD ENDEAVORED PARTICULARLY ACCOMMODATE MY REQUIREMENT BY STATING WE SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES TAIWAN AREA THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. WAS THIS NOT PRECISELY REQUEST I HAD MADE REPEATEDLY? OUTSIDE TAIWAN AREA WAS THERE OTHER DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WHICH EVEN GRAVER THAN THAT TAIWAN AREA? DID I SAY SPECIFIC REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA THEY MADE IN MAY 11 DRAFT DID NOT ACCOMMODATE US REQUEST?

39. WANG SAID I HAD ALLEGED MAY 11 DRAFT CONSTITUTED RETROGRESSION. DOES US DESIRE REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA DRAFT MAY 11 BE REMOVED FROM PARAGRAPH?

40. WANG SAID THIRD PARAGRAPH DEALT WITH PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS REALIZATION DESIRE EXPRESSED PREVIOUS PARAGRAPHS FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES. DEALT WITH QUESTION SEEKING ASCERTAINING WITHIN GIVEN TIME PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS IN SPIRIT DECLARATION. WAS THIS NOT VERY REASONABLE PARAGRAPH? DID WE INTEND DELIBERATELY DRAG ON TALKS WITHOUT RESOLVING ISSUES?

41. WANG SAID IT IN THIS SENSE HE AGAIN EXPRESSED HOPE I WOULD MAKE FURTHER STUDY HIS DRAFT SO WE ABLE BRING ABOUT IDENTITY VIEWS AND SAID AGREEMENT THIS BASIS TO ENABLE US GET AHEAD THESE TALKS.

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42. I SAID I HAD EXPLAINED WHY I FELT THIS DRAFT WAS RETROGRESSION RATHER THAN ADVANCE IN TALKS. IT APPEARED BE IN SUBSTANCE ONLY REITERATION WANG'S POSITION FROM BEGINNING THESE TALKS THAT THERE BE HELD FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING RESPECT TAIWAN, WHILE AT SAME TIME RESERVING HIS GOVT OPINION USING FORCE THAT AREA. THAT WAS POSITION WHICH COULD NOT AND NEVER WOULD BE ACCEPTED MY GOVT. MY GOVT WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE UNDER THREAT FORCE. ONCE FORCE CLEARLY UNAMBIGUOUSLY BEEN RENOUNCED MY GOVT WOULD NEGOTIATE GOOD FAITH. APRIL 19 DRAFT ACCOMPLISHED THAT PURPOSE. I HOPED AT NEXT MEETING WANG COULD RECONSIDER MATTER FROM THIS STANDPOINT. I HAD NOTHING FURTHER ON THIS.

43. WANG SAID I HAD STATED DRAFT MAY 11 CONTAINED AMBIGUITIES AND THAT THEY HAD ULTERIOR INTENTIONS OR MOTIVES IN THAT DRAFT AND THAT THERE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN DRAFT AND ITS MEANING. OTHER HAND I ALSO STATED THEIR SIDE FROM BEGINNING TALKS HAD MAINTAINED POSITION FOR HOLDING FONMINS CONFERENCE FOR SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES.

GOWEN

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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Control: 10290
Rec'd: MAY 18, 1956
12:31 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1903, MAY 17, 11 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

44. WANG SAID SITUATION WHERE COUNTRY ALREADY USED FORCE AGAINST ANOTHER AND SITUATION WHERE COUNTRY PREPARING USE FORCE--THESE TWO QUITE DIFFERENT MATTERS.

45. WANG SAID IT QUITE TRUE THEY ALWAYS MAINTAINED PRINCIPLE SET FORTH THIRD PARAGRAPH MAY 11. THAT IS WE SHOULD SEEK PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS SETTLEMENT DISPUTES AND THIS INCLUDED HOLDING FONMIN CONFERENCE. THUS DRAFT MAY 11 AND INTENT AND POSITION THEIR SIDE CONSISTENT EACH OTHER AND QUITE CLEAR. THUS CONSISTENT FOREIGN WANG'S COUNTRY--ACTIONS AND WORDS IDENTICAL AND CONSISTENT EACH OTHER. THERE NOTHING HIDDEN BETWEEN LINES THESE PARAGRAPHS. RESPECT HOLDING FONMIN CONFERENCE HE UNDERSTOOD FROM MY PREVIOUS STATEMENTS I NEVER REFUSED OR REJECTED THIS POSITION THEIR SIDE.

46. WANG SAID HE ALSO HOPED WOULD BE ABLE RECONSIDER DRAFT AND DO SOMETHING AT NEXT MEETING TO GET AHEAD IN TALKS. THAT ALL HE HAD ON THIS.

47. I SAID I HAD NOTHING FURTHER ON THAT, HOWEVER, I DID WANT NOTE IT NOW LACKING THREE DAYS OF FIVE MONTHS SINCE ANY AMERICANS RELEASED BY HIS COUNTRY. IF THERE TO BE IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS, 13 AMERICANS REMAINING PRISON MUST BE RELEASED, AS UNDERTAKEN BY HIS GOVERNMENT SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT.

48. I SAID I WOULD MOVE HE WOULD BE ABLE DO MORE THAN BEEN DONE IN PAST IN IMPRESSING HIS AUTHORITIES OVERRIDING IMPORTANCE THIS. I WOULD SAY NO MORE ON THIS THIS MORNING.

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49. WANG SAID HE ALSO HOPED I WOULD BE ABLE GIVE HIM INFORMATION ABOUT CHINESE IMPRISONED US SO AS IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN US. THEY HOPED US GOVERNMENT WOULD GIVE SERIOUS ATTENTION THIS QUESTION. THIS ALSO UNDERTAKEN BY US IN OUR AGREEMENT.

50. I ASKED IF NEXT THURSDAY, MAY 4 SATISFACTORY. WANG AGREED.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE May 21, 1956

- [x] Releasable
- [ ] Releasable if _____ concurs
- [ ] Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
- [ ] Deny)
- [ ] Downgrade to _____
- [ ] Review Again _____
- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 9/9/82

Letter No. 43

SECRET

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear Alex:

As we stated in our telegram to you, we consider Wang's new draft a retrogression from his December 1 draft and extremely dangerous. Judge Phleger is of the opinion that the Communists now realize that they came within an ace of agreeing to a formula that would have tied their hands. They are now taking care to protect themselves more fully.

It is noteworthy that the Communists worked into the first paragraph of their new draft two of their five "principles of peaceful coexistence" which have formed the basis of joint declarations with India, Burma and other states. Judging from Wang's efforts at the last meeting to get you to comment on this paragraph, they are hoping to demonstrate that we reject these principles and thus harbor the intention of interfering in their internal affairs and encroaching on their territorial integrity. This would strengthen their position vis-a-vis the neutralist states. Of course, we cannot accept paragraph one without, in effect, recognizing the PRC. It was for this reason that we asked you to try to get back to our April 19 draft as a basis for discussion, rather than comment in detail on the Communist draft.

It may be significant that the Communists selected two months as the period during which arrangements for a foreign ministers' conference should be completed. Allowing a few weeks to reach agreement on their draft, the two months would carry the meetings through the completion of a full year and beyond the time of Nehru's visit here. It is possible that they are looking toward a break-off around that time if no progress is made.

We have been debating whether to ask O'Neill to make new representations in Peiping. We had a copy of a despatch from him last Friday in which he discusses the advisability of such a move. The principal reason we have hesitated to go ahead is that we believe Clifford and Phillips both have three-year sentences which will be up about mid-June if the Communists follow their usual procedure of making them retroactive to the date of arrest. If we should present a strong note to the Communists via O'Neill just at this time it might cause them to delay the release of these two so that it wouldn't appear that the release

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

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came about as a result of "pressure". We would appreciate having your views on this.

We have still been unable to reach complete agreement with the representatives of the sixteen regarding action to be taken on the NNSC. Some progress has been made. All agree that the conference on Korea should be rejected, in the absence of any evidence that the Communists have changed their attitude. All have now accepted, in principle, the necessity of unilateral action to remove the NNSC to the demilitarized zone. Difference of opinion now revolves around the timing and form of this action. The Commonwealth countries and France are holding out for an interval between announcing our proposed action in the MAC and carrying it out. The interval proposed ranges from six or seven days to five weeks. We have been trying to get agreement on reducing the interval or, better still, eliminating it, as we fear that we will just be providing the Communists with an opportunity to make propaganda and work on the neutralists during the interval. Also, there is the constant danger of incidents in Korea during such a period. There will probably be another meeting of the sixteen this week to reach final agreement.

We have now received the second section of the W. L. White report on Communist treatment of POW's. There is more to come. If we can get more copies we will send you one - so far Defense has furnished only one copy for all interested offices in the Department. Mr. Hoover asked for an evaluation of the project to date and there is enclosed a memorandum from Bill Sebald to him giving our views.

We have sent you a copy of a memorandum prepared for Mr. Robertson reporting on the latest developments in Congress relating to imprisoned Americans. Interest in this subject appears to be mounting and it may not be possible much longer to discourage the interested committees from holding public hearings.

.....

I have just returned from a weeks' leave, which I took to spend with my Father in Alabama on the occasion of his birthday. I have not yet had a chance to bring myself fully abreast of developments since I left Washington on May 10. The foregoing was drafted entirely by Ralph Clough, who was in charge of CA while I was away. He kept in close touch with Robertson, Phleger and Sebald, and participated in a meeting with the Secretary on May 15. What he has written above has my full concurrence. The Secretary personally approved the instructions for the meeting of May 17.

SECRET

I suppose Helenka Osborn will be in Geneva before this letter arrives. I trust her arrival will improve matters for you as well as for Dave.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Memo from Mr. Sebald to Mr. Hoover
2. Meetings of 16 (May 7 and 14)
3. Despatch from O'Neill
4. Copy of Memo from Hoover to Sebald 2/21/53 (Americans in C.C.)

CA:RNClough/WPMcConaughy/ikb

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (613)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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May 22
1956 MAY 22 PM 4 37
DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2023
FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for May 24 meeting.

1. We consider best counter to Communist May 11 draft to be restatement our position. Go back to our original October 8 proposal and restate reasons why US seeks renunciation force. Again place on record our purpose to remove threat military force, not to require either party acquiesce in policies of other. Point out our April 19 revision Wang's draft carefully drawn accomplish this purpose and no other.

2. While you should avoid being drawn into specific comment on Communist draft, particularly paragraph 1, you should probe further into meaning of two-month limitation paragraph three, along lines you took May 11. As we understand Communist position they are offering renunciation force only for period of negotiations. If negotiations fail within two months achieve solution satisfactory to Communists or agreement on Foreign Ministers Conference or if Foreign Ministers Conference fails reach settlement on Communist terms, renunciation force would lapse. This is not a renunciation force. Renunciation force is pledge such as that taken by UN members not to use force except in self-defense. Pledge has no time limit. Present Communist proposal appears to be agreement refrain from using force for limited period only unless dispute in which

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Drafted by: WPMcConaughy
FE:CA:RJClough:ek 5/22/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger WP
FE - Mr. Sebald

S/S-CR

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MAY 22 1956 P.M.

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they have threatened force is resolved in their favor.

3. If Wang continues base his argumentation on allegations US has used force against Taiwan and seized it you should take appropriate opportunity repudiate these falsehoods in addition to pointing out Wang is going beyond question renunciation force into substance dispute.

4. FYI Department commends your adroit drawing out of Wang on applicability Agreed Announcement to prisoners. Investigations of INS indicate high probability responsible Federal and State authorities agreeable release all Chinese alien prisoners for immediate deportation. If deportation decided upon, procedure desired which would bring maximum leverage on Chinese Communists to release imprisoned Americans and bring us tactical benefits Geneva. We intend avoid any compromise of principle, but are mindful convicted felons not entitled same civil rights as law abiding alien residents.

Following courses appear to be available:

a. Deport compulsorily to Mainland China all Chinese alien criminals who came from there.

b. Inform Chinese alien prisoners individually of Agreed Announcement and tell them they may apply for parole and immediate voluntary deportation Mainland China if they wish. If this course followed, we would have to decide whether Indian Embassy representatives would be

allowed

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allowed interview prisoners to verify prisoners' decision and satisfy themselves it freely arrived at. In order obtain maximum bargaining and public relations benefit, we would clearly have to permit Indians interview all prisoners, although not desirable in some respects to allow representatives of Chinese Communist interests to interview Chinese prisoners who have not expressed any interest in returning to mainland. It may be ~~(illegible)~~ that most if not virtually all would reject voluntary deportation.)

c. Take no action on prisoners except possibly in cases where they appeal to Indian Embassy of their own volition for return to Communist China.

d. Refuse to take any action on prisoners in any event on thesis that Agreed Announcement does not apply to common criminals convicted of offenses involving moral turpitude.

If we should take action ~~in regard~~ in regard to these criminals, question whether to demand reciprocity for our imprisoned nationals would arise. Should we endeavor to obtain balancing quid pro quo from Chinese Communists for every action taken by us? We could make offer to deport all Chinese prisoners contingent upon simultaneous deportation of all imprisoned Americans. Also could equate visits by Indian Embassy representatives to Chinese prisoners with visits by British Embassy representatives to American prisoners. Or we could refuse to descend

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to trading tactics, seeking place added moral pressure on Communists by keeping our action on higher plane independent of Chinese Communist transgressions.

Your detailed evaluation these courses and any variants which you may wish comment on, with your recommendations, are invited in time for formulation your instructions for next meeting. While effect each proposal on prospects of American prisoners and on future course of negotiations should be carefully assessed, also bear in mind effect on our public position in event of break off.

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1956 MAY 24 PM 3 25

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11:39 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1925, MAY 24, 3 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO HOUR 25 MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. WANG OPENED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT AGAIN REJECTING APRIL 19 DRAFT AND ADVOCATING MAY 11 DRAFT PARA BY PARA. SAID "MUTUAL RESPECT" CLAUSE REPLACES "SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE WHICH EMBODIES ULTERIOR MOTIVE" TO JUSTCFY CONTINUED US SEIZURE TAIWAN AND INTERFERENCE IN LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS. SECOND PARA WAS "MORE CONSPICUOUS" ACCOMMODATION TO OUR VIEWS BY MAKING IT SPECIFIC THAT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHOUT THREAT OF FORCE APPLIES TO TAIWAN AREA. WITH RESPECT TO "ELSEWHERE" ARE THERE ANY "REAL AND NOT IMAGINARY OTHER DISPUTES WHICH FINDS CHINA AND US FACING EACH OTHER AS PARTIES INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE?" WITH RESPECT THIRD PARA SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE AS I HAD NOT OPPOSED HOLDING FONMIN CONFERENCE AND I HAD SAID THIS US NOT DESIROUS PERPETUATE DANGER IN TAIWAN AREA. "MUST TWO OF US SIT HERE AND GO ON TALKING WITHOUT AN END? PRC CANNOT BE LEFT WITHOUT ASSURANCE FONMIN MEETING IF TAIWAN AREA TO BE MENTIONED.

2. IN REPLY I IMPLIEDLY CHARACTERIZED THEIR MAY 11 DRAFT AS WILLINGNESS RENOUNCE FORCE FOR TWO MONTHS; AS WILLINGNESS RENOUNCE FORCE ONLY ON CONDITION FONMIN MEETING; AS WILLINGNESS RENOUNCE FORCE ONLY ON CONDITION DISPUTES SETTLED ENTIRELY ON THEIR TERMS ON FAILURE WHICH THEY HELD SELVES FREE RENEW THREAT OF FORCE. ALSO REFERRED BACK HIS STATEMENT AT LAST MEETING ON PREPARATIONS BY PRC FOR USE OF FORCE CHARACTERIZING IT AS SHOCKING AND DISTURBING AND NOT ONLY NO ADVANCE FROM

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CORRECTION ISSUED: 5/28/56, 1:45 AM

31-B -2- 1925, MAY 24, 3 P.M., FROM GENEVA, CORRECTED PAGE 2

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PRC POSITION PRIOR THESE TALKS BUT EVEN RETROGRESSION FROM POSITION TAKEN BY CHOU AT BANDUNG. CONCENTRATING ON LAST PARA SAID MENTION TWO MONTHS THERE CONTAINED DEFINITE IMPLICATION RESORT TO FORCE IF NO AGREEMENT REACHED IN THAT PERIOD AND THIS CONTRADICTORY WITH PROFESSION DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. EXPRESSED REGRET HE HAD NOT THIS MORNING OR PREVIOUSLY CLARIFIED THIS CONTRADICTION.

3. THERE WAS THEN LONG AND DIFFUSE GIVE-AND-TAKE DURING WHICH I CHARACTERIZED FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE AS THEIR UN-WILLINGNESS UNCONDITIONALLY AND WITHOUT TIME LIMIT RENOUNCE FORCE AND HE CHARACTERIZED FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE AS US USE OF FORCE IN OCCUPATION TAIWAN. I REFUTED LATTER ALLEGATION WITH STRONG RESTATEMENT OUR POSITION. ALSO CAME BACK TO OUR APRIL 19 DRAFT AS CLEAREST EXPRESSION RENUNCIATION FORCE IN FORM MEETING BOTH POINTS VIEW. HE ATTEMPTED INTERPRET MY CONCENTRATION ON "TWO MONTHS" LAST PARA AS INDICATING ACCEPTANCE OTHER TWO PARAS AND REPEATEDLY TRIED NEEDLE ME INTO SPECIFICALLY COMMENTING ON FIRST PARA. IN CONTEXT INVITING ME MAKE AMENDMENTS MAY 11 DRAFT HE IMPLIED MY CONTINUED FLAT REJECTION THAT DRAFT AS BASIS DISCUSSION WOULD "FORCE THEM CONSIDER" MAKING IT PUBLIC.

4. AT CLOSE MEETING I NOTED MINER'S RELEASE FIVE YEARS AFTER HE MADE ORIGINAL APPLICATION FOR EXIT AND NINE MONTHS AFTER WANG TOLD ME HE WOULD BE RELEASED IN TWO OR THREE MONTHS. NEVERTHELESS GRATIFIED HE FINALLY RELEASED AND HOPED THIS PORTENDED EARLY RELEASE OTHER AMERICANS STILL DETAINED. WANG REPLIED ENTIRELY DEFENSIVELY SIMPLY SAYING WAS NOT "ENTIRELY" PRC FAULT AND MADE NO MENTION WHATEVER CHINESE IN US.

5. NEXT MEETING THURSDAY MAY 31.

Signed to CA/O'R

GOWEN

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

1956 MAY 28 AM 10 36

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

VH:MAA

NOTE: MR. WADDELL'S OFFICE (FE) NOTIFIED 5/24/56 2 P.M. EMB(CWO)

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Rec'd: MAY 25, 1956
1:15 P.M.

1-6

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1928, MAY 25, 5 P.M.

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Date of Action

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Name of Officer

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FROM JOHNSON

RE PARA 4 AND FOLLOWING DEPTEL 2023.

1. STRONGLY FAVOR COURSE B WITH INDIAN EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVES PERMITTED TO INTERVIEW ALL PRISONERS OR AT LEAST THOSE NOW ELECTING RETURN TO MAINLAND. SUGGEST THIS ACTION BE TAKEN WITHOUT PRIOR DEMAND ON CHICOMS FOR QUID PRO QUO BUT SUBSEQUENTLY USE TO MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE THIS UNDERMINING OF THEIR PUBLIC POSITION ON IMPRISONED AMERICANS.

2. FEAR COURSE A WOULD PROBABLY INVOLVE US IN SERIOUS PROBLEMS BOTH DOMESTICALLY AND WITH GRC. MIGHT GIVE RISE TO COURT ACTIONS AND WOULD IN END PROVE TO BE VERY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO CARRY THROUGH.

3. COURSE C APPEARS BE ONLY CONTINUATION OUR PRESENT COURSE OF ACTION.

4. COURSE D CANNOT BUT TEND SUPPORT CHICOM PUBLIC POSITION WITH RESPECT IMPRISONED AMERICANS.

5. BELIEVE THAT ADVANTAGES UNDER COURSE B OF PERMITTING INDIANS INTERVIEW ALL PRISONERS FAR OUTWEIGH DISADVANTAGES. BELIEVE WE CAN MAINTAIN VALID DISTINCTION BETWEEN OUR TAKING INITIATIVE PERMIT INDIANS INTERVIEW PRISONERS AND INDIANS TAKING INITIATIVE INTERVIEW FREE PERSONS WHO HAVE NOT ASKED FOR THEIR ASSISTANCE. FIRST IT DOES MAXIMUM FORESTALL POSSIBILITY CHICOM ALLEGATION SOME AMERICAN

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PRISONERS DO NOT DESIRE RETURN AND NOT PERMITTING VERIFICATION BY UK. THIS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IF AS SUGGESTED IN DEPTEL MOST IF NOT VIRTUALLY ALL CHINESE PRISONERS MIGHT REJECT VOLUNTARY DEPORTATION. IN THIS EVENT WITHOUT ADVANTAGES INDIAN VERIFICATION COURSE B COULD WELL BE ACTUALLY COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. INDIAN VERIFICATION WOULD OF COURSE ALSO MARKEDLY IMPROVE OUR PUBLIC POSITION. IN THIS CONNECTION BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT NOTE CHICOMS WILL RESPOND THIS MOVE ON OUR PART BY RELEASE ADDITIONAL AMERICANS ONLY BECAUSE CONSIDERATIONS THEIR PUBLIC POSITION.

6. SUGGEST BEST TACTIC WOULD BE SIMULTANEOUSLY INFORM WANG HERE AND INDIANS THAT ALL PRISONERS HAVE AT ALL TIMES BEEN FREE COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IF THEY FELT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT APPLICABLE TO THEM AND THEY DESIRED RETURN. WE HAVE THUS FULFILLED OUR OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. WE UNDERSTAND THUS FAR NONE HAVE IN FACT COMMUNICATED WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. NEVERTHELESS IN VIEW WANGS STATEMENTS WE HAVE CARRIED OUT CAREFUL INVESTIGATION ALL PRISONS TO INDENTIFY CHINESE IMPRISONED. THIS NECESSARY BECAUSE NO CHINESE IMPRISONED ON POLITICAL TYPE CHARGES BECAUSE HIS RACE, NATIONALITY OR POLITICAL BELIEFS BUT ONLY FOR COMMON CRIMES. IN ORDER REMOVE ANY VESTIGE QUESTION OUR PERFORMANCE UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, EACH OF THESE PERSONS HAS NOT ONLY INDIVIDUALLY BEEN INFORMED OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BUT HAS NOW SPECIFICALLY BEEN INFORMED THAT IF HE DESIRES TO DO SO HE MAY APPLY FOR PAROLE AND VOLUNTARY DEPORTATION TO MAINLAND. PROMPT ACTION WILL BE TAKEN UPON ANY SUCH APPLICATION. INDIANS WILL BE INFORMED OF ANY SUCH DEPORTEES AND IF INDIANS DESIRE ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE MADE FOR THEM TO INTERVIEW SUCH PERSONS. ARRANGEMENTS WILL ALSO BE MADE FOR INDIANS INTERVIEW PRISONERS OF CHINESE NATIONALITY WHO DO NOT APPLY FOR SUCH PAROLE AND DEPORTATION.

7. SUGGEST THAT AT SAME TIME WE INFORM GRC OF ACTION BEING TAKEN BUT DO NOT GIVE ACTION ANY PUBLICITY AT THIS TIME, TREATING IT AS ONLY FURTHER ROUTINE STEP WITH RESPECT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. ALSO SUGGEST I INFORM WANG IN STRAIGHT MANNER WITHOUT COUPLING

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ACTION WITH DEMANDS RESPECTING IMPRISONED AMERICANS. CHICOMS WILL BE QUICK TO REALIZE HOW MUCH THIS WILL UNDERCUT THEIR PUBLIC POSITION AND WILL BE QUICKER TO CORRECT THAT POSITION BY ADDITIONAL RELEASES AMERICANS IF PRESENTED IN THIS MANNER THAN IF COUPLED WITH DEMANDS OR PUBLIC PRESSURES.

GOWEN

CES

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 3:40 p.m. 5/25/56
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1:10 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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Date of Action _____

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Name of Officer _____

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COMMENTS TODAYS MEETING.

NO PARTICULARLY NOTEWORTHY DEVELOPMENT OR CHANGE IN TODAYS MEETING EXCEPT SOMEWHAT STRENGTHENED RENEWAL OF "STALLING" THEME BY WANG.

HIS STATEMENT PARA 4 LONGTEL MIGHT CONTAIN SOME IMPLICATION (PARTICULARLY ARISING FROM CHOICE EXACT CHINESE WORDS USED) THAT ALL AMERICANS WOULD BE RELEASED ON SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION TWO MONTHS NEGOTIATIONS MENTIONED MAY 11 DRAFT. FELT BEST TACTIC TODAY WAS IGNORE THREAT GO TO PUBLIC RATHER THAN INDICATE ANY CONCERN BY TAKING NOTE OF IT.

GOWEN

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1930, MAY 24, 8 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

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1. WANG OPENED 48TH TODAY PREPARED STATEMENT: THEIR SIDE MADE MANY EFFORTS SINCE BEGINNING TALKS ON ISSUANCE DECLARATION. HOWEVER IT CLEAR US SIDE STILL BENT REQUIRING ABANDONMENT CHINA SOVEREIGN RIGHTS FREEZING STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA. THIS WHAT THEY COULD NEVER ACCEPT. MY DRAFT APRIL 19 APPARENTLY DESIGNED INDUCE THEM ACQUIESCE UNREASONABLE DEMAND. AS HE REPEATEDLY TOLD ME THEY ABSOLUTELY COULD NOT ACCEPT DRAFT.

2. WANG SAID THEIR MAY 11 MET COMMON REQUIREMENTS BOTH SIDES. ENTIRELY REASONABLE AND REPRESENTED FURTHER IMPORTANT EFFORT THEIR SIDE MAKE PROGRESS. NO AMOUNT TERMS USED BY ME SUCH AS AMBIGUOUS RETROGRESSION COULD DEGRADE THAT DRAFT THEIR SIDE.

3. WANG SAID FIRST PARA INTRODUCES PRINCIPLE MUTUAL RESPECT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY SOVEREIGNTY NON-INTERFERENCE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHICH RECOGNIZED BY ALL PEACE-LOVING STATES. THIS REPLACED SELF-DEFENSE CLAUSE MY DRAFT WHICH EMBODIED ULTERIOR MOTIVE JUSTIFYING CONTINUED SEIZURE TAIWAN INTERFERENCE LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS. THIS AMENDMENT UNDOUBTEDLY PUTS DRAFT ON FIRMER BASIS. WOULD HAVE THOUGHT US COULD NOT STAND AGAINST THAT AMENDMENT FOR IF SO WE WOULD MAKE PEOPLE SUSPECT OUR AIM PRECISELY TO SEEK CONTINUED SEIZURE TAIWAN INTERFERENCE LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS. HOW COULD WE EXPECT THIS POSITON ACCEPTED THEIR SIDE?

4. WANG SAID 2ND PARA IT EVEN MORE CONSPICUOUS THEIR SIDE ACCOMMODATING US VIEWS IN MAKING PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL

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SETTLEMENT DISPUTES WITHOUT RESORT THREAT USE FORCE SPECIFICALLY APPLY TAIWAN AREA. THIS SPECIFIC PROVISION NEW DRAFT ACCOMMODATION MY REPEATED REQUESTS. HOWEVER I AMBIGUOUSLY RAISED SO-CALLED QUESTION "ELSEWHERE". HE FOUND IT HARD FOLLOW MY LOGIC. PERHAPS I COULD SUGGEST SOME REAL NOT IMAGINARY DISPUTE WHERE CHINA US FACED EACH OTHER AS PARTIES INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE, WHICH EVEN GRAVER THAN TAIWAN AREA DISPUTE.

5. WANG SAID 3RD PARA SPECIFIED PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES TAIWAN AREA SHOULD BE DECIDED WITHIN TWO MONTHS, AND SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS THIS PARA SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES. HE HAD ALL ALONG UNDERSTOOD I NEVER OPPOSED HOLDING FMC FOR SETTLEMENT DISPUTES.

6. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I INDICATED DID NOT DESIRE PERPETUATE DANGEROUS SITUATION TAIWAN AREA. IF SO WHY OPPOSE TIME LIMIT? MUST TWO OF US SIT HERE GO ON TALKING WITHOUT END?

7. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING I ALSO ALLEGED NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTED RETROGRESSION FROM DEC 1 DRAFT. HE FAILED SEE BASIS THAT ALLEGATION. I WOULD CERTAINLY RECALL HIS REMARKS 39TH MEETING. WHAT HE SAID WAS IF WE DESIRED HAVE REFERENCE TAIWAN MUST ALSO AGREE SPECIFIC REFERENCE FMC. OTHERWISE THEIR SIDE LEFT WITHOUT ASSURANCE. REFERENCE FMC IN MAY 11 COULD NOT BE OBSCURED.

8. WANG SAID HE SURE HE MADE THOROUGHLY CLEAR ONLY NEW DRAFT REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION POSITION BOTH SIDES. WOULD HOPE I COULD REACH AGREEMENT WITH HIM ON MAY 11 DRAFT. NOW LET US STALL NO LONGER.

9. I REPLIED AS HAD SAID IN PAST MTGS FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE

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NOW FACING US WAS WHETHER HIS GOVERNMENT WILLING RENOUNCE USE FORCE TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE AS FIRST STEP TOWARD PEACEFUL DISCUSSION.

10. I SAID THIS DID NOT MEAN RENOUNCE USE FORCE FOR LIMITED PERIOD SUCH AS TWO MONTHS, BUT WITHOUT TIME LIMIT. NOT TO RENOUNCE USE FORCE ONLY ON CONDITION THERE BE SOME PARTICULAR SINGLE FORM NEGOTIATIONS AGREED ON SUCH AS FMC BUT RATHER SEEK PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. NOT RENOUNCE USE FORCE ONLY ON CONDITION DISPUTES INVARIABLY SETTLED ENTIRELY ON ONES OWN TERMS, ON FAILURE WHICH ONE HELD SELF FREE RENEW THREAT FORCE. RATHER AS HAD ALL RESPONSIBLE GOVTS, AGREE ABIDE BY PROCESSES AND RESULTS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. TO DO SO DID NOT REQUIRE ONE ACQUIESCE OR AGREE POLICIES OR VIEWS OF OTHERS ANY MORE THAN WHEN OTHERS HAD DONE SO THEY HAD ACQUIESCED OR AGREED WITH POLICIES OF OTHER PARTY WITH WHICH THEY DID NOT AGREE.

11. I SAID I HAD HOPED HIS GOVT ACCEPTED THOSE PRINCIPLES. SINCE LAST OCTOBER HAD BEEN SEEKING HIS AGREEMENT STATEMENT CLEARLY SAYING NOTHING MORE LESS THAN THIS. I BEEN MAKING EVERY EFFORT GO FAR AS POSSIBLY COULD MEETING HIS POINT VIEW WITHOUT VIOLATING THIS FUNDAMENTAL UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLE. I ACCEPTED HIS DEC 1 AS BASIS NEGOTIATION AND OFFERED SUCCESSIVE SUGGESTIONS TO ACCOMPLISH PURPOSE.

GOWEN

GSB

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Control: 14276
Rec'd. Date of Action MAY 25, 1956
2:11 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R 1-2

NO: 1930, MAY 24, 8 PM (SECTION 2 OF 5)

12. I SAID IT BEEN AND WILL REMAIN MY CONSISTENT UNALTERABLE OBJECTIVE OBTAIN AGREEMENT BETWEEN US ON UNCONDITIONAL RENUNCIATION FORCE UNAMBIGUOUSLY APPLICABLE TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE. BEEN DOING THIS NOT FROM STANDPOINT VAGUE THEORY BUT STANDPOINT STARK FACT THAT ONE PARTY THESE DISCUSSIONS ASSERTING RIGHT USE AND EVEN THREATENING INITIATE USE FORCE THAT AREA. NEITHER HIS STATEMENTS HERE THIS MORNING NOR PREVIOUS STATEMENT NOR DRAFT MAY 11 REASSURED ME THIS DID NOT CONTINUE BE CASE.

13. I SAID NEAR CLOSE LAST MEETING IT MY RECOLLECTION THAT IN DISCUSSING TAIWAN AREA HE REFERRED WHAT HE CALLED PREPARATIONS HIS COUNTRY FOR USE FORCE. HOPED HE WOULD CORRECT ME IF HAD DRAWN WRONG INFERENCE FROM STATEMENT. HOWEVER, IF UNDERSTOOD HIS POSITION CORRECTLY, HIS GOVT NOT ONLY ASSERTED IN PRINCIPLE IT FREE USE FORCE IN ORDER OBTAIN SOLUTION MEETING UNILATERAL DESIRES BUT IT IN FACT PREPARING USE FORCE ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE.

14. I SAID SUCH ASSERTION SHOCKING ANY CONTEXT BUT IN CONTEXT NEW DRAFT EVEN MORE DISTURBING REPRESENTING NO SLIGHTEST ADVANCE FROM POSITION HIS GOVT TAKEN PRIOR TALKS. IN FACT SEEMED RATHER BE RETROGRESSION FROM POSITION HIS PRIME MINISTER BANDUNG CONFERENCE.

15. I SAID I REGRETTED IN HIS REMARKS MORNING HE DONE NOTHING CLARIFY IMPLICATION THIS EFFECT CONTAINED EVEN HIS MAY 11. IT DIFFICULT NOT TO READ INTO LAST PARA HIS MAY 11 IMPLICATION THREAT IN INSISTING THEREIN TWO MONTH'S TIME LIMIT ON TALKS. HE SEEMED BE SAYING THAT DRAFT THAT IF WITHIN TWO MONTH'S TIME LIMIT NO AGREEMENT COMPLETELY SATISFACTORY

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HIM REACHED THESE TALKS HE FREE RESORT FORCE. HE SEEMED BE SAYING IF NO RESOLUTION OUR DISPUTES HIS TERMS REACHED IN NEGOTIATIONS MENTIONED THEREIN HE HELD SELF FREE RENEW THREAT FORCE. IT CERTAINLY SELF-CONTRADICTORY FOR HIM SAY DESIRED PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION SETTLEMENT AND AT SAME TIME THUS MAINTAIN THREAT FORCE.

16. HE SAID QUESTION BETWEEN US THEREFORE WHETHER HIS GOVT WILLING UNAMBIGUOUSLY UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCE FORCE SETTLEMENT DISPUTES OR WHETHER IT STILL RESERVING SELF RIGHT THREATEN USE FORCE. TAKEN IN CONTEXT HIS MAY 11 COULD NOT BUT READ INTO LAST PARA THAT DRAFT PARTICULARLY TIME LIMIT SET FORTH THEREIN MEANING THAT HIS GOVT RESERVING SELF THREAT USE FORCE. MOST EARNESTLY HOPE THIS NOT CASE AND THAT HE COULD MORNING CLEAR UP THIS POINT. DID NOT FEEL HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENT DONE SO.

17. WANG SAID COULD NOT AGREE POINTS I JUST RAISED. STARK FACT BETWEEN CHINA-US WHICH ALSO FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE BETWEEN THEM WAS US ALREADY USED FORCE AGAINST CHINA OCCUPIED TERRITORY TAIWAN. THAT INDISPUTABLE FACT NOT IMAGINARY. IT SOLELY THIS ISSUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES THAT HINDERED NORMAL RELATIONS.

18. WANG SAID IN DEALING THIS ISSUE THERE MIGHT BE VARIOUS METHODS. IT THEIR PRIME MINISTER WHO AT BANDUNG PROPOSED HOLDING TALKS CHINA US. THERE HE PROPOSED OUR TWO COUNTRIES SIT DOWN HOLD NEGOTIATIONS REACH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. TODAY THEY JOINED WITH US IN PEACEFUL DISCUSSIONS. THIS PRECISELY DEMONSTRATED PEACEFUL INTENTIONS THEIR PART.

19. WANG SAID IN COURSE TALKS I INCESSANTLY ALLEGED CHINA PLANNING USE FORCE AGAINST US. DOING SO I DISREGARDED FACT US ALREADY USED FORCE AGAINST CHINA THUS USING IMAGINARY ARGUMENT DEFENSE MY POSITION.

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20. WANG SAID CHINESE PEOPLE WOULD NEVER PERMIT OR AGREE TO ACTION US USING FORCE AGAINST CHINA OCCUPYING ITS TERRITORY. FACT WAS TODAY IT NOT QUESTION CHINA'S FORCES OCCUPYING TERRITORY US. IF CHINESE FORCES OCCUPIED US TERRITORY US WOULD EQUALLY NOT TOLERATE SUCH ACTION. NO COUNTRY WOULD TOLERATE USE FORCE AGAINST SOVEREIGN STATE.

21. WANG SAID PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES CHINA US SPECIFICALLY DEMONSTRATED IN QUESTION ISSUANCE DECLARATION. IT THEIR SIDE WHICH SUCCESSIVELY MADE OFFERS ACCOMMODATING JOINT DESIRES BOTH SIDES. THEY HAD SPECIFIED PRINCIPLE MUTUAL RESPECT SOVEREIGNTY TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THEY PROPOSED PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES CHINA US SPECIFICALLY APPLY TAIWAN AREA. EVEN MORE CONCRETELY THEY SUGGESTED SEEK PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES WITHIN DEFINITE TIME IN ORDER NOT ALLOW LONG STALLING.

GOWEN

JMD

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Action Assigned to CA

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Action
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Control: 14270
Rec'd: MAY 25, 1956
2:26 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

Info
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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1930, MAY 25, 8 PM, (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

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22. WANG SAID IF BOTH SIDES HAVE COMMON DESIRE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT REACH AGREEMENT THIS BASIS. TODAY WE SHOULD DIRECT MAIN EFFORTS TO TRY MAKE SUCH DECLARATION THUS SHOWING SINCERITY. SHOULD NOT ENGAGE IN DISCUSSION IRRELEVANT QUESTIONS WHICH OUTSIDE TEXT ITSELF. THIS ESSENTIAL FEATURE THEIR MAY 11 DRAFT.

23. I REPLIED HAD CONTINUED HOPE HE WOULD NOT INTRODUCE MATTERS IRRELEVANT IMMEDIATE ISSUE BEFORE US WHICH WAS DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE. I HAD CONSISTENTLY AVOIDED DOING SO. AS HAD OSTEN SAID QUESTION THIS STAGE NOT DISCUSS MERITS DISPUTES. THAT COULD COME AFTER WE UNAMBIGUOUSLY AND UNCONDITIONALLY AGREED WE NOT GOING WAR ABOUT THEM.

24. I SAID AS WE BOTH RECOGNIZED WE HAD DIFFERENT VIEWS REGARDING NATURE MCILIN DISPUTES PARTICULARLY TAIWAN AREA. HE PERSISTENTLY MADE SUCH UNFOUNDED STATEMENTS AS THAT US ALREADY USED FORCE AGAINST THEM AND US OCCUPYING TAIWAN. HERE AND IN HIS DRAFTS HE SEEMED PERSISTENT INTENTION HAVE ME ACCEPT THAT POINT VIEW. IT FALSE AND WORLD KNEW IT FALSE.

25. I SAID FACTS ARE TAIWAN LAWFULLY HELD BY GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH US LONG RELATIONS AND WHICH RECOGINIZED BY MAJORITY GOVERNMENTS WORLD. US HAD SOLEMN TREATY ARRANGEMENTS THAT GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS WHICH REGISTERED WITH UN AND WHICH FREE AND OPEN FOR ALL WORLD SEE.

26. I SAID HOWEVER QUESTION AT PRESENT STAGE NOT ONE OF RECONCILING OUR POINTS VIEW. QUESTION WAS WHETHER OUR DIFFERENCE VIEWS BE PERMITTED LEAD WAR. US DETERMINED SHOULD NOT DO SO, HAD CONTINUED HOPE HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD SHARE THAT DETERMINATION

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Action
FE 2 1930, MAY 25, 8 PM, (SECTION 3 OF 5) FROM GENEVA CORRECTED PAGE 2 VH

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DETERMINATION. I SAID HE HAD OFTEN SPOKEN HERE AND HIS GOVT OFTEN SPOKEN OF PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND DESIRE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. GENUINE DESIRE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT NOT DEMONSTRATED BY NUMBERS DRAFTS ONE SUBMITTED IN NEGOTIATION BUT DEMONSTRATED BY WHETHER ONE REALLY ABANDONS THREAT USE FORCE SETTLEMENT DESPUTES. IT ONE THING MAKE STATEMENT ONE DESIRES PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OR PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND ANOTHER THING SAY ONE WILL NOT USE FORCE SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. FIRST EMPTY WITHOUT SECOND.

27. I SAID HE SAID COULD NOT AGREE WITH POINTS I RAISED MORNING. MOST FUNDAMENTAL POINT I RAISED WAS THAT IN LAST PARAGRAPH HIS DRAFT HE RESERVING SELF ABILITY AGAIN THREATEN USE FORCE. IF HE COULD NOT AGREE THAT ASSERTION MY PART WOULD APPRECIATE HIS TELLING ME IN WHAT RESPECT I WRONG.

28. WANG REPLIED HE ALREADY STATED THEIR FUNDAMENTAL POINT VIEW NATURE ORIGIN DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. HAD REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT PRESENT ISSUE BETWEEN US WAS US ALREADY USED FORCE AGAINST HIS COUNTRY AND USED ITS FORCES OCCUPY CHINESE TERRITORY. I HAD SIAD THIS UNFOUNDED ALLEGATION. MIGHT HE ASK WHETHER US FORCES NOW TAIWAN DROPPED FROM SKY OR ROSE FROM SEA?

29. WANG SAID I HAD MADE REFERENCE CHIANG KAI-SHEK CLIQUE TAIWAN HOWEVER I COULD NOT USE THIS DEFEND POSITION I HOLDING. IN SIMILAR CASE WHEN DURING SINO-JAPANESE WAR JAPAN CREATED PUPPET REGIME WANG CHING-WEI BUT JAPANESE COULD NOT JUSTIFY THEIR STAND EITHER. THESE WERE FACTS WHICH COULD NOT BE DISTORTED IN EYES PEOPLE WORLD.

30. WANG SAID I HAD ALSO REMARKED I DID NOT DESIRE GO WAR SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. HE FELT THIS VERY REASON WHY WE NOW MEETING HERE DISCUSSING ISSUANCE DECLARATION THIS EFFECT. IF BOTH US WILLING SETTLE DISPUTES PEACEFUL MEANS WITHOUT GOING WAR OR THREAT WAR SHOULD DEMONSTRATE DESIRE

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BY CONCRETE DEEDS AND RAPIDLY REACH AGREEMENT ON JOINT DECLARATION.

31. WANG SAID I HAD MADE REPEATED REFERENCES LAST PARA THEIR DRAFT. IN LIGHT THIS, MIGHT HE UNDERSTAND WE AGREED ON FIRST SECOND PARAS THEIR DRAFT AND ONLY PART REMAINING IN QUESTION WAS LAST PARA? HE WOULD HOPE I ABLE ENLIGHTEN HIM THIS RESPECT SO WE COULD PROCEED SPEEDILY WITH DECLARATION.

32. I REPLIED HE HAD SAID IF WE BOTH WILLING SETTLE DISPUTES WITHOUT GOING WAR OR THREAT WAR SHOULD DEMONSTRATE DESIRE BY CONCRETE DEEDS. THAT PRECISELY BEEN MY POINT EVER SINCE LAST OCTOBER. THAT PRECISELY STEP HIS GOVERNMENT CONTINUED AVOID TAKING.

33. I SAID FIRST FUNDAMENTAL CONCRETE DEED WAS UNEQUIVOCAL UNCONDITIONAL UNAMBIGUOUS STATEMENT WE NOT GOING WAR. OTHER WORDS, RENUNCIATION FORCE. THAT WHAT HIS GOVT COINTINUED AVOID DOING IN MAY 11 DRAFT.

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Rec'd: MAY 25, 1956
~~2:28 PM~~

Date of Action

Action Officer

Name of Officer

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1930, MAY 24, 8 PM (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

34. I SAID HAD SPOKEN OF LAST PARA THAT DRAFT BECAUSE THAT WHERE THIS INTENT APPEARED MOST GLARING. IT APPEARED TO BE RENUNCIATION FORCE FOR TWO MONTH PERIOD. THAT LIKE SAYING "I WILL NOT SHOOT AT YOU FOR TWO MONTHS BUT IF AT END TWO MONTHS YOU NOT AGREED WITH ME I WILL SHOOT YOU." SUCH POSITION I COULD ONLY DESCRIBE AS GROTESQUE IF PRESENTED AS RENUNCIATION FORCE. IT RATHER MADE IT THREAT FORCE. AS I HAD POINTED OUT APPEARED ME IN COMPLETE CONTRADICTION WITH ASSERTION DESIRE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION SETTLEMENT. STILL HOPED HE COULD CLEAR UP CONTRADICTION.

35. WANG SAID IF BOTH US HAD SINCERITY IN ADOPTING MAY 11 DRAFT WOULD BE IMPORTANT STEP ACCELERATING SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES. WOULD THEN BE ABLE SHOW WORLD TALKS WE BEEN CONDUCTING NOT IDLE BUT HAD CONCRETE CONTENT. WOULD BE ABLE SHOW WORLD TWO COUNTRIES GENUINELY SINCERE IN DESIRE SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM PEACEFUL MEANS.

36. WANG SAID WORLD WOULD CERTAINLY WELCOME GESTURE TWO COUNTRIES EXPPRESSING RESOLVE SETTLE GRAVE DISPUTES BETWEEN THEM PEACEFUL MEANS. WORLD WOULD SEE OUR TWO COUNTRIES NOT ONLY EXPRESSED DESIRE SETTLE DISPUTES BUT ALSO ADOPTED CONCRETE STEPS TOWARD THIS END. ANNOUNCEMENT THIS DECLARATION WOULD ONLY HAVE THESE GOOD EFFECTS . WOULD NOT RAISE DOUBT IN CONNECTION OTHER ISSUES. PEOPLE WOULD WELCOME TIME LIMIT, WOULD NOT HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT IT.

37. WANG SAID WE HAD TALKED NEARLYY YEAR. SETTING TIME LIMIT IN DECLARATIION WOULD ALL MORE DEMONSTRATE TO US GENUINELY SINCERE DESIRE SETTLE PROBLEM. ONLY THOSE WHO WILLING EXPRESS DESIRE SETTLE PEACEFULLY DISPUTES BUT WITHOUT

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INTENTION TAKING CONCRETE STEP WOULD OPPOSE SUCH SPECIFICATION. HE THEREFORE FELT INCLUSION TIME LIMIT WOULD ONLY HELP RESOLVE PROBLEM, WOULD NOT PREVENT FROM DOING SO.

38. I REPLIED DESIRABLE THOUGH MIGHT BE PUBLIC GESTURE WITHOUT REAL CONTENT COULD EXACERBATE RATHER THAN ASSIST SETTLEMENT DIFFERENCES. US INTERESTED IN GENUINE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DIFFERENCES. IT EXACTLY BECAUSE THIS I SENT HERE. EXACTLY BECAUSE THIS I PROPOSED AS FIRST STEP WE MAKE CLEAR GOING SETTLE THOSE DIFFERENCES WITHOUT WAR. I STILL WAITED FOR HIS GOVT TAKE THAT FIRST STEP. THAT STEP AND ONLY IT COULD DEMONSTRATE WORLD WHO GENUINELY SEEKING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

39. I SAID REGRETTED HE CONTINUED AVOID SPECIFIC REPLY QUESTIONS I RAISED--QUESTIONS REGARDING TIME LIMIT ON DECLARATION SET FORTH HIS MAY 11.

40. WANG RECALLED IT HIS COUNTRY AT BANDUNG LAST YEAR MADE PROPOSAL PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES. IT HIS COUNTRY WHICH VOICED THIS PEACEFUL INTENTION AS EARLY AS BANDUNG LAST YEAR.

41. WANG SAID IT NEARLY ONE YEAR SINCE TWO US BEGAN DISCUSSION PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO SIDES THIS FACT DEMONSTRATED THEIR SIDE BEEN AMPLY PATIENT IN SEARCH FOR SETTLEMENT. BY THIS TIME WE SHOULD BE ABLE EMBODY EFFORTS TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN DECLARATION. PROVIDED THERE SINCERE INTENTION FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TWO MONTHS TIME LIMIT QUITE SUFFICIENT FOR OUR ENDEAVORS. THIS WOULD PREVENT FURTHER DELAY SETTLEMENT OUR PRACTICAL ISSUES. HE FELT US EQUALLY INTERESTED IN AND IN NEED OF EXPEDITIOUS SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES TAIWAN AREA AND AVOIDANCE FURTHER STALLING.

42. WANG RECALLED

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42. WANG RECALLED I HAD TOLD HIM MY SIDE DID NOT DESIRE PERPETUATE PRESENT SITUATION TAIWAN AREA. THEREFORE INCLUSION TIME LIMIT IN INTERESTS BOTH SIDES.

43. I ASKED WHAT WAS EFFECT DECLARATION IF AT END TWO MONTHS PERIOD AGREEMENT NOT BEEN REACHED BETWEEN US. DID HE CONSIDER SELF AT END THAT PERIOD AGAIN FREE THREATEN USE FORCE? OR ACTUALLY TO USE FORCE?

44. WANG DID NOT FEEL QUESTION I RAISED WAS THING TO DISCUSS AT PRESENT STATE. WE NOW DISCUSSING DECLARATION, SEEKING OF PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT DECLARATION. WHAT WE NOW DISCUSSING WAS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES. THESE WERE THINGS SHOULD NOW SEEK. IF EVEN PRIOR ANNOUNCEMENT DECLARATION AND EVEN BEFORE SEEKING PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS WE BEGAN DISCUSS QUESTION I HAD RAISED WOULD BE IDLE AND DIFFUSE.

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Rec'd: MAY 25, 1956
3:21 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1930, MAY 24, 8 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

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45. WANG SAID AT PRESENT WE COULD NOT PREDICT WHETHER AFTER TWO MONTHS US STILL WOULD CONTINUE THREATEN USE FORCE AGAINST CHINA FORCES OCCUPATION TAIWAN. AT THIS STAGE HE DID NOT INTEND RAISE THIS QUESTION.

46. I REPLIED IT US THAT PROPOSED UNCONDITITIONAL UNLIMITED RENUNCIATION USE FORCE. US NOT PROPOSED IT BE QUALIFIED BY TIME LIMIT OR ANY OTHER WAY. HE HAD SPOKEN OF "EXPEDITIOUS" SETTLEMENT. I THOUGHT WE BOTH WOULD RECALL LAST SEPT WE DISCUSSING TIME LIMITS AND "EXPEDITIOUS" IN OTHER CONNECTION. STILL SEEMS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT TERM VASTLY DIFFERS.

47. I SAID US DID NOT DESIRE PERPETUATE SITUATION TAIWAN AREA WHERE THREAT FORCE BY ONE SIDE COULD PLUNGE TWO COUNTRIES AND WORLD INTO CONFLICT. THIS PRECISELY BEEN POINT MY PROPOSAL AND DISCUSSION, THAT WE FIRST MAKE CLEAR WE NOT PERMIT THIS HAPPEN. ONCE THAT DONE COULD UNDERTAKE SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL METHODS RESOLVING DISPUTE THAT AREA. I STILL AWAITED AND HAD AWAITED ALMOST NINE MONTHS GENUINE INDICATION HIS GOVT WILLING TAKE THAT FIRST STEP. I CONTINUED HOPE NOT ONLY FOR SAKE NEGOTIATIONS HERE BUT FOR SAKE TWO COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IT WOULD TAKE THAT STEP. HOPED IT WOULD DO SO WITHOUT RESERVATION PURPOSE EVASION, AS MY GOVT WILLING DO.

48. WANG SAID IF WE HAD DESIRE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT SHOULD CONCRETELY DEMONSTRATE BY REACHING AGREEMENT AND MAKING DECLARATION. I HAD SAID MY SIDE ALSO HAD SAME DESIRE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. IF SO, WHY NOT GET TOGETHER ON COMMON DESIRE AND TRY REACH AGREEMENT ON LANGUAGE EXPRESS THIS COMMON DESIRE?

49. WANG SAID

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49. WANG SAID WOULD NOT ASSIST DISCUSSIONS IN ANY WAY TO ENGAGE IDLE TALK OR DEPART FROM QUESTION-MAKING DECLARATION. WOULD APPRECIATE MY TELLING HIM WHETHER HAD ANY OTHER OPINIONS ON MAY 11 DRAFT.

50. I SAID IF HE WILLING UNEQUIVOCALLY UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCE FORCE IN SETTLEMENT DISPUTE AND ALSO SAME TIME EXPRESS DETERMINATION SEEK PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT I NOT ABLE THINK ANY CLEARER WAY THIS COULD BE DONE, IN FORM MEETS BOTH POINTS VIEW THAN THAT CONTAINED MY APRIL 19 REVISION HIS DECEMBER 1.

51. I SAID FOR REASONS I HAD SET FORTH DID NOT BELIEVE THAT PURPOSE IN ANY SENSE ACCOMPLISHED BY MAY 11 DRAFT. I STILL BELIEVED THAT DRAFT STEP BACKWARDS FROM WHAT I THOUGHT WE BEEN ABLE ACCOMPLISH. WOULD HOPE AT NEXT MEETING HE WOULD REALIZE THIS AND WE BE ABLE TAKE STEPS MARKING PROGRESS.

52. I REGRETTED TO SAY I DID NOT FEEL POSITION HE HAD TAKEN TODAY ENABLED US MAKE PROGRESS. IF HE WILLING UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCE FORCE SETTLEMENT DISPUTES I SATISFIED PROGRESS COULD BE MADE.

53. WANG SAID HE ALSO, IN REFERENCE REMARK I JUST MADE, DISAPPOINTED. MY REMARKS DID NOT SEEM HELP IN PROGRESS ON DECLARATION. IF I STILL CLUNG APRIL 19 DRAFT HE COULD ONLY CONSIDER DELIBERATE HINDRANCE IN DISCUSSIONS. HE CONTINUED HOPE I WOULD CHANGE MY STAND . HE CONTINUED HOPE I WOULD BE ABLE OFFER CONSTRUCTIVE OPINIONS BASIS MAY 11 DRAFT. BY DOING SO WOULD ENABLE US SPEEDILY REACH AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION. SHOULD NOT STALL ON THIS MATTER. OTHERWISE THEY WOULD CONSIDER MAKING DRAFT OPEN TO PUBLIC AND LETTING PUBLIC JUDGE WHETHER DRAFT REASONABLE. HE HOPED WE BE ABLE RAPIDLY PROGRESS THIS QUESTION.

54. I SAID IS HE NOTHING FURTHER WOULD LIKE NOTE, ALTHOUGH IT FIVE YEARS FROM TIME HE MADE ORIGINAL APPLICATION FOR EXIT WANG'S COUNTRY, AND ALTHOUGH IT ALMOST NINE MONTHS SINCE WANG TOLD ME HERE WOULD BE ABLE LEAVE IN PERIOD TWO-THREE MONTHS, CHARLES MINER ARRIVED HONG KONG MAY 19. HOWEVER,

I NEVERTHELESS

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I NEVERTHELESS GRATIFIED HE FINALLY ABLE LEAVE. WOULD HOPE THIS INDICATES REMAINING AMERICANS DETAINED HIS COUNTRY SHORTLY BE FOLLOWING.

55. WANG SAID AS HE TOLD ME SOON AS UNSETTLED AFFAIRS MINER SETTLED HE ABLE LEAVE COUNTRY, HIS EXIT NOW PROVED THIS WAS SO. MINER HAD SETTLED UNSETTLED AFFAIRS AND NOW LEFT COUNTRY. TIME TAKEN IN DEPARTURE NOT ENTIRELY FAULT CHINESE AUTHORITIES.

56. I SAID HAD NOTHING MORE, SUGGESTED NEXT THURSDAY MAY 31. WANG AGREED.

GOWEN

JJ

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1937, MAY 25, 7 P.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

UNLESS ABLE MAKE SOME NEW MOVE WITH RESPECT MAY 1 DRAFT NEXT MEETING BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PEPARED FOR POSSIBILITY CHICOMS MAY MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT. HOWEVER LIKELIHOOD THEIR DOING THIS WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY REDUCED IF I AM ABLE MAKE PROPOSED STATEMENT ON CHINESE PRISONERS IN US. IN EVENT THEY MAKE STATEMENT I WOULD PROPOSE IMMEDIATELY MAKE AVAILABLE CORRESPONDENTS HERE APRIL 19 AND MAY 11 DRAFTS TOGETHER WITH BRIEF STATEMENT TO EFFECT WHEN WANG INFORMED ME AT PREVIOUS MEETING OF INTENTION ISSUED PUBLIC STATEMENT I FOUND IT DIFFICULT BELIEVE THEY WILLING EXPOSE MAY 11 DRAFT PUBLIC SCRUTINY, AS IT EVEN MORE AMBIGUOUS AND LACKING IN ELEMENTS OF UNCONDITIONAL RENUNCIATION OF FORCE THAN THEIR DEC 1 DRAFT. ALTHOUGH AMB. WANG HAS INDICATED HE STILL SHARES MY DESIRE TO REACH AGREEMENT MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE HE HAS REJECTED MY SUCCESSSIVE EFFORTS TO MAKE SIMPLE REVISIONS DEC 1 DRAFT THAT WOULD ACCOMPLISH THIS PURPOSE. MY APRIL 19 DRAFT INCORPORATED THOSE REVISIONS IN FORM THAT TOOK FULL ACCOUNT BOTH POINTS OF VIEW. DESPITE AMB WANG'S REFLECTION THIS FURTHER EFFORT MY PART I SHALL CONTINUE SEEK AGREEMENT WITH HIM ON STATEMENT THAT WILL MAKE GENUINE CONTRIBUTION TO ESTABLISHMENT PEACE IN FAR EAST. ANY FURTHER COMMENTS WILL EMANATE WASHINGTON.

GOWEN

CES

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FEB 2 P 1:59

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1956 MAY 26 AM 9 15 BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

This document consists of 3 pages. Copies, Series -

WPM
PKB

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
MAY 4 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Letter No. 34

May 25, 1956

Dear Walter:

As I told you, I am staying down over this weekend until the next meeting to get some dental work done, so that I also have an opportunity to write you at a little leisure today.

I have received your Letter No. 43 and entirely agree that the first two paragraphs of the May 11 draft are very clever and adroit. However, I think that they are much more vulnerable in the last paragraph both from the negotiating and public position, particularly as we had previously accepted their December 1 version of that paragraph. As I indicated in my 1902, it seems to me we are faced with two broad courses of action. We can continue to take our previous broad position that the Communists have in effect agreed to renounce force and that the problem revolves around the self-defense clause, or we can take the position they refuse unconditionally and unambiguously to renounce force with respect to the Taiwan area. The latter is, of course, the actual fact and you will note that in the last two meetings I have been concentrating heavily upon that aspect. The former course has some obvious advantages but it is open to a great deal of public confusion over the actual issue and does not give us as clean and clear a public position as the latter course. A good example of this is the lead editorial in the London Times of May 24 which states that the Chinese Communists are willing to make a general declaration of renunciation of force, but that the issue revolves around its application to Formosa with the added American proviso that Taiwan and its government must have a right to collective self-defense. I think that we should regard the whole matter from the standpoint of the public position we will desire to take when the matter next

becomes

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

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becomes public. There is, of course, much to be said for maintaining the public position that the Chinese Communists have in effect renounced force and leaving up to them the onus of denying it. While it leaves us in the disadvantageous position of not being able to present a clean-cut and simple issue, it does serve the purpose of reducing public impression of "tension" in the Taiwan area. These are just some random thoughts on which I would appreciate the trend of the Department's thinking.

While it would be very useful to get back to our April 19 draft as a basis of discussion, it is easier said then done and I fear I have not thus far been too successful. Nor do I expect to be successful. The only real way that I can be successful in forestalling their going to the public and keeping things rolling along here would be to counter their drafts with drafts of our own or ~~by giving~~ BEING WILLING some flexibility in impliedly or specifically discussing changes in their drafts and thus keep the situation fluid and CON fused. My flatly rejecting his drafts and he flatly rejecting my drafts does not give me very much room for manuvouring.

I greatly appreciate being consulted on our proposed action in regard to Chinese prisoners and yesterday s ent off my thoughts in my 1928. I should perhaps have made it clear in there that my thought with regard to not giving publicity to the matter applies only to the initial stage and a suitable period to see what response it brings from the Communists. I also think that we ought to wait and see what the actual results are in terms of numbers, etc. before giving it any public buildup. If the results are justified and response from the Communists is not satisfactory, we could then profitably pull out the stops on publicity.

With regard to the fourth paragraph of your Letter No. 43, I should think it would be preferable to have O'Neil wait on any note not only till we see if Clifford and Phillips are released ~~but~~ AND until we see what results our action with regard to the Chinese prisoners seems to be producing. I would hope that at the minimum it would produce fairly prompt action on the part of the Communists to tell O'Neil that he can see the remaining American prisoners. If it does not, then I believe

O'Neil

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O'Neil should by all means follow up with a full representation which would point up the disparity between the United States and Communist actions.

. . . . . .

As I wrote Bill Sebald from Prague, I have for many reasons accepted an invitation to give the commencement address at the Nurnberg Army High School on Thursday, June 14. If you are agreeable back there I am thinking of skipping the meeting for that week unless, of course, there are developments which would make this clearly undesirable. In view of Wang's previous requests to which I have agreed, I think that I could do this without any special implications being read into them by them. I have not decided whether I would do it by canceling the meeting by telephone as he has done or by putting it to him straight at the previous meeting. Let me know if you have any thoughts or views on this.

Regards to all.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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OFFICIAL-INFORMAL
SECRET

Letter No. 44

Dear Alex:

Walter is away for two days in Omaha and Colorado Springs where a group of senior Departmental officers are being briefed by the Strategic Air Command and the Continental Defense Command on their current capabilities and problems.

We have the preliminary report on your meeting of yesterday. Wang's concentration on the first paragraph of their latest draft and his implied threat to make it public reinforces the suspicion that the Chinese Communists are seeking to build a strong propaganda position. I have not yet had a chance to discuss the meeting with anyone. There will probably be a meeting on Monday to consider tactics for your next meeting.

The behaviour of the Brazilian Parliamentary delegation is very puzzling. We certainly understood here that they were scheduled to visit Communist China.

Thank

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Thank you for calling our attention to the "Ta Kung Pao" proclamation on registration of families with students abroad. I do not know why this was not brought to our attention earlier by Hong Kong or DRF. We now have a copy of the text of the Peiping proclamation which I am enclosing. There are also enclosed two memoranda showing how the drive to gather information on Chinese in this country is developing. The attempt to utilize the American Red Cross is a particularly clever move. The Red Cross may wish to make some gesture toward providing information in order to preserve their relationship with the Chinese Communist Red Cross which is helpful to our prisoners but it would be most unfortunate if they began to supply the very names and addresses which we have refused, for good reasons, to give the Chinese Communists.

Regarding Bob Ekvall's situation, Walter called a Mr. Zander, who is temporarily in Bill Godel's place, and he agreed to take the matter up with G-2. We will follow up on this and hope that there will be no difficulty in obtaining the necessary extension of detail.

There is enclosed a memorandum giving the latest developments in arranging deportation of Chinese prisoners in this country. We expect today the final report on this from General Swing. We are awaiting with interest your suggestions, in response to our last guidance telegram, as to how the matter can best be handled to gain the greatest advantage. We are agreed that the Chinese Communists are not really interested in getting these prisoners back and that they will therefore not constitute a strong bargaining counter. However, we feel it is possible to place the Chinese Communists in an awkward public position

position on this issue and thus create some pressure for them to release Americans.

I have just seen Maggie Higgin's lengthy article in today's "New York Herald Tribune" revealing publicly that the Chinese Communists have demanded that all Chinese in American jails be let out. I have no idea who the "high administration source" who revealed this is. Questions are already coming in from the press. What the results of this will be on our plans is anybody's guess.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph N. Clough
Deputy Director
for Chinese Affairs

Enclosures:

1. Memorandum re "Chinese Communist Pressure on Chinese in the US."
2. Memorandum re "Latest Developments on Deportation of Chinese Prisoners"
3. Two memoranda re Chinese Communist Red Cross Inquiries.
4. "Peking Daily" proclamation re registration of families of students in US.
5. Korean Briefing Meeting, May 16, 1956.
6. Article by Marguerite Higgins.

FE:CA:RNClough:ek

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RESIDENT UNITED STATES DELEGATION
TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
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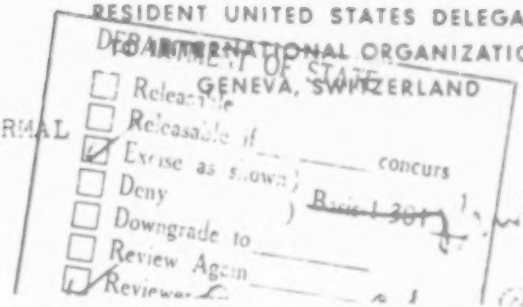

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

CONFIDENTIAL

May 26, 1956

Dear Ralph:

. . . . . .

Some more random thoughts that have been batting around here, but which have not taken a firm enough shape to put any kind of imprimatur on:

Turning the Tables on "Mutual Respect": We all realize "mutual respect" is a hard one to handle, but some of Wang's statements have indicated possible flexibility on his part. Presumably he would like to work towards a "compromise" in which both ICSD and "mutual respect" were left in the first paragraph. This would, of course, be no compromise at all from our standpoint, and I don't see how we could ever accept it.

If we are going to proceed on the basis of the May 11 draft, accordingly, one problem is how to make Wang agree to dropping "mutual respect" in exchange for some briefed-down, innocuous clause like "without prejudice to inherent rights of either side", or etc. A frontal attack on "mutual respect" would probably not do the trick, as the Chicoms could make us appear to be opposing virtue (see Para 3 our 1930). I have been toying with a somewhat devious, anything but frontal, attack designed to alram Wang about the implications of his own clause. It rests on a syllogism something like this:

(a) If the "mutual respect" clause is really mutual and reciprocal, as Wang asserts, then the implication is there that the Chicoms are acknowledging a legitimate US concern in matters of sovereignty and territorial integrity related to the Taiwan area. They are also apparently acknowledging that the US has some "internal affairs" in that area.

(b) If Wang denies this implication, then he is either denying the applicability of the first paragraph to Taiwan, or he is denying its mutuality.

Ralph N. Clough, Esquire,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, 25, D.C.

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Although this might be the rationale of our line on this point, we should not present the line from this angle. Too sophistic. It would be more alarming (not to say infuriating) to Peiping if we introduced it something like this:

"Mr Ambassador, one of the unfortunate aspects of your first para is that, intentionally or not, it gives the impression that matters of sovereignty and territory in the Taiwan area are entirely and exclusively mutual between us. It gives the impression that only the two of us are concerned with internal matters in that area.

"It is true that my country, which had a major part in defeating Japan and thus liberating Taiwan, has a legitimate concern in questions of sovereignty in that area. It is possible also to speak of such matters as the control and disposition of American forces in the MAAG on Taiwan as an internal matter of my country. However, in the first place, my country is not willing to give the appearance of disregarding the role of the other great powers allied with the United States in the war against Japan--among them the Republic of China, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union.

"In the second place, as I have repeatedly ~~m~~ emphasized here, I do not think we should render our present task, of agreeing on a renunciation of force, even more complex and difficult than it already is by introducing matters of substance relating to the merits of our disputes. This, it seems to me, your first paragraph ~~xxxxx~~ indisputably does."

It seems to me, if this line could be presented with a straight enough face, it might give Peiping some food for thought. I don't necessarily urge this approach, which is devious; but I can't at the moment think of a better way of alarming Wang about "mutual respect."

I am also toying with the possibility of a new US draft, based on their December 1 draft, but approaching the amendments from a different angle. I'll send it along in a later letter.

Best to all in Ca--

Sincerely,

David L Osborn

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

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CONFIDENTIAL

May 28, 1956

Dear Ralph:

If we are not inclined to talk on the basis of Wang's May 11 draft, I think the best way of avoiding it is to submit a new draft. I don't think the April 19 revision is adequate for this purpose. It is too close to our January 12 revision, for one thing, and is not the kind of dramatic "effort" to reach agreement that would really look good in the record. For another thing, in point of timing we need something that postdates their May 11 draft.

A second reason for submitting a new draft (the first being our possible reluctance to talk on the basis of their May 11 draft) is that this would keep Peiping off balance with respect to a break-off, and possibly even with respect to a resort to the public. They would want to have the last word--as usual--and might be reluctant to face the public on the basis of a record showing the United States had made the last concrete effort to reach agreement. The effectiveness of our new draft in accomplishing this purpose would, of course, depend on how good our "effort" would look in the record.

Possible New Draft--December 1 with a Codicil:

We have preserved a position in the talks from which we can consistently say that we have, from the time of its submission, considered Wang's December 1 draft an acceptable form and framework for a declaration renouncing the use of force; but we have, also from the time of its submission, been concerned about certain ambiguities therein which make it possible for the December 1 draft to mean one thing to one side and another to the other side.

Our successive efforts since January 12 have been

directed

Ralph N. Clough, Esquire,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, 25, D.C.

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directed at removing the ambiguities of the December 1 draft. We could argue that Wang, by his submission of his May 11 draft, has in effect acknowledged his own concern about the ambiguities of his December 1 draft.

Wang's May 11 draft (we could argue), in trying to overcome the ambiguities of his December 1 draft, unfortunately sacrifices too much of what was good in the December 1 draft. Wang has thrown out the baby with the bathwater.

What we ought to do is to concentrate on the essential task of turning the December 1 draft into a meaningful declaration by removing its ambiguities while preserving this mutually acceptable form and framework.

How to do this? In regard to what points do both Ambassadors agree the December 1 draft requires amplification or specification? First, both Ambassadors seem to be in agreement that it is desirable to make it clear that the declaration does not prejudice the rights, or the positions and views of one side or the other. Various ways, none of them completely satisfactory to both sides, have been suggested. And yet, in answer to the direct question "should the proposed declaration be interpreted as in any way prejudicing the rights of either side, or the position of either side with respect to the merits of this dispute?" both Ambassadors would certainly say it should not.

Secondly, both Ambassadors have suggested ways in which the declaration should be related to the Taiwan area. There has been much discussion on this point, but surely both Ambassadors would agree that the Taiwan area dispute should be included in the disputes referred to in the proposed declaration.

Our suggestion in presenting the enclosed draft would be that the way to agreement on a declaration acceptable to both sides is to take the acceptable form and framework of the December 1 draft and let it stand, with the addition of an "Agreed Understanding" (or some other name for Codicil) on the two points mentioned above.

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I would presume that our initial draft "Agreed Understanding" would contain only the two paragraphs. If Wang insisted on a third paragraph relating to a FMC, we might be prepared to move towards something like the bracketed third paragraph of the enclosure.

On the whole, I am inclined to think this approach might be better--safer and more under our control, also less defensive--than the approach outlined in paragraph four of my May 14 letter.

Regards to all. Hope Walter is not too tired from his trip West.

Sincerely,

David L. Osborn

P.S. It looks as though I may at last get some substantive work to do--writing up some reports, attending some conferences--in the Delegation's Economic Section. Hope so.

Dave
DLO

Enc.
Agreed Announcement with
Codicil

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CONFIDENTIAL

AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT
ETC.

Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, and Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the Peoples' Republic of China, agree to announce:

The United States of America and the Peoples' Republic of China are determined that they should settle disputes between their two countries through peaceful negotiations without resorting to the threat or use of force:

The two Ambassadors should continue their talks to seek practical and feasible means for the realization of this common desire.

AGREED UNDERSTANDING OF THE TWO AMBASSADORS:

1. Neither this Announcement nor any of its provisions is to be construed as in any way prejudicing the rights of either side or the position of either side with respect to the merits of their disputes;

2. This Announcement applies to all disputes between our two countries, including that in the Taiwan area.

3. With reference to the last paragraph of the Announcement, the two of us shall not only continue to discuss and strive to settle the practical matters at issue between us, but shall expeditiously consider and arrange for such other practical and feasible means, including the holding of negotiations at a higher level, as may be

AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ETC. (Contd.)

ascertained to be appropriate and necessary.7*

*Bracketed paragraph would not be part of initial draft.

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May 28, 1956

Dear Walter:

Bob Ekvall has received a letter from Ted Liu who was principal Chinese interpreter at Panmonjom. He is finishing up his M.A. degree at Columbia in June and will be looking for a job. At present he says he is being considered by USIA and the National Security Agency and has asked Bob for his advice on any other places that he might look. Bob says that he is absolutely tops as an interpreter as well as a person.

With reference to my previously expressed thought, that the Department should be looking toward obtaining a first class Chinese interpreter, this seems to me like an excellent opportunity. At my suggestion, Bob is therefore writing to him suggesting that he see Ralph Clough. I am enclosing the Curriculum Vita that he sent to Bob.

I just received Ralph's letter enclosing Marguerite Higgins article on prisoners. This is, of course, most unfortunate and disturbing after the success we have had in recent months in keeping out of the press. I have not yet seen the article in the Paris edition of the Herald Tribune but presume that whether or not it appears there it will certainly fall into the hands of the Chinese. If I receive any inquiries on it here I plan to say nothing whatever.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Enc.
Curriculum Vita of
Theodore M. Liu

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

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FROM JOHNSON

Daily Radio Bulletin 1261 of May 26 Items 117 and 124.

Would appreciate text White's remarks re Geneva talks also guidance for us answering possible local inquiries. No inquiries so far but several correspondents have indicated interest doing round-up stories in connection fiftieth meeting and I anticipate question Chinese prisoners will be raised.

GOWEN

EOC:MAA

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FOR JOHNSON

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FYI.

1. Mrs. Robert McCann has received letter from Chinese Communist Red Cross dated May 7 in answer ~~to~~ letter from her dated Feb. 6, stating her husband sentenced ~~to~~ 15 years imprisonment starting from date of his arrest "owing to violation of Chinese law". Sympathy extended and statement made that Court may order an early release "if he behaves well in his imprisonment". States decision of authorities ~~to~~ alleviate suffering of separation by granting special permission for families of convicts ~~to~~ come to China and visit them is still in force. Chinese Communist Red Cross offers ~~to~~ "make arrangements" if she would like ~~to~~ come to China ~~to~~ visit her husband.

2. Lawrence Buol died suddenly in ~~[illegible]~~ FRANCE May 27.

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC) HOOVER

DC/T
Encl 55

Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ikb:bp

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

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1. Your 1928 re optional return to Mainland China of Chinese alien criminals imprisoned in this country. Department has decided proceed promptly with course B DEPTEL 2023. May 28 letter from Justice states that parole for deportation of all State prisoners can be arranged. Some Federal cases more difficult where minimum time for parole eligibility not yet served, but release for deportation possible through Presidential action which we believe obtainable.

2. Plan is for concerted action be taken May 31 by you with Wang and by Department with Indian Embassy. We will point out that Agreed Announcement does not require us take any action regarding Chinese common criminals serving sentences in this country, but that we are nevertheless affording such criminals opportunity of immediate voluntary return Mainland China, thus removing any semblance of basis for Chinese Communist allegation of US non-compliance with Agreed Announcement. We have decided permit Indian Embassy representatives to interview all 34 Chinese alien criminals and ascertain for themselves which ones desire return Communist China. Decision of each prisoner must be confirmed by him to responsible Americ

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Drafted by: WPMcConaughy/ikb 5/29/56

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Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

L-Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)

NEA - Mr. Rountree

SOA - Mr. Jones

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authorities. Necessary machinery for release and voluntary deportation will be put into motion in each case only after we are satisfied that prisoner has freely made decision to return. Appropriate communication quoting Agreed Announcement and informing prisoners of choice before them and prospective visit of Indian Representative, will be delivered in near future.

3. Department contemplates no repeat no follow-up approach by O'Neill in Peiping for time being. We believe chances of favorable action by Chinese Communists on American prisoners will be improved if we refrain from applying pressure for a time. Our action is in part predicated on assumption that Chinese Communists will require a face saving procedure for belated compliance with Agreed Announcement and immediate pressure tactics would not be consistent with this theory.

4. Chinese and British Embassies here will be informed in confidence of our decision morning 31st. No present publicity contemplated and no decision will be made as to future publicity awaiting further developments. Your comments on publicity question requested.
~~It may be best to delay publicity until after Communist~~

Your instructions for next meeting will outline presentation to be made on this subject to Wang.

Hoover
ACTING

HOOVER

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Guidance for May 31 meeting.

1. Inform Wang that in order remove any vestige basis for Wang's claim that US has not performed under Agreed Announcement because Chinese prisoners not free leave US each Chinese alien criminal in Federal or State penitentiary in US being informed of Agreed Announcement and is specifically being told that if he desires do so he may apply for immediate voluntary deportation to mainland. Indian Embassy being informed that arrangements being made for its representatives interview each imprisoned criminal of Chinese nationality to ascertain to Embassy's satisfaction whether individual desires release for immediate return mainland China. US will take prompt action upon any application by such Chinese criminals for immediate deportation.

2. Inform Wang that while Chinese alien criminals in US prisons were not included in Agreed Announcement September 10 or in discussions leading up to that Announcement, and none so far as we know have expressed any wish return to Communist China, nevertheless in view of Wang's statements we have carried out careful investigation in all Federal and State prisons to identify

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Phleger

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPineConaughy:ek 5/29/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger in draft

11205

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to identify alien Chinese imprisoned there. Extensive investigation necessary because no Chinese imprisoned on political type charges or because his race, nationality or political beliefs. They are all imprisoned for common crimes such as murder and narcotic traffic. Names and addresses all Chinese alien criminals who have been identified will be given Indian Embassy here. You may inform Wang that Indian Embassy will be informed morning May 31 Washington time but that no publicity now being given to decision.

3. FYI You may expand your presentation along indicated lines as you consider appropriate in order obtain maximum tactical and psychological impact from it. [redacted] We hope by this strategy actually to obtain release imprisoned Americans or else make Chinese Communist public position in continuing to hold them completely indefensible. Compulsion on Chinese Communists to act must at this stage be indirect rather than in form outright pressure. END FYI

4. We anticipate that this new move on prisoners will and should occupy major portion meeting. We leave it to your judgment whether you introduce this item or renunciation force first. On renunciation force reiterate reasons why Wang's May 11 draft is a retrograde step and unacceptable. Probe Wang's motivation in moving away from agreement instead of toward agreement. Indicate US distaste for threats inherent in Wang's position. Repulse allegation US is side that is guilty of stalling

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stalling tactics. Continue take non-commital attitude towards possibility Chinese Communist publication Wang's latest draft, making it clear while we disapprove publicity at this stage in accordance with understanding at time talks were initiated we have nothing to fear from publicity.

5. If Wang should make public statement as suggested your 1937 you should make statement along lines you recite there but make no mention that further comments will emanate Washington as we may not wish make further statement here.

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MSR HOOVER

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (628)

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2068

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Your 1949. Department believes transmittal text May 25 news conference unnecessary. In light DEPTELS 2066 and 2067 you will understand why Department prefers you endeavor avoid comment on Chinese prisoner matter.

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611.93/5-2956 CS/W

HOOVER

ACTING

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Vol 55
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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 5/30/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

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Info
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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 17203 to
Rec'd: MAY 31, 1956
9:55 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1958, MAY 31, 1 PM

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO HOUR 20 MIN MEETING THIS MORNING. BALANCING ALL CONSIDERATIONS DECIDED BEST TO OPEN ON RENUNCIATION WHICH I DID, MAKING POINTS PARA 4 DEPTEL 2067, MENTIONING HOWEVER THAT I HAD INFORMATION FOR HIM ON FIRST ITEM AND THEREFORE WOULD MAKE MY DISCUSSION RENUNCIATION BRIEF.

2. GIVE-AND-TAKE GENERALLY FOLLOWED PREVIOUS LINES EXCEPT THAT HE PRESSED HARDER FOR SPECIFIC DETAILED COMMENTS ARS INVITED TEXTUAL AMENDMEMTS. "IF TWO MONTHS PERIOD NOT ENOUGH TIME WHAT PERIOD WOULD BE ENOUGH?" WHILE HE AVOIDED EXPLICIT THREAT GO PUBLIC HE RENEWED STALLING CHARGE IN CONTEXT WORLD OPINION BEING DISAPPOINTED BY FAILURE THESE TALKS PRODUCE RESULTS.

3. I MADE STATEMENT ON CHINESE PRISONERS ALONG LINES PARAS ONE AND TWO DEPTEL 2067 EXCEPT THAT I DID NOT EXPLICITLY INFORM HIM NO PUBLICITY WAS BEING GIVEN TO DECISION. IN CONTEXT MEETING I FELT IT PROBABLY MORE PRODUCTIVE LEAVE HIM GUESS ON THIS. IN ANY EVENT PROBABLY MORE EFFECTIVE IF THEY LEARN THIS THROUGH INDIANS.

4. WANG HAD PREPARED STATEMENT OBVIOUSLY BASED ON HIGGINS ARTICLE AND OTHER PRESS REPORTS REFLECTING INSTRUCTIONS TO "DEMAND" THAT WE RELEASE ALL CHINESE PRISONERS AND SPECIFICALLY ASSERTING THEY INCLUDED IN SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT. ALTHOUGH MY PREVIOUS PRESENTATION UNDERCUT BASIS FOR HIS PREPARED STATEMENT

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HE NEVERTHELESS USEDSOME OF IT, MAKING FOREGOING POINTS. IN REPLY TO HIS QUESTION AS TO HOW MANY, I SAID DID NOT HAVE EXACT FIGURE BUT WAS BETWEEN 30 AND 40, TO WHICH HE REPLIED THIS WAS "QUITE BIG NUMBER". I INGNORED HIS REQUEST FOR LIST OF NAMES. HE RENEWED CHARGE ON COERCING CHINESE APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS, ADDING CHARGE THAT US BORN CHILDREN CHINESE STUDENTS BEING DENIED EXIT. ~~HE~~ I IMMEDIATELY AND CATEGORICALLY DENIED LATTER CHARGE POINTING OUT THAT EVEN THOUGH AMERICAN CITIZENS CHILDREN WERE BEING PERMITTED ACCOMPANY PARENTS.

5. MY STATEMENT ON CHINESE PRISONERS OBVIOUSGY TOOK HIM BY COMPLETE SURPRISE, HE HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS TO COVER POSSIBILITY, AND THEREFORE CONFINED HIMSELF TO PREPARED MATERIAL DESPITE INCONGRUITIES.

6. AT WANG'S SUGGESTION NEXT MEETING FRIDAY JUNE 8.

7. PROCEEDING PRAGUE TOMORROW RETURNING GENEVA WEDNESDAY JUNE 6.

SHILLOCK

RNS

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ASTERN AFFAIRS

(630)

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CORRECTION ISSUED
6/8/56 9:00 A.M.
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Action
FE

Info
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Control: 17466
Rec'd: MAY 31, 1956
5:07 PM

Assigned to: [illegible]

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA - CORRECTED PAGE 1

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1964, MAY 31, 6 P.M. (SECTION 1 OF SIX)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 49TH TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. SHALL MAKE REMARKS ON SECOND ITEM BRIEF AS POSSIBLE THIS MORNING AS HAVE SOME INFORMATION I GIVE YOU CONCERNING FIRST ITEM.

B. DO NOT, HOWEVER, WANT TO MAKE SO BRIEF AS TO LEAVE YOU IN DOUBT AS TO MY POSITION REGARD OUR SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE AT PRESENT STAGE DISCUSSIONS. MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS THIS SEARCH TASK OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE, AND FOR ITS PART IS DETERMINED MAKE EVERY EFFORT FIND COMMON GROUND FOR AGREEMENT ON MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE. MY COUNTRY WILL CONTINUE SEEK THIS AS ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP TOWARD PEACEFUL RESOLUOION DIFFERENCES.

C. IT BECAUSE THIS ATTITUDE MY GOVERNMENT THAT, WHEN YOU SUBMITTED LAST DEC 1, I DID NOT REJECT IT SIMPLY BECAUSE IT CAME FROM YOUR SIDE. ON CONTRARY, AS YOU WILL RECALL, WELCOMED IT AS ADVANCE OVER YOUR PREVIOUS POSITION. FELT IT HAD POSSIBILITY BEING MADE INTO ACCEPTABLE FORM FRAMEWORK MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE. AS TOLD YOU AT TIME, WAS CONCERNED ABOUT CERTAIN AMBIGUITIES YOUR DEC 1 DRAFT. AS INDICATED YOUR DEC 1, YOUR DRAFT, BECAUSE THESE AMBIGUITIES APPEARED CAPABLE MEANING ONE THING ONE SIDE ANOTHER TO OTHER. AS INDICATED YOU THAT TIME, THERE WAS DANGER YOU MIGHT BE TAKING DRAFT TO MEAN US ABANDONING ITS POSITION RESPECT MERITS DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. AS ALSO INDICATED, I FELT

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RELATION OF DRAFT TO TAIWAN AREA WAS ANOTHER POINT OF AMBIGUITY.

D. HOWEVER, DESPITE THESE DANGERS WHICH, AS NOTED AT TIME SEEMED INHERENT YOUR DRAFT, I WAS MOST CAREFUL IN SUGGESTING REVISIONS TO AVOID REJECTING WHAT WAS CONSTRUCTIVE IN DRAFT. LIMITED REVISIONS TO WHAT THOUGHT WAS MINIMUM NECESSARY TO REMOVE AMBIGUITIES I HAD POINTED OUT. YOU PERSISTED REJECTING MY AMENDMENTS, BUT FOR FIVE MONTHS REFUSED SUBMIT ALTERNATIVE SUGGESTIONS. APRIL 19, I AGAIN SUGGESTED CERTAIN MINIMUM REVISIONS DESIGNED MEET YOUR STATED OBJECTIONS MY JANUARY 12 AMENDMENTS. AGAIN, MOST CAREFUL PRESERVE INTACT FORM AND EXACT LANGUAGE YOUR DEC 1 DRAFT, LIMITING CHANGES TO NECESSARY MINIMUM.

E. FINALLY, ON MAY 11, YOU CAME FORWARD WITH NEW REVISION ON YOUR OWN. YOU HAVE OBJECTED MY TERMING YOUR MAY 11 DRAFT "RETROGRESSION". HAVE NOT USED THIS TERM HASTILY. REALLY DO NOT SEE HOW IT POSSIBLE REGARD THAT DRAFT AS OTHER THAN RETROGRADE STEP. LET ME MAKE THIS ENTIRELY CLEAR.

F. FIRST, CONSIDER QUESTION IN TERMS OF DRAFTS, OF CONCRETE DOCUMENTS. STATED AT TIME, YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT CONSTITUTED ADVANCE OVER PREVIOUS POSITION. SURELY EFFORT BOTH US OUGHT BE PRESERVE ELEMENTS OF ADVANCE IN DRAFT AND CONCENTRATE SOLELY ON IMPROVING IT. MY SUCCESSIVE EFFORTS FOLLOWED THIS PRINCIPLE, IN TRUE SPIRIT RECIPROCITY AND DESIRE FOR PROGRESS. DO NOT BELIEVE YOU CAN POINT TO ANY RESPECT IN WHICH MY REVISION APRIL 19 SACRIFICED ANY PART YOUR DEC 1 DRAFT. UNFORTUNATELY, YOUR DRAFT MAY 11 DOES SACRIFICE MUCH OF EARLIER DRAFT. REVISIONS WHICH IT SUGGESTS EITHER DEPART COMPLETELY FROM SPIRIT RECIPROOCITY AND MUTUALITY, OR LIMIT VALIDITY OF DECLARATION, OR INTRODUCE NEW AND EXTRANEOUS ELEMENTS AMBIGUITY. EVEN EXCLUDES THOSE PORTIONS OF YOUR OWN DEC 1 DRAFT I HAD ACCEPTED. RATHER THAN MOVING DIRECTION OF AGREEMENT, MOVES AWAY FROM AGREEMENT.

G.. SECOND, CONSIDER QUESTION IN TERMS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN MY COUNTRY YOURS, AND OF SITUATION TAIWAN AREA. DOES NOT SET TIME LIMIT-AND SHORT ONE, AT THAT -- ON VALIDITY OF PROPOSED DECLARATION AUTOMATICALLY HEIGHTS DECREASE, DANGERS OF

THAT SITUATION

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THAT SITUATION? DOES IT NOT AUTOMATICALLY RAISE QUESTION OF WHAT YOUR SIDE INTENDS DO AT END TWO-MONTH PERIOD? YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT CONSTITUTED APPARENT ADVANCE TOWARDS BASIS FOR AGREEMENT ON MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE. THAT IS, I FELT AND STILL FEEL IF ITS AMBIGUITIES REMOVED, AS WAS DONE IN MY APRIL 19 DRAFT THE DEC 1 DRAFT COULD LEAD TO REMOVAL DANGERS INHERENT IN PRESENT SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA. IT COULD THUS OPEN ROAD TOWARD GENUINE PEACEFUL DISCUSSION AND RESOLUTION DIFFERENCES. I FELT AND STILL FEEL THIS IS DIRECTION WHICH WE SHOULD TRY MOVE. MUST INSIST YOUR MAY 11 DRAFT IS STEP IN OPPOSITE DIRECTION. DO NOT SEE HOW ANYONE COULD CONSIDER IT AS OTHER THAN REVERSAL OF COURSE, AND HOPE YOU WILL UNDERSTAND MY RELUCTANCE JOIN YOU IN BACKWARD STEP.

SHILLOCK

JHF

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CORRECTION ISSUED: 6/8/56 10:45 A.M.

Action Taken

Action FE

Control: 17531

Rec'd: MAY 31, 1956 8:52 P.M.

Date of Action

Info RMR SS G SP C L

FROM: GENEVA - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1964, MAY 31, 8 P.M. (SECTION II OF VI)

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

2. WANG REPLIED (FROM NOTES AND FROM PREPARED STATEMENT) HE NOTED MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING DEALT GENERAL TERMS THEIR PREVIOUS DRAFTS. COULD NOT AGREE MY ASSERTION TERMING MAY 11 DRAFT RETROGRESSION. IT PRESENTED EXACTLY BECAUSE THEIR PREVIOUS DRAFT DEC 1 BEEN SUBMITTED FOR LONG TIME AND DID NOT ACHIEVE ANY RESULT IN DISCUSSIONS. VIEW THAT SITUATION THEY SUBMITTED NEW DRAFT MAY 11. MAY 11 DRAFT COMMON POINTS BEEN INCLUDED. IN LIGHT EXPRESSED ATTITUDE US LAST FEW MEETINGS IN DISCUSSION MAY 11 DRAFT, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING AS WELL AS OPPOSITION TO TIME LIMIT IN DECLARATION IT BECOME QUITE CLEAR MY INTENTION THIS DISCUSSION IS TRY GET DECLARATION FREEZING STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA, THEN RESORT PROLONGED PROCRASTINATION WITHOUT FOLLOWING UP WITH FMC IN ORDER MAINTAIN ABILITY MY COUNTRY CONTINUE SEIZURE TAIWAN INTERVENE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THAT POSITION WHAT THEIR SIDE WOULD UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES AGREE TO.

3. WANG SAID AS BEEN REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT US ALREADY USED FORCE THREAT FORCE IN SEIZING CHINA'S TERRITORY TAIWAN INTERVENING CHINA'S LIBERATION OFFSHORE ISLANDS. THAT FACT WHICH CAN NO WAY BE NEGATED BY RESORT SOPHISTRY.

4. WANG SAID I HAD MADE REPEATED STATEMENTS CALLING FOR UNCONDITIONAL RENUNCIATION FORCE TAIWAN AREA. IF SO US SHOULD FIRST OF ALL REMOVE OWN FORCES AND THREAT FORCE ALREADY USED AGAINST CHINA TAIWAN AREA. CHINA UPHELD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTES TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER WOULD NEVER REMAIN ONLOOKER ALLOWING US CONTINUE PERPETUATE SEIZURE TAIWAN INTERFERENCE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

5. WANG SAID ANY DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE FORCE CHINA US TAIWAN AREA MUST NOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCE BE SOMETHING FREEZING STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA. MUST SPECIFY MEANS BY WHICH TAIWAN AREA DISPUTE MIGHT BE RESOLVED. THEIR DRAFT SPECIFIED SUCH PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS SHOULD BE SOUGHT ASCERTAINED WITHIN TWO MONTHS FROM ANNOUNCEMENT DECLARATION. THIS PROVES SINCERITY THEIR PART FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION DISPUTES BETWEEN US.

6. WANG SAID IT NOW MORE THAN EIGHT MONTHS SINCE BEGAN DISCUSSIONS

THIS SECOND

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THIS SECOND ITEM. AS RESULT PROCRASTINATION PART US WE STILL NOT ABLE REACH AGREEMENT. IF US EVEN LACKED INTENTION REACHING AGREEMENT ON MEANS SETTLING SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA, TO WHAT YEAR AND TO WHAT MONTH WOULD I WANT DRAG ON TALKS WHEN WE CAME TO DISCUSSION SUBSTANCE DISPUTES?

7. WANG SAID THEY ALWAYS HELD PROVIDED THERE EQUAL SINCERITY TWO MONTHS TIME SHOULD BE ENTIRELY SUFFICIENT FOR TWO SIDES AGREE PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS SOLUTION DISPUTES TAIWAN AREA.

8. I REPLIED HE HAD SPOKEN OF SUPPOSED US DESIRE FREEZE STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA. SEEMED ME AS SOMETIMES SAID IN ENGLISH SHOE ON OTHER FOOT. WHAT WAS STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA? STATUS QUO WAS THERE DISPUTE REGARDING THAT AREA INVOLVING BOTH US. ONE SIDE FOR LONG IN PAST AND STILL IS THREATENING USE FORCE RESOLVE THAT DISPUTE TO ITS SATISFACTION.

9 I ASKED WHAT WAS FIRST STEP TO PEACEFULLY RESOLVE THAT DISPUTE? FIRST STEP WAS CLEARLY SAY FORCE WOULD NOT BE USED IN ATTEMPT SOLVE IT. NEXT STEP WAS PEACEFULLY AND IN THAT ATMOSPHERE DISCUSS DISPUTES. IT EIGHT LONG MONTHS AGO I PUT FORWARD THIS SIMPLE PROPOSITION. MIGHT EVEN SAY ELEMENTARY PROPOSITION. PROPOSITION DESIGNED VERLY CLEARLY TO CHANGE PRESENT STATUS QUO UNDER WHICH FORCE BEING THREATENED AND THERE DANGER HOSTILITIES LONG AS IT CONTINUED.

10. I SAID IT NOT US BUT RATHER HIS COUNTRY THAT APPARENTLY DESIRED MAINTAIN STATUS QUO. IT NOT US THAT PREVENTED US FROM COMING GRIPS OTHER SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING US. IT UNWILLINGNESS HIS GOVERNMENT THUS FAR ACCEPT SIMPLE ELEMENTARY PROPOSITION THAT PREVENTED US THUS FAR MOVING ON ANY FURTHER THESE TALKS. I THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT WE KEEP CLEAR ON WHAT ACTUAL SITUATION WAS.

11. WANG SAID I HAD JUST NOW INDICATED DESIRED PRESENT STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA NOT BE MAINTAINED AND SOMETHING MUST BE DONE ABOUT IT. THAT EXACTLY WHAT THEY MAINTAINED. STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA ABNORMAL AND FALSE. THAT WHY SOMETHING MUST BE DONE CHANGE THAT SITUATION. HOWEVER, ORDER CHANGE THAT STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA EMPTY WORDS NOT SUFFICIENT. ONE MUST SHOW CONCRETE DEEDS THAT DIRECTION. IT EXACTLY FOR THIS PURPOSE SETTLING DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES TAIWAN AREA WE STARTED DISCUSSIONS HERE. FOR EIGHT MONTHS WE NOT BEEN ABLE MAKE PROGRESS THIS SUBJECT. THIS NOT TO THEIR SATISFACTION.

12. WANG SAID FIRST STEP SETTLEMENT TAIWAN AREA DISPUTE TWO COUNTRIES LAY IN ANNOUNCING DECLARATION. HOWEVER, I HAD FAILED GIVE HIM ANY

HELP THAT

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HELP THAT DIRECTION. IN DISCUSSING SUBJECT MAKING DECLARATION MUST CONCENTRATE ON HOW MAKE PROGRESS IN DISCUSSION. MAY 11 DRAFT DESIGNED EXACTLY FOR PURPOSE ADVANCING TALKS NOT PRODUCING DEADLOCK OR DRAGGING TALKS BACKWARD.

SHILLOCK

BB:PVB/6

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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 17553
Rec'd: ~~MAY 31, 1956~~
9:31 PM

1/6

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1964, MAY 31, 10 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF SIX)

13. WANG SAID HE HAD REPEATEDLY EXPLAINED HIS DRAFT. IT CONTAINED THREE SUBSTANTIVE PARAS. FIRST PARA THEY PROPOSED TWO COUNTRIES ACCORD MUTUAL RESPECT SOVEREIGNTY TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY EACH OTHER. THAT WOULD BE NORMAL FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE ON WHICH RELATIONS TWO COUNTRIES COULD BE ESTABLISHED; HE COULD NOT IMAGINE ANY OTHER PRINCIPLE DEPARTING FROM THIS PRINCIPLE ON WHICH RELATIONS COULD BE ESTABLISHED. HE COULD NOT IMAGINE HOW THIS PRINCIPLE MUTUAL RESPECT COULD BE REPLACED BY MUTUAL DISDAIN AND HOSTILITY.

14. WANG SAID SECOND PARA PROPOSED PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TAIWAN ARE DISPUTE TWO COUNTRIES. THAT PARA REASONABLE AND EXPRESSED THEIR PEACEFUL INTENTIONS IN THAT THEY DETERMINED TRY SETTLE DISPUTES PEACEFULLY WITHOUT GOING WAR.

15. WANG SAID NEXT ABOUT TIME LIMIT IN DECLARATION. THIS EXPRESSED MUTUAL DETERMINATION SEEK MEANS SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. FACT THAT NO AGREEMENT BEEN ACHIEVED EIGHT LONG MONTHS IN SINO-AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS HAD EXERTED UNFAVORABLE IINFLUENCE INTERNATIONAL OPINION. PUBLIC SAYS TWO US MEETING FOR SAKE MEETING, AND DO NOT HAVE DESIRE SETTLE CONCRETE PROBLEM. ON THEIR PART THEY DISSATISFIED WITH DELAY. IF WE SET TWO MONTHS TIME LIMIT WOULD HELP GREATLY OUR ENDEAVORS FOR SETTLEMENT. THAT IN INTERESTS BOTH SIDES.

16. WANG SAID IN DISCUSSION DECLARATION SHOULD NOT AND CANNOT TRY DEPART FROM THESE THINGS. ISSUE COULD NOT BE SETTLED BY MAKING EMPTY CHARGES SUCH ALLEGATION THEIR DRAFT RETROGRESSION. I ALLEGED THEIR MAY 11 CONSTITUTED STEP BACKWARDS. TOLD ME WOULD APPRECIATE IF I COULD ENLIGHTEN HIM IN WHAT POINTS THEIR DRAFT MADE WHAT I TERMED RETROGRESSION.

17. I SAID

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17. I SAID WANG HAD CHARACTERIZED HIS MAY 11 DRAFT, IN REFERENCE ITS SECOND PARA AS EXPRESSION INTENTION ON PART TWO US TRY SETTLE DISPUTES PEACEFULLY WITHOUT GOING WAR. I INCLINED AGREE THAT CHARACTERIZATION HIS DRAFT. I FELT THIS POINTED UP REALLY FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US. WOULD DECLARATION WE DISCUSSING BE MERELY PIOUS AMBIGUOUS EXPRESSION OF DESIRE TRY REPEAT TRY SETTLE DISPUTES PEACEFULLY WITHOUT GOING WAR? OR WOULD IT BE DECLARATION SAYING WE WOULD NOT GO WAR OVER DISPUTES BUT WOULD DISCUSS THEM AND SEEK SETTLEMENT ONLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS? IT IN THIS REGARD IN PARTICULAR I MUST CONSIDER HIS MAY 11 DRAFT AS RETROGRESSION FROM DEC1 DRAFT.

18. WANG INTERJECTED IT SEEMED WE BETTER KEEP DISCUSSION IN TERMS EXACT TEXT DRAFT. THEIR DRAFT IN THIS PARA SAID TWO COUNTRIES DETERMINED SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES TAIWAN AREA PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION WITHOUT RESORTING THREAT USE FORCE AGAINST EACH OTHER. WE BETTER KEEP STRICTLY TO TEXT DRAFT. WHAT HE WANTED DISCUSS WAS EXACTLY TEXT DRAFT.

19. I TOLD WANG I STILL FELT TAKEN AS WHOLE EFFECT OF MAY 11 DRAFT WAS AS I HAD SAID. AS I HAD SAID THIS MORNING TAKING LAST PARA HIS MAY 11 IN RELATION WHOLE IT EVEN INTRODUCED ELEMENT OF THREAT AT END PERIOD MENTIONED THEREIN. HOWEVER, IT EXPLAINED OR RATIONALIZED THAT SIMPLY INHERENT IN LANGUAGE IT USED. I HAD POINTED OUT ALSO IN THAT PARA HE HAD DROPPED LANGUAGE ON WHICH WE PREVIOUSLY AGREED. I HAD ACCEPTED HIS LANGUAGE EXACTLY AS EXPRESSED IN HIS DRAFT DEC 1 FOR THAT LAST PARA. BY NOW DROPPING LANGUAGE ON WHICH AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED CERTAINLY HAD GONE BACKWARDS.

20. WANG SAID WE WOULD BOTH RECALL PRIOR AGREEMENT FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT WE BOTH WORKED EARNESTLY IN TERMS LANGUAGE OF ANNOUNCEMENT. AS RESULT OUR EFFORTS WE FINALLY REACHED AGREEMENT PRECISE TEXT ANNOUNCEMENT.

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CONFIDENTIAL

CONTROL 17553
CORRECTION ISSUED 6-4-56 7 p.m.

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Action

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-3- 1964, MAY 31, 10 PM FROM GENEVA (SECTION THREE OF SIX) - CORRECTED PAGE 3

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21. WANG SAID HE HAD ASKED ME THIS MORNING POINT OUT EXACTLY WHICH PLACES IN THREE PARAS HIS DRAFT CONSTITUTED RETROGRESSION. HOWEVER I HAD FIRST MENTIONED SECOND PARA. HE COULD HARDLY FOLLOW LOGIC THAT RESPECT. I WOULD RECALL THEIR PREVIOUS DRAFT DEC 1 IN WHICH SECOND PARA. SAID PRC AND USA DETERMINED SHOULD SETTLE DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION WITHOUT RESORTING THREAT USE FORCE. THAT WAS STATEMENT IN GENERAL TERMS REGARDING SETTLEMENT DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES. AS THEY UNDERSTOOD PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE BY US DEPARTMENT STATE WE DESIRED SPECIFIC MENTION TAIWAN AREA THIS PARA. IN MEETING I HAD REPEATEDLY ADVANCED POINT OF INCLUDING TAIWAN THIS PARA. THEIR MAY 11 DID INCLUDE REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA. THEREFORE IT MET REQUIREMENTS US. THAT WHY IT HARD FOR HIM UNDERSTAND HOW SUCH INCLUSION CONSTITUTED RETROGRESSION. HE MUST SAY HE NOT ABLE FOLLOW ME THIS RESPECT. MY POSITION SEEMED BE IN THEIR PREVIOUS DRAFTS THEY DID NOT HAVE REFERENCE TAIWAN AREA SECOND PARA AND THAT NOT SATISFACTORY ME. NOW IN SECOND PARA THEY ADDED REFERENCE YET I SAID THIS RETROGRESSION. COULD THIS BE REGARDED AS DEMONSTATION SINCERITY IN TALKS?

SHILLOCK

MGG:DT

Action Assigned to C A/D

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Date of Action _____

Action Office Symbol _____

Name of Officer _____

Direction to DC/R _____

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Control: 17554

Rec'd: May 31, 1956 9:56 p.m.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

CORRECTION ISSUED 6-4-56 7 p.m.

FROM: Geneva - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1964, May 31, 11 p.m. (SECTION FOUR OF SIX)

22. Wang said I had next spoken about third paragraph and about time limit. They maintained time limit essential necessary and useful both sides. For several meetings in succession I had expressed different opinions on time limit. I had done so in spite repeated explanations. If I considered two months insufficient then how much time would be sufficient? He would like hear my ideas that regard period.

23. I said had just two brief things. First in discussing first agreement last September we did not make progress by dropping from declaration mid-way during negotiations, language on which had already reached agreement. Parenthetically I might note in spite care I attempted exercise discussing that agreement we came out with something which did not mean same thing both us. Issues here too important for that again happen.

24. I said next far as his question concerning time limit did not feel any time limit could be placed on renunciation force settlement our disputes. We certainly would not say we agreed not go war each other two months two years twenty years. It worse say that really than say nothing at all.

25. Wang said he found me in self-contradiction with previous statement this morning. This morning I said did not desire maintain status quo Taiwan area and desired present situation Taiwan area be changed. By omitting time limit did I feel present status quo Taiwan area should be maintained two years twenty years? If one should view Taiwan problem from that standpoint it would show he not willing have settlement at all. If I thought he mistaken in that he hoped I would clear it up for him.

26. I thought I had already made position amply clear on that. He had twisted my clear statement into arguing something I did not say. However I was satisfied my position clear. Had nothing further on this this morning. As told him at beginning meeting had information for him in regard first item which would take

little time

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little time present and if it agreeable him would now do so.

27. Wang said although I had said my position clear they still not clear regarding it. He regretted I had in my statement not helped progress our discussion on declaration. If there no desire for deliberate stalling talks and if there genuine desire for reaching agreement would hope I able at next meeting put forward concrete opinions. Rather than saying abstract things would hope I able express concrete opinion.

28. He then read prepared statement:

A. Since last December you with increasing frequency brought matter Chinese in prisons my country. At 47th meeting May 17 even asserted my government had under agreed announcement September 10 undertaken commitments this regard.

B. While not my purpose again enter controversy this matter, you well recall from time two years ago when two us undertook discussion respective nationals in country of other I indicated from my standpoint this involving question all Americans your country prevented departing by denial exit permits or imprisonment. So there be no question concerning exactly what discussing, I gave you list their names. You indicated interest was in question removal restrictions imposed by government on departure Chinese students. Your request I gave concrete information this regard. Were of course, no Chinese my country in category corresponding Americans your country imprisoned charges political nature.

C. These continued be respective concerns and subjects discussion throughout period contact through consulates general here well as through negotiations from August 1 leading agreed announcement September 10 which issued this context. Clearly understood between us and I made abundantly clear insofar my statement that announcement concerned, it confirmed fact, which I informed you outset our talks August, as of that time removal completed all restrictions on departure for your country Chinese my country.

SHILLOCK

DT

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'OMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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1956 JUN 1 AM 8 40

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Date of Action
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Initials of Officer
Ack. to DC/S

48
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State, BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

NO: 1964, MAY 31, 11 PM (SECTION FIVE OF SIX)

D. THAT MY COUNTRY FULLY FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT WITH REGARD CHINESE IN US ALL TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DEMONSTRATED BEYOND DOUBT NOT ONLY BY FACT CHINESE CONTINUED FREELY PROCEED FROM US YOUR COUNTRY BUT ALSO BY FACT IN ALMOST NINE MONTHS SINCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT INDIAN EMBASSY HAS NOT BROUGHT ATTENTION MY GOVERNMENT SINGLE CASE WHERE EVEN ALLEGED OBSTRUCTION BEEN OFFERED TO DEPARTURE CHINESE WHO DESIRE PROCEED YOUR COUNTRY.

NEVERTHELESS YOU IN RECENT MONTHS RAISED QUESTION CHINESE MY COUNTRY SERVING PRISON SENTENCES. YOUR OBVIOUS PURPOSE BEEN FALSELY IMPUGN FAITH PERFORMANCE MY COUNTRY ALL COMMITMENTS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. DESPITE DEMONSTRABLE FALSITY IMPRESSION YOU SEEK CREATE, MY COUNTRY'S AUTHORITIES, VIEW YOUR STATEMENTS THIS REGARD, CARRIED OUT FULL CAREFUL INVESTIGATION IDENTIFY ALIEN CHINESE WHO MIGHT BE SERVING PRISON TERMS. THIS INVESTIGATION INCLUDED ALL FEDERAL AND STATE PRISONS. NECESSARY BECAUSE NO CHINESE IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY ON CHARGES POLITICAL NATURE OR BECAUSE RACE, NATIONALITY POLITICAL BELIEFS. HE SUBJECT TO IMPRISONMENT FOR COMMON CRIMES AS MURDER NARCOTICS TRAFFIC ONLY AFTER PROMPT, FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL BEFORE IMPARTIAL COURTS WHERE HAS SAME LEGAL SAFEGUARDS AS EVERY OTHER RESIDENT MY COUNTRY INCLUDING COUNSEL OF OWN CHOICE. THOSE CONVICTED UNDER SUCH PROCEDURES NOT SINGLED OUT BY REASONS RACE NATIONALITY, NOR RECORDS CONCERNING THEM MAINTAINED THAT BASIS.

F. AS FAR AS I ABLE DETERMINE NO ALIEN CHINESE IN PRISON MY COUNTRY HAS EXPRESSED DESIRE RETURN YOUR COUNTRY. HOWEVER, IN ORDER REMOVE ANY VESTIGE BASIS YOUR CLAIM MY GOVERNMENT NOT FULLY CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, EACH THESE PRISONERS BEING INDIVIDUALLY INFORMED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT

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INCOMING
48 TELEGRAM

CONTROL: 3
CORRECTION ISSUED: 6/2/56 9:33 AM LMS

FE CORRECTED PAGE 2

RMR AND SPECIFICALLY TOLD IF DESIRES DO SO MAY APPLY FOR DEPORTATION YOUR COUNTRY. PROMPT ACTION WILL BE TAKEN ANY SUCH APPLICATION.

SS
G
SP
C
L G. IN ADDITION, INDIAN EMBASSY MY COUNTRY BEING INFORMED ARRANGEMENTS BEING MADE ITS REPRESENTATIVES INTERVIEW EACH SUCH COMMON CRIMINAL SO CAN ASCERTAIN TO ITS SATISFACTION WHETHER NOT HE DESIRES BE RELEASED FOR IMMEDIATE RETURN YOUR COUNTRY. INDIAN EMBASSY WILL BE GIVEN NAMES AND LOCATION ALL SUCH CRIMINALS. INDIAN EMBASSY TODAY ALSO BEING INFORMED THESE MEASURES.

29. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE REMARKS CONCERNING CHINESE NATIONALS US. NOR COULD HE AGREE MY ASSERTION SEPTEMBER 10 AGREEMENT DID NOT INCLUDE CHINESE US PRISONS. HE DID NOT DENY IN BEGINNING OUR CONTACT ON RETURN CIVILIANS THEY FIRST RAISED QUESTION CHINESE STUDENTS US. THAT TIME, CHINESE STUDENTS HAD SUFFERED EXTREMELY UNREASONABLE RESTRICTIONS IN US. HOWEVER DURING LAST NEGOTIATIONS ON RETURN CIVILIANS BEGINNING LAST AUGUST UNTIL WE REACHED AGREEMENT ON SEPTEMBER 10 THEY NEVER ON THEIR PART STATED THAT PROBLEMS CHINESE CIVILIANS ONLY RESTRICTED CHINESE STUDENTS. CHINESE STUDENTS ONLY PORTION CHINESE NATIONALS US. SAME AS IN CASE US LAWBREAKERS IN CHINA WHICH INCLUDED MILITARY PERSONNEL AS WELL AS CIVILIANS OTHER CATEGORIES.

30. TURNING TO PREPARED STATEMENT WANG CONTINUED HE RECALLED I MADE STATEMENT DURING PREVIOUS DISCUSSION TO EFFECT I DID NOT KNOW OF ANY CHINESE IN PRISON US. I NOW FORMALLY INFORMED HIM THERE WERE CHINESE PRISONERS US.

31. WANG SAID HE HAD ALSO NOTED STATEMENT BY SPOKESMAN US DEPARTMENT STATE TO EFFECT CHINESE IMPRISONED US NOT GOING TO BE RELEASED. HE MUST SAY THIS VERY SERIOUS QUESTION.

32. WANG SAID SINCE I INFORMED HIM I HAD MADE INVESTIGATION

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CHINESE IN US PRISONS HE WOULD APPRECIATE MY TELLING HIM EXACT NUMBER SUCH PRISONERS. HOPED I WOULD BE ABLE GIVE HIM LIST. THESE CHINESE NATIONALS IMPRISONED IN US. THAT WAS FACT. FACT WAS THEY SUBJECTED UNEQUAL TREATMENT IN US AND BEING PERSECUTED UNDER VARIOUS CHARGES. WANG HAD RIGHT DEMAND US RELEASE THESE PEOPLE SO THEY COULD RETURN NATIVE LAND. THEY QUITE DISSATISFIED SINCE AGREEMENT REACHED ON CIVILIANS US SO FAR NOT FULLY CARRIED OUT AGREEMENT. HE HAD MADE MANY REPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING CHINESE AND CHINESE STUDENTS WHO BEING OBSTRUCTED BUT, EXCEPT IN CASE LIU YUNG-MING I NOT MADE ANY ACCOUNTING THESE PEOPLE.

SHILLOCK

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(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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6/4/56 7 PM MAA

Control: 4
Rec'd: JUNE 1, 1956
1:30 AM

Action Assigned to
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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

1
6

FROM: GENEVA - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1964, MAY 31, MIDNIGHT (SECTION SIX OF SIX)

S

P

FROM JOHNSON

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33. WANG SAID US NOT YET REMOVED REQUIREMENTS COERCING CHINESE US APPLY PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN.

34. WANG SAID ACCORDING THEIR INFORMATION US RECENTLY TAKEN MEASURES DENY EXIT CHILDREN BORN CHINESE STUDENTS IN US TO DEPART WITH PARENTS. THAT CONSTITUTED VIOLATION AGREEMENT ON CIVILIANS. THEY DEMANDED US PROMPTLY REMOVE SUCH MEASURES IN VIOLATION AGREEMENT.

35. I SAID I DID NOT KNOW WHETHER HE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD EXACTLY WHAT I TOLD HIM. HIS REMARKS APPEARED INDICATE HE DID NOT. I HAD SAID FAR AS I BEEN ABLE DETERMINE NO CHINESE PRISONER THUS FAR EXPRESSED DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY. I SAID HOWEVER THAT IT GOING BE MADE SPECIFICALLY CLEAR EACH THEM THAT IF HE DESIRED DO SO HE COULD APPLY DEPORTATION WANG'S COUNTRY.

36. I SAID I DID NOT EVEN ASK HIM ACCEPT MY WORD ON THIS. ARRANGEMENTS MADE INDIAN EMBASSY SEE EACH THESE PERSONS DETERMINE FOR SELF WHETHER HE DESIRED BE RELEASED FOR IMMEDIATE RETURN. I HAD ALSO TOLD WANG INDIAN EMBASSY WOULD BE GIVEN NAMES AND LOCATIONS EACH THESE PERSONS.

37. I SAID AS FAR AS NUMBERS CONCERNED DID NOT HAVE EXACT FIGURES WHICH BEING GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY BUT UNDERSTOOD IN NEIGHBORHOOD 30-40 PERSONS WHO INVOLVED.

DEPT OF STATE
5 JUN 11 33 AM
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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33 H -2- 1964, MAY 31, MIDNIGHT, FROM GENEVA (SECTION SIX OF SIX)
CORRECTED PAGE TWO

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38. I SAID PURPOSE THIS MORNING NOT ENTER CONTROVERSY OVER GROUND COVERED MANY TIMES IN PAST BUT I FOUND DIFFICULT ACCEPT HIS STATEMENT CHINES US WHO COMMITTED MURDER OTHER COMMON CRIMES BEING PERSECUTED BECAUSE PUT IN PRISON FOR IT.

SS
G
SP
C
L

39. I SAID ONLY NEW THING WANG HAD MENTIONED WAS ASSERTION CHILDREN BORN US TO CHINESE STUDENT PARENTS BEING DENIED EXIT. COULD CATEGORICALLY TELL HIM THIS NOT CORRECT. THOUGH SUCH CHILDREN AMERICAN CITIZENS THEY BEING PERMITTED ACCOMPANY PARENTS. BECUASE THEY AMERICAN CITIZENS PROCEDURES FOR DEPARTURE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT FROM CASE ALIENS AND MIGHT IN SOME CASES REQUIRE SHORT PERIOD TIME. HOWEVER EVEN THOUGH THEY AMERICAN CITIZENS THEY BEING PERMITTED ACCOMPANY PARENTS.

40. WANG SAID FIRST PLACE HE MIGHT SAY NUMBER GIVEN BY ME FOR CHINESE IN PRISON US--I HAD SAID 30-40--QUITE BIG NUMBER. ESSENTIAL QUESTION RE THESE PEOPLE WAS FOR US GOVT RELEASE THEM SO COULD RETURN THEIR HOMELAND SOON AS POSSIBLE. REGARDING CHINESE THAT CATEGORY WHO IN PRISON US HE HOPED I ABLE GIVE HIM LIST.

41. WANG SAID AS REGARDS CHILDREN BORN TO CHINESE PARENTS IT CASE OF OBSTRUCTION DEPARTURE. I HAD JUST NOW STATED THEY NOT OBSTRUCTED, BUT SAME TIME STATED THEY RECEIVED DIFFERENT TREATMENT IN REGARD DEPARTURE FROM THAT ACCORD PARENTS. THAT PRECISELY CASE OF OBSTRUCTION FOR IT QUITE APPARENT IF CHILDREN SUBJECT OBSTRUCTION WOULD ALSO HINDER DEPARTURE PARENTS. HE HOPED PROMPT ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN BY US AUTHORITIES CORRECT THAT SITUATION.

42. I SAID HAD NOTHING MORE. WANG PROPOSED NEXT MEETING FRIDAY JUNE 8. I AGREED.

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SHILLOCK
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Section _____

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1956 JUN 5 PM 5 08
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MING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1965, MAY 31, MIDNIGHT

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FROM JOHNSON

TO CARRY OUT TACTIC OUTLINED PARA 3 DEPTEL 2066 BELIEVE I SHOULD NOT TAKE ANY INITIATIVE WITH RESPECT IMPLEMENTATION NEXT MEETING. AT BEST MAY TAKE SEVERAL WEEKS ASSESS EFFECT ON THEM THIS UNEXPECTED MOVE. REGARDLESS OF WHAT ACTION THEY MAY ULTIMATELY TAKE RESPECTIVE RELEASE OF AMERICANS HE WILL PROBABLY MAKE SOME STATEMENT AT NEXT MEETING ATTEMPTING REDRESS RECORD FROM HIS STANDPOINT TO WHICH I WOULD PROPOSE REPLY AS NECESSARY WITHOUT LABORING RELEASE AMERICANS ASPECT. WOULD APPRECIATE INSTRUCTIONS COVERING POSSIBILITY HE RENEWS REQUEST I GIVE HIM HERE LIST OF PRISONERS. WOULD ATTEMPT AS TODAY AVOID ISSUE BUT IF HE PRESSES I MAY BE REQUIRED INDICATE SOME POSITION. ON ONE HAND NO REQUIREMENT UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THEY BE GIVEN ANY SUCH LIFT BUT ON OTHER HAND THEY WILL OF COURSE RECEIVE LIST FROM INDIANS AND FLAT REFUSAL GIVE HIM SAME LIST HERE TENDS SOMEWHAT ADVERSELY REFLECTION HIS STATUS HERE AND BE INCONSISTENT WITH MY PREVIOUS POSITION ON ALL IMPLEMENTATION MATTERS BEING PROPER SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION HERE. IN ANY EVENT IF APPEARS USEFUL DESIRE BE ABLE STATE WILL INFORM HIM WHEN ANY PRISONER DEPARTS.

DT

SHILLOCK

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N AFFAIRS

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1956 MAY 31 PM 8 29
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Amembassy LONDON 7256

Amembassy NEW DELHI 2925

611.93/

(CODE ROOM: Please repeat Department's 2066 to Geneva, Control 13989, May 29.)

Re return to mainland china of Chinese acc. criminals

Origin

Info

DC/R
Appl
Rev
Cat

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 5/31/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

SOA

BNA

S/S-CR
MAY 31 1956 P.M.

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

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OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
JUN 1 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

May 31, 1956

Dear Walter:

Thought you would be interested in knowing that the Indian Consul General here just called me saying that he recalled that I had asked him to let me know whenever Krishna Menon came through town and that he was passing through here on Monday, intimating that he would like to see me but not directly saying so. Of course, I had never said any such thing to the Consul General and he perfectly well knows so, my last statement to him being that I would be very glad to see Krishna Menon any time he wanted to see me.

I replied that I was very sorry that I was leaving for Prague tomorrow morning and would not be returning until Wednesday and asked that he give Mr. Menon my regards.

I suppose that he will, of course, be seeing Wang. I have no idea what this means, if anything, ~~and~~ but wanted to pass it on to you.

I have nothing on today's meeting except what I have already transmitted in my telegrams. I was delighted to be able to make the statement on Chinese prisoners and so thoroughly to throw him into a spin at today's meeting. It was fortunate that I had at the very outset in my statement of renunciation mentioned my desire later to talk on Item one, because it was quite obvious that he was preparing to jump in with his "demands" on us to release the Chinese prisoners, and if he had gotten his statement in first, it would have made it very difficult for me to make mine. However, it all worked out well and I think that we have handled the matter so as to obtain the maximum advantage.

Regards.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

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Lot 72 D 415

(634)

(55)

c/o UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
JUN 13 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
JUN 12 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

CONFIDENTIAL

June 1, 1956

Dear Ralph:

After talking the last meeting over with Bob Ekvall, I had worked up a paragraph or two on renunciation for possible inclusion in the Ambassador's "comment" telegram. When I showed the draft to the Ambassador, his reaction was, while agreeing with the analysis, to doubt the utility of putting it in the telegram. He suggested I send it to you in a letter, and so I am enclosing it.

I would certainly agree with the Ambassador that the Department appears to face the possibility of a resort to the public by Wang with equanimity. It is also true that if in fact the CHICOMS do go to the public on the basis of the May 11 draft, they will not be in too strong a position. Even Wang seems to realize this, and that is probably why he has been making such determined efforts to lure us into making textual criticisms. His tactic would possibly be to then table a new draft apparently meeting our objections without really doing so. This would put Peiping in a stronger public position than the May 11 draft alone.

Possibly Wang may have another try or two at getting us to talk textually. If this fails, Peiping may decide to go to the public anyway. If Peiping takes the issue to the public solely on the basis of the May 11 draft, the CHICOMS are going to have a hard time convincing people this draft represents a really sincere effort to reach agreement on a meaningful renunciation of force. Accordingly they might stress, rather than the draft itself, Wang's repeated offers to consider alternative suggestions, and our "obstinate" refusal to offer any. They might even, as a minor gambit, play Wang's trick of "assuming", since we

had

Ralph N. Clough, Esquire,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

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Lot 72 D 415

concentrated our objections on the time limit clause, that the United States had no objections to other parts of the draft. This would not fool most intelligent observers, but it might injure feelings on Taiwan.

Alternatively, Peiping might decide that the May 11 draft is completely unsuitable as a basis for a public position, and Wang might be instructed to table a new draft, even in the absence of textual comments from our side. Our failure to take this new draft as the basis for discussion would bring on a threat to go to the public, and this time it would be genuine.

These various possibilities have probably occurred to you in CA, and are probably being taken account of in planning our strategy in the talks, insofar as they are worth taking account of at all. This might be a good place to say again that in writing you these letters I am not attempting to force the pace of things, request answers to questions, or urge any particular direction of policy with regard to the talks.

Since we have been relying on the services of one of the ConGen officers for the note-taking spot, we have been working up the long telegrams on the basis of my shorthand notes, thoroughly cross-checked with the long-hand notes and Bob Ekvall's notes of what Wang <u>really</u> said in Chinese, as well as approved by the Ambassador. In dictating off the telegrams to the secretary I have tried to comply with a recent instruction from the Department calling attention to excess verbiage in our previous traffic. I hope I have not been condensing to the detriment of intelligibility. If so, don't hesitate to tell me.

Regards to Walter and all in CA.

Sincerely,

Dave

David L. Osborn

Encl.
Comments on Renunciation
of Force Situation

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COMMENTS ON RENUNCIATION FORCE SITUATION

In absence new move from me on renunciation next meeting anticipate Wang will heighten threat resort public, justifying step along lines para. 15 long telegram (i.e., saying international opinion already deploring worthlessness these talks, and asserting it CHICOM right and duty inform public who is responsible for lack progress). Wang's original hope may have been elicit my objections his May 21 draft, then submit another new draft allegedly meeting my objections, with plan of going to public following my rejection his "second successive effort reach agreement". Plausibility this supposition supported by extensive bargaining in his May 11 draft and by his determined efforts elicit my specific comments or suggested amendments.

Accordingly it possible Wang may continue recent tactics one or two more meetings. However as and if Wang convinced I intend avoid specific comment text his draft, Peiping may feel self forced go to public on basis that draft.

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(635)

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June 1, 1956

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Letter No. 45

Dear Alex:

I plan to wait until Monday the4th to write the regular weekly letter. That letter should reach you well before the next meeting on June 8. This is merely a short note to transmit a copy of the Aide-memoire we delivered to the Indian Embassy yesterday, together with the full list of Chinese alien prisoners. We have just received your 1965 and we feel you should have this list in any event. If it should be decided that you should transmit this list to Wang at the next meeting (and this question will probably be decided on Monday), you should have this list in advance in order to be prepared. It would be difficult and expensive to transmit this list by cable, and the incidence of garbles would probably be high. Unless this pouch is delayed you will be all set for whatever course may be decided upon next week.

Indian

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Indian Ambassador Mehta seemed highly pleased at our decision. He told Dudley Withers after he left Mr. Robertson's office that he felt this was a constructive move which should lead to some progress. He seemed to feel definitely optimistic. He obviously thinks it will be up to the Chinese Communists to make a reciprocating move now. I believe we have at least the local Indian representatives on our side on the prisoner question now, and we have high hopes that they will exert whatever influence they may have in the right direction. We will send you a memorandum of the Robertson-Mehta conversation on Monday. The Indians intend to arrange the interviews with the prisoners as soon as they receive word that we have delivered notifications and copies of the Agreed Announcement to the prisoners. We hope to get the draft circular letter to the prisoners cleared today. You will also get a copy of this.

Minister Tan was quite unhappy when I gave him the news half an hour before Mehta came in. He feels that both the propriety and the consistency of our action are questionable. Obviously he feels that the position of the GRC as the sole representative and protector of Chinese interests in this country is somewhat compromised. He wants a list of the prisoners, and Mr. Robertson and I both feel that we should give it to him. However, it has not been done yet. Tan believes the Indians will try to bring pressure to bear on the prisoners to elect return to the mainland. He thought we might have the same sort of tug-of-war on these criminals which was experienced with the Chinese POW's in Korea. He also feels that if and

when

when the news leaks out the effect on the peace of mind of law-abiding Chinese residents of the US will be adverse. He thinks it might be construed by them as the thin edge of a wedge.

FE/P is worried about the publicity angle. They feel if the news leaks out on is released by the Chinese Communists we will be at a serious disadvantage. They wonder if we should not put the news out first so that we can retain control, insure that a garbled version does not gain currency, and avoid being placed on the defensive. We are awaiting your comments on the publicity problem. So far there has been no leak that we know of.

Congratulations on the way you handled the presentation of our decision yesterday. You really took Wang by surprise. Wang was caught off balance most conspiciously and you handled his predicament very well indeed.

The British Embassy here has informed O'Neill in detail of our move and our reasoning in showing restraint at this stage. O'Neill will, of course, make no move until we ask him to. We have invited his suggestions as to the best way to play our cards if we get no prompt, favorable reaction from the Chinese Communists.

Congratulations on the fine commendation which the Secretary wrote you. No commendation could have been more merited in our view.

Judge Phleger has been away most of this week on two speech-making trips. Of course, the Secretary has been away too, taking a short rest at Duck Island. Bill Sebald left on Tuesday for a six-weeks tour of the entire FE area.

Regards

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Regards and every good wish to you, Dave and Helenka and Colonel Ekvall,

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. McConaughy
Director for Chinese Affairs

Enclosure:

Aide-memoire to
Indian Embassy.

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:ek

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(636)

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Action
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Control: 1760
Rec'd: June 4, 1956
12:33 p. m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 1985, June 4, 3 p. m.

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FROM JOHNSON.

Geneva's 1909.

Advise.

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CMK/14

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Date of Action 6/4

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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637

This [illegible] consists of 4 pages.

Number 2 of 4 copies, Series (20)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date 1/6/78

June 4, 1956

Letter No. 46

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Dear Alex:

There have been no Geneva developments since I wrote you on Friday except a constant battle to keep down publicity on our prisoner decision. Judge Phleger has been away until now. I expect that we will have a Geneva meeting in the course of the day although your instructions may not go out until tomorrow since the meeting is on Friday this week.

Unfortunately Kuh of the Chicago Sun Times got hold of almost the entire story on our prisoners move, either late Thursday or early Friday. His story appeared in the Chicago Sun Times Friday afternoon, June 1. It was almost a miracle that the wire services did not pick up the story immediately and carry it on their tickers. For some reason we did not get the pressure until Saturday morning. John Hightower of AP got on to the Chicago Sun Times story at that time and immediately went all out to elicit something from Mr. Robertson, John Lindbeck and myself. So far he has been staved off, largely by the efforts of Mr. Robertson, who told him frankly that we could not confirm his surmises. Any story he might write would be based on pure conjecture. Such conjecture would

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

be prejudicial to the interest of the 13 imprisoned Americans. Mr. Robertson though he would want to think twice before he would write an uncorroborated story which might have the affect of worsening the plight of his fellow countrymen who were already in dire straits. [redacted] Don Gonzales of UP also got wind of the story yesterday, but so far has been held off by the use of tactics similar to those employed with Hightower.

We understand from Hightower that the New York Times Washington Bureau and other correspondents are working on the story. They all sense that a news story is present. But they are loathe to move until they can get some official confirmation. Kuh's poor reputation with many of his colleagues is helping us here, although his account is so circumstantial that the other correspondents are convinced there must be some fire where there is that much smoke. As usual we have no idea where the leak occurred, although we suspect the Indian Embassy may be the source. It is interesting that Gonzales said he understood that 36 names were on the list of Chinese criminals. This is a figure which was never given the Indian Embassy. It is the figure originally received from I & N. S. Two names were later deleted from this list because they appear to have a claim to American citizenship. his would make their

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seem that Gonzales' source was someone who saw the list either in Justice or in State at an early stage.

Obviously the story is going to come out eventually although we hope to stave off general circulation of acceptance of the story for a while longer. It seems to us that official confirmation of the story at this time would be totally inconsistent withoour tactics of giving the Chinese Communists as much room as possible for a graceful change in policy on the imprisoned Americans. We will smost certainly get bogged down with an exchange of recriminations with the Chinese Communists on the application of the Agreed Anncuncement, if we let anything out prematurely. The chances of the 13 would likely be lost in the heat of the controversy. Although you have given us some intimation of your general attitude of the publicity question, we would welcome a more explicit recommendation and analysis. We have tried our hands at three drafts of a contingency press release if we are forced into the position of putting out a confirmation. We do not like any of these drafts. It is an extemely difficult subject to press succinctly and cogently with the right shades of emphasis throughout.

There is enclosed a copy of the letter which is being sent to each prisoner. It has been cleared in the Department and by I & N. S. and the Bureau of Prisons and we expect to send it out in English and Chinese today.

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SECRET

I am sorry I won't be able to get another letter to you before the next meeting to report on our meeting with Judge Phleger today. Anything real significant will of course be included in our telegrams to you.

Regards and good luck,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

* Since dictating this I have discovered an AP item on this did appear in various papers yesterday. It did not receive very prominent play, being carried on inside pages. Copy attached.

Enclosure:

Copy of letter to be sent to Chinese aliens in prison.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 638

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

VERBATIM TEXT

02008 689

1956 JUN 5 PM 8 22

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2090

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Following is draft text letter we propose sending Chinese prisoners. Draft not finally approved here but would appreciate your comments. We are considering having you give Wang copy at June 8 meeting.

QUOTE

There is enclosed a copy of the Agreed Announcement issued at Geneva on September 10, 1955.

The responsible United States authorities have decided that the provisions of the Agreed Announcement will be applied to your case. In the near future, you will be given an opportunity to state formally whether you elect to continue serving your sentence in the United States subject to prevailing regulations, or whether you prefer to be discharged expeditiously from prison for the sole purpose of immediate and direct travel to China. If you apply for parole or commutation of sentence for this purpose, the American authorities concerned will give prompt consideration to your application.

You will later be visited to verify that you have been informed

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/ikb 6/5/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Ralph N. Clough FE/CA

Clearances:

JUN 5 1956

11209

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NLE 93/6-556 CS/W

6/11/93

SECRET
Classification

of this opportunity to be deported, and to ascertain whether you elect to be deported, so that the necessary arrangements can be made. The warden of the prison where you are confined will notify you in advance of the arrangements for the visit. UNQUOTE

~~Hoover~~
~~ACTING~~ DULLES

(Rne) DULLES

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11210

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639

693

~~MING TELEGRAM~~ **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

53-L

Action

FE

Info

RMR

SS

G

SECRET

Control: 3621
Rec'd: June 6, 1956
7:54 p.m.

FROM: Prague

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 551, June 6, 6 p.m.

1 - 77

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PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 551; REPEATED INFORMATION GENEVA 47

GENEVA FOR OSBORN

Re DEPTEL 2090 to Geneva

Suggest Wang not be given copy letter unless he asks for it or it otherwise appears would be useful in context of meeting.

Suggest first sentence second paragraph reference letter be deleted. Do not see necessity raising in this letter, particularly if copy to be given Wang, controversial question of whether and by whose decision prisoners covered by agreed announcement. It seems to me omission of sentence would not jeopardize our position which has been made clear to Wang and avoids thus formally committing ourselves to carrying out release under agreed announcement rather than by our own unilateral action.

JOHNSON

AB:JJ

611.93/6-656

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 JUN 7 AM 7 28
BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

RECEIVED
MAR - 2 1959

Action Assigned to CA/DIR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction

PA

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 640

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

02505 690

1956 JUN 6 PM 6 45

DC/T

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Classification

VERBATIM TEXT

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2099

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Following Chinese note dated June 3 transmitted for your confidential background:

Dulles (WPMcC) OK

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52

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 6/6/56

Clearances:

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Confidential File

6/11/93

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OUTGOING (641)
TELEGRAM

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

691
02543
JUN 6 6 57
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2100

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Origin

Info

Guidance for June 8. Meeting.

1. You are authorized inform Wang of delivery Indian Embassy May 31 of US Aide Memoire enclosing list Chinese alien prisoners. Do not repeat not give document to Wang. While x we realize Chinese Communists can obtain list from Indians, we wish avoid undesirable implications of formally turning over to Chinese Communists, in apparent response demand by them, information regarding Chinese nationals in US who have not indicated desire proceed Communist China.

2. We hope by our action make it difficult if not virtually impossible for Chinese Communists refuse British access ~~to~~ American prisoners held in Communist China, and release of Americans. All our actions related this latest tactic are geared to overriding objective of placing maximum indirect pressure on Chinese Communists.

3. You are authorized your discretion tell Wang ~~that~~ US has refrained from giving any publicity to its decision give criminals option of return Communist China. FYI Leaks have not been officially inspired and are from sources we have not been able ~~to~~ identify. We have carefully avoided giving any official confirmation to rumors ~~in~~ this regard. END FYI.

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93/6-656 CS/W

Drafted: WPMcConaughy

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb/bp 6/6/56

Clearances:

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
classification approved 1956
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

Walter S. Robertson

L - Mr. Phleger

11211

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Classification

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SECRET FE

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Classification

4. You should not mention prospective letter to Chinese prisoners (Deptel 2090) at this meeting.

5. Reject as unfounded Wang's allegation US obstructing departure children of Chinese going ~~to~~ Communist China. On contrary, US waives passport requirement for accompanying American-born children of Chinese aliens travelling ~~to~~ mainland China. Indian Embassy informed of this arrangement and has not alleged obstruction any such case.

6. You are authorized your discretion refrain from taking any other initiative regarding implementation at this meeting or from linking our action with action expected of Communists on American prisoners. Use your judgment in answering any statement Wang may make in reply US proposal.

7. Concerning renunciation of force, no new proposal or argumentation by you contemplated. Adhere to defined position, pointing out futility of tabling proposals such as Wang's May 11 draft, which Wang well knows is retrograde move which cannot succeed. Urge Wang reconsider merits our April 19 draft from Chinese Communist point of view. Call attention lack of any indication willingness on part of Peiping to recede from its "all or nothing" position and remark on contrast/~~these~~ this attitude with public posture reasonableness and conciliation which Chinese Communists apparently endeavoring assume.

8. Department considers it tactically inadvisable for us ~~to~~ propose omission meeting next week. Various unwarranted and possibly hurtful inferences might be read into such request. Accordingly you

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you should suggest Friday June 15 for next meeting if you can return from your engagement in Nuremburg by then. Otherwise request meeting for Saturday, June 16.

Dulles

" DULLES "

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (642)

Department of State

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET
Classification

692

02547

1956 JUN 6 PM 7 05

DC/T

611.93/6-456

SENT TO: Amembassy TAIPEI 741
RPT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY 2101

Origin
Info

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1. Department believes your 1080 manifests degree of perturbation at Chinese prisoner decision which is not warranted by circumstances.

2. Chinese June 3 note of protest will be answered shortly making essentially same points enumerated below.

3. Indian Embassy will not act on behalf ~~of~~ Chinese Communist regime or as protector interests Chinese prisoners when it interviews prisoners. It will function in collaboration ~~with~~ US Government merely to verify facts as to expressed wishes of prisoners regarding return to Communist China. Indian representative will be accompanied by US official. Indians will not be allowed to influence decision ~~of~~ prisoners and will have no repeat no function in regard ~~to~~ prisoners who do not voluntarily elect travel Communist China.

4. Prisoners by their confinement are protected from Chinese Communist influence and intimidation. Indian visits will not endanger them nor do visits constitute any significant extension of Indian role under Agreed Announcement.

5. Under the normal operation ~~of~~ our Immigration laws, Chinese criminals have been deported to Communist China before and travel of criminals

Drafted by: EA:CA:WPMcConaughy/mlw/bp 6/6/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger
S - The Secretary (Cleared in substance)

SECRET
Classification

JUN 6 1956

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criminals to Communist China, if any elect to go there, will not constitute any new departure.

6. Chinese Government has regularly resisted deportation Chinese to Taiwan. In view GRC lack cooperation with INS this matter, we had assumed they would not be interested in taking these criminals. However, GRC is at liberty to receive any of them who may elect to go there, and prisoners will be given opportunity express this preference.

7. GRC was given complete list of criminals with description of sentences and addresses of prisons where confined. They will of course be given access to these prisoners. US continues to recognize GRC as sole protector of rights Chinese aliens including criminals. There is no change in this Government's China policy, express or implied, actual or prospective, represented in prisoner decision.

8. GRC has regularly been kept informed of all significant Geneva developments. Consultation on Geneva moves has never been practiced or promised. We cannot undertake to consult with GRC on moves which we are satisfied do not impair its rights and interests. We can see no reason for such marked concern on part of GRC at action of basically minor significance to its real interests as voluntary deportation of a few dozen undesirables. We are not aware of any Geneva move which has prejudiced GRC rights or claims.

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9. Contrary to your assumption, Department has not repeat not given any publicity to prisoner decision. Leaks from unidentified sources have reached press but Department has carefully refrained from confirming rumors or lending them any credence directly or indirectly. Chinese Embassy was placed under injunction of secrecy when it was informed in advance of US decision. Public comments attributed by press to Chinese Foreign Office appears to be in violation of this injunction. [redacted]

10. We have obligation leave no stone unturned in our efforts to obtain release our 13 imprisoned nationals. This is only promising remaining step open to us. We feel these prisoners cannot help Chinese Communist cause regardless whether they elect return or stay in prison. They are burden to any country which has them. We feel we cannot lose by confronting Chinese Communists with this act which either will result in release our maltreated nationals or further expose Chinese Communist inhumanity and failure to live up to their commitments. This we are satisfied is being accomplished without any injury to position of GRC as only Chinese Government recognized by US.

Dulles "DULLES"

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (643)

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Department of State

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Classification

02559 694

1956 JUN 6 PM 7 15

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FOR JOHNSON

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(CODE ROOM: Please repeat Taipei's 1080, June 4, Control 1662)

Dulles
(WPMcC)

Origin

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DC/R
Cat. 55

SECS/T FILE

Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 6/6/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC
Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

JUN 6 1956 P M

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56-L
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Info
RMR

SS
G

Control: 4329
Rec'd: JUNE 7, 1956
3:43 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2008, JUNE 7, 4 P. M.

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FROM JOHNSON.

REGRET DELAY IN SPECIFICALLY COMMENTING ACCORDANCE LAST SENTENCE PARA 4 DEPTEL 2066. AS STATED PARA 7 MYTEL 1928 FELT ACTION SHOULD HAVE HAD NO PUBLICITY AT THIS TIME WITH THOUGHT DECUSION ON PUBLICITY COULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL EFFECT ACTION TESTED. HOWEVER IN VIEW LEAKS AM INCLINED FAVOR DEPARTMENT OR PREFERABLY INS SPOKESMAN RESPONDING TO PRESS INQUIRY BY CONFIRMING CHINESE PRISONERS BEING GIVEN OPPORTUNITY DEPORTATION MAINLAND CHINA. THIS MERELY BROADER APPLICATION DEPORTATION POLICY WHICH HAS IN PAST BEEN APPLIED INDIVIDUAL CASES. NONE OF CRIMINALS AFFECTED BY THIS STEP WILL BE FORCED GO TO COMMUNIST CHINA AGAINST HIS WILL. I DO NOT BELIEVE SUCH RELEASE WOULD ADVERSELY AFFECT CHICOM ACTION ON 13 NOR WOULD IT PREVENT ITS LATER EXPLOITATION TO BRING PUBLIC PRESSURE ON CHICOMS IF AND WHEN THIS APPEARS DESIRABLE.

GOWEN

JHF

611.93/6-756

PA

Action Assigned to CA/D

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

MAR - 2 1959 DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1956 JUN 8 AM 7 30

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Department of State

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Classification

02891696

1956 JUN 7 PM 12 37

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2104

FOR JOHNSON
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1. New York Times June 6 reported Chairman of Communist Party of Connecticut addressed letter June 5 to Mao Tse-tung stating "We sincerely believe that release of John Downey and twelve other Americans will contribute towards better relations between United States and Peoples Republic of China".

2. Recent letter from Father Wagner to his brother stated "On March 17 we prisoners were all taken on three thousand mile trip lasting 25 days". He mentioned visiting Hankow, Peiping, Tientsin, Nanking and Hangchow and being taken to see factories, hospitals, universities, farms and temples. This seems to corroborate report in Deptel 1941. Letter did not indicate which prisoners made trip.

3. Letter from ~~Congressman~~ Representative Dodd to Secretary June 5 states Dodd Subcommittee plans to start within next few days "investigation and study of facts and circumstances surrounding detention of United States citizens in Communist China". He requests list of American businessmen who have been detained or otherwise prevented from leaving Communist China. Would appreciate your comments on possible effect such investigation at this time

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:bp 6/7/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

L - Mr. Phleger

S/S-CR

JUN - 7 1956 A.M.

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Classification

time on prospects imprisoned Americans, particularly if investigation involves public hearings and considerable publicity.

Dulles
(WPMcE)

DULLES

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CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (646)

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[ ] CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification
VERBATIM TEXT

02911 697

1956 JUN 7 PM 1 02

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2105

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Your 551. Revised draft proposed letter to prisoners quoted below. Comment soonest. You will note we have deleted first sentence paragraph former draft as you recommended. We have also amended latter portion same paragraph. Reasons for these changes will be evident to you from our 2099 and 2101.

QUOTE There is enclosed a copy of the Agreed Announcement issued at Geneva on September 10, 1955.

In the near future, you will be given an opportunity to state formally whether you elect to continue serving your sentence in the United States subject to prevailing regulations, or whether you prefer to be discharged expeditiously from prison for the purpose of immediate and direct deportation to Mainland China. The Government of the United States also gives you the option of immediate and direct deportation to Taiwan if the Government of the Republic of China will receive you. If you apply for parole or commutation of sentence for the purpose of being deported, the American authorities concerned will give prompt consideration to your application.

You will later be visited to verify that you have been informed of this opportunity to be deported, and to ascertain whether you elect to

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 6/7/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances: S/S-CP

JUN 7 1956 P.M.

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SECRET
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be deported, so that the necessary arrangements can be made. The warden of the prison where you are confined will notify you in advance of the arrangements for the visit. END QUOTE

Dulles
(WPNce)

" DULLES "

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11215

647

FLASHING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

699

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48

SECRET

Action FE

Info RMR

SS G

Control: 4629
Rec'd: JUNE 9, 1956
1:43 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2009, JUNE 8, 10 A.M.

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

REDEPTEL 2105.

WHILE I UNDERSTAND REASONS FOR REVISION LATTER PORTION SECOND PARA WILL OF COURSE REDUCE EFFECTIVENESS OF ACTION IN OBTAINING RELEASE AMERICANS WHEN LETTER INEVITABLY COMES TO ATTENTION CHICOMS THROUGH INDIANS. WOULD, THEREFORE, HOPE SOME METHOD COULD BE FOUND WHEREBY POSTION RELATING TAIWAN COULD BE DELETED AND POSSIBLY INCLUDED SUBSEQUENT LETTER OR HANDLED ORALLY. WHILE WE HAVE MADE STATEMENT TO GRC CONTAINED PARA 6 DEPTEL 2101, WE HAVE MADE NO COMMITMENT AS TO FORM IN WHICH THIS WOULD BE DONE AND IN ANY EVENT GRC HAS NOT YET WITHDRAWN STATEMENT LAST SENTENCE PARA 7 DEPTEL 2099. UNTIL THEY HAVE MODIFIED OR WITHDRAWN THAT STATEMENT, GIVING PRISONER IMPRESSION HE HAS OPTION OF TAIWAN WOULD BE MISLEADING.

Action Assigned to CA/PR

Action Taken _____ GOWEN

LJ

Date of Action _____

Action Office Symbol _____

Name of Officer _____

Direction to DC/R file

611.93/6-856

PA

FILED

MAR - 2 1959

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 JUN 9 AM 7 47
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

SECRET

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(648)

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

700

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37-36

Action
FE

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 4990
Rec'd: JUNE 8, 1956
12:38 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2013, JUNE 8, 4 P.M.

Action Assigned to EA/OIR

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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PRIORITY

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO AND HALF HOUR THIS MORNING, TWO HOURS OF WHICH WERE ON IMPLEMENTATION.

2. WANG OPENED WITH BRIEF STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION ASKING FOR "CONCRETE AND CONSTRUCTIVE OPINION" ON THEIR MAY 11 DRAFT AND THEN DIRECTLY MOVED TO LONG STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION. PLEASED WE HAD INFORMED INDIANS NO OBSTRUCTION WOULD BE OFFERED TO ACCOMPANIED CHILDREN, AND HAD GIVEN INDIANS LIST NAMES THOSE IMPRISONED. NOTED WE STILL HAD FAILED GIVE LIST ALL CHINESE U.S. AND ALTHOUGH LIST GIVEN INDIANS WAS CALLED "LIST ALL KNOWN ALIEN CHINESE PRISONERS" COVERED ONLY 30 OR 40 PERSONS. THIS WAS FAR SMALLER THAN NUMBER IMPRISONED ACCORDING THEIR INFORMATION. "CANNOT AGREE" TO ATTEMPT "SCREENING" FEW SELECTED CHINESE SO AS "COVER UP OBSTRUCTION OFFERED RETURN LARGE NUMBERS CHINESE IN U.S.". WITH RESPECT CHINESE IN PRISON US SHOULD TAKE STEPS SIMILARLY TAKEN BY PRC WITH REGARD AMERICANS. FIRST RELEASE THEM FROM PRISON AND THEN REFRAIN FROM OBSTRUCTING DEPARTURE IF THEY DESIRE RETURN. U.S. ALSO THUS FAR FAILED ACCOUNT FOR NAMES GIVEN ME HERE, AND GAVE ME LIST ADDITIONAL FIVE NAMES ALSO TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT QUESTION.

3. THROUGHOUT SUBSEQUENT LONG GIVE AND TAKE I FOCUSED ON FOL WEAKNESSES HIS POSITION: (A) HE IN EFFECT OBJECTED TO US GOING BEYOND TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT (B) HE OBJECTED TO MEASURE HE HAD PREVIOUSLY DEMANDED (C) QUESTIONING RELIABILITY VERIFICATION BY THIRD PARTY OF HIS CHOICE (D) FALSE IMPLICATION

611.93/6-856

CONFIDENTIAL

MAR 2 1959

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THAT HAD ALREADY FREED ALL AMERICANS (E) HIS ATTEMPT DICTATE U.S. SHOULD FREE ALL ALIEN CHINESE PRISONERS REGARDLESS WHETHER THEY DESIRE RETURN PRC--THIS ENTIRELY BEYOND TERMS OF REFERENCE TALKS.

4. IN HIS REPLIES HE GENERALLY SIDE-STEPPED MY ATTACKS ATTEMPTING TO SWITCH SUBJECT BY REHASHING CHARGES ON NAME LISTS, TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS, ETC. HOWEVER, WHEN PRESSED, POSITION HE TOOK IN ESSENCE APPEARED TO BE THAT OUT OF MANY CHINESE IN U.S. PRISONS, 30 OR 40 SPECIAL CASES HAD BEEN SELECTED WHO DID NOT DESIRE RETURN, THESE WOULD BE SUBJECT TO SHAM SCREENING PROCESS BY INDIANS AND RESULTS WOULD BE USED BY U.S. TO COVER UP CONTINUED VIOLATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. ALSO MADE DETERMINED EFFORT TO GET ME TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT WE HAD FIRST TO "REVIEW CASES" AS PRC HAD DONE BEFORE RELEASING. I, OF COURSE, AVOIDED THIS.

5. TOWARD END GIVE AND TAKE I GAVE CATEGORICAL NEGATIVE REPLIES TO HIS RENEWED QUESTIONS ON LIST OF CHINESE IN U.S., REVOCATION REQUIREMENTS TEMPORARY VISITORS DESIRING PROLONG STAY PRESENT EVIDENCE ABILITY ENTER ANOTHER COUNTRY, RELEASE ALL ALIEN CHINESE PRISONERS WITHOUT REGARD THEIR DESIRE PROCEED PRC, BASING THESE UPON BEING ENTIRELY OUTSIDE TERMS REF OUR TALKS AND PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. WITH REGARD NAME LIST GIVEN ME I SAID THAT ALL FREE RETURN IF THEY DESIRE DO SO.

6. AFTER REPEATED AND STRONG ATTEMPTS BY HIM TO CUT-OFF FURTHER DISCUSSION IMPLEMENTATION, I MADE STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION AGAIN CHARACTERIZING MAY 11 DRAFT AS INTENSIFICATION THREAT TO USE FORCE RATHER THAN RENUNCIATION OF FORCE, AS RETROGRESSION FROM DEC. 1 DRAFT ON WHICH AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED, SETTING TIME LIMIT NOT ONLY IMPLIES THREAT BUT PLACES ARBITRARY TIME LIMIT ON THESE TALKS, U.S. DOES NOT FEEL TIME LIMITATION SHOULD BE PLACED EITHER UPON PERIOD WHICH COUNTRY WILL NOT RESORT TO WAR NOR UPON PERIOD DURING WHCIH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WILL BE SOUGHT, APRIL 19 DRAFT WAS ATTEMPT TO MOVE FORWARD PRESERVING AREAS AGREEMENT ALREADY ESTABLISHED, AND STILL DESIRED MOVE FORWARD IF HE WOULD COOPERATE.

7. IN REPLY HE MADE BRIEF STATEMENT EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT

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-3- 2013, JUNE 8, 4 P.M. FROM GENEVA

RENEWING CHARGES U.S. THREATENING PRC IN TAIWAN AREA, PRC "WILL NOT ALLOW PROBLEM TO LAST FOREVER WITHOUT ARRIVING AT SETTLEMENT", AND WILL NOT AGREE TO U.S. ATTEMPT TO FREEZE STATUS QQO. PRC FELT OBLIGATION MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT.

8. I REGRETTED DECISION MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT BUT WILLING LET WORLD JUDGE RELATIVE MERITS.

9. I PROPOSED MEETING SATURDAY, JUNE 16 IN REPLY TO WHICH HE ASKED FOR NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, JUNE 21 "FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REASONS".

10. IF AND WHEN THEY ISSUE PUBLIC STATEMENT I WILL HAVE PROMPTLY ISSUED HERE STATEMENT ALONG LINES RECITED MYTEL 1937 WITHOUT MENTION ANY FURTHER STATEMENT FROM WASHINGTON. AS THEIR STATEMENT ALSO INCLUDES IMPLEMENTATION, I WOULD PROPOSE NOT MAKE ANY MENTION THEREOF MY STATEMENT HERE BUT LEAVE IT TO DEPT MAKE ANY STATEMENT THIS REGARD IT WOULD CONSIDER NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE. IN GENERAL BELIEVE WE SHOULD, IF POSSIBLE, AVOID ANY STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION AT THIS TIME.

GOWEN

GSB

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649

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ACTION COPY

701

37-39
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Control: 5469
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4:39 A.M.

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Reaction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2022, JUNE 8, 8 P.M.

FROM JOHNSON

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COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

1. BELIEVE EXTREME POSITION WANG TOOK INDICATES PROPAGANDA LINE THEY ANTTICIPATE HAVING TO TAKE IF AND WHEN MATTER BECOMES PUBLIC ISSUE. KEEPING IN MIND PROPAGANDA DEFEAT THEY SUFFERED WITH KOREAN POWS THEY OF COURSE SEE PLOT ON OUR PART DEMONSTRATE TO WORLD THAT CHINESE PREFER AMERICAN PRISONS (OR PERHAPS TAIWAN) TO COMMUNIST CHINA. (THIS INCREASES DELICACY OF HOW WE HANDLE GRC ASPECTS.) IF ANY CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF PRISONERS ELECT DEPORTATION TO MAINLAND THIS MIGHT ALTER CHICOM ASSESSMENT OUR INTENTIONS, AND FURTHER WEAKEN WANG'S POSITON IN TALKS, THOUGH PUBLICLY THEY MIGHT MERELY PLAY IT UP AS EVIDENCE "FAILURE" OUR "PLOT". IF NONE OR VERY FEW ELECT DEPORTATION IT WILL CONFIRM IT IN THEIR SUSPICIONS.

2. MAXIMUM EFFECT ACTION ON RELEASE AMERICANS MAY COME IF AND WHEN SOME CHINESE DEPORTED. IN THIS REGARD TODAY'S MEETING TENDS CONFIRM O'NEIL'S OBSERVATION IN LAST SENTENCE PARA 4 DEPTEL 2109. THEREFORE IMPORTANT ACTION SUCH CASES BE EXPEDITED MUCH AS POSSIBLE. BEST TIME VIGOROUSLY RENEW ATTACK IF THEY FAIL RELEASE AMERICANS WILL COME AFTER WE HAVE COMPLETED ACTION ON CHINESE PRISONERS.

3. HIS STATEMENT TODAY INDICATES THEY WILL PROBABLY ATTEMPT DISCOURAGE INDIANS FROM ACCEPTING OUR OFFER SEE PRISONERS. DOUBT IF THIS AND OTHER EXTREME PORTIONS THEIR POSITION WILL RECEIVE ANY SUPPORT FROM INDIA BUT IT MAY NEVERTHELESS BE RE-

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LUCTANT INTERVIEW PRISONERS IN FACE CHICOM OBJECTIONS. IF QUESTION IS RAISED BY INDIANS WE SIMPLY POINT OUT THAT IT IS OF COURSE THEIR CHOICE BUT PUBLIC RECORD WILL SHOW WE MADE OFFER WHICH REFUSED. BELIEVE OUR EFFORT SHOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARD KEEPING ANY CONTROVERSY OVER THIS CENTERED BETWEEN CHICOMS AND INDIANS.

4. LINE TO BE TAKEN AT NEXT MEETING MUST BE SOMEWHAT DEPENDENT ON WHAT TAKES PLACE DURING INTERVAL, INCLUDING CONTENT THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT BUT IN ANY EVENT PROPOSE CAREFULLY ANALYZE OR RECORD TODAY'S MEETING AND TO PREPARE STATEMENT FURTHER POINTING OUT ABSURDITY HIS POSITION.

5. AM ENCOURAGED BY DEVELOPMENT REPORTED PARA 2 DEPTEL 2104 TO BELIEVE THEY WERE PLANNING SHORTLY RELEASE AT LEAST SOME ADDITIONAL PRISONERS AND OUR ACTION PARTICULARLY IF IT RESULTS ANY DEPORTATIONS MAINLAND, WILL SERVE TO EXPEDITE.

6. REF PARA 3 DEPTEL 2104 IN MY OPINION NEXT FEW WEEKS WOULD BE VERY FIRST TIME INITIATE PUBLIC HEARING ON AMERICANS DETAINED COMMUNIST CHINA AND COULD ONLY JEOPARDIZE POSSIBLE SUCCESS OBTAINING RELEASE AMERICANS BY TACTIC WE NOW URGING. SUCH HEARINGS COULD BE USEFUL THIS REGARD IF AFTER PRESENT TACTIC HAS BEEN GIVEN FULL TRIAL IT HAS NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL.

7. SUGGEST THAT SOON AFTER INDIANS HAVE UNDERTAKEN FIRST VISITS O'NEIL ASK TO VISIT AMERICANS IF CHICOMS HAVE NOT IN MEANWHILE TAKEN INITIATIVE. IF INDIANS REFUSE OFFER MAKE VISIT BELIEVE O'NEIL SHOULD THEN MAKE REQUEST VISIT AMERICANS.

PROCEEDING PRAGUE SATURDAY MORNING.

GOWEN

CES

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Action Assigned to CAR 1

Control: 5413

Rec'd: June 9, 1956

1:43 A.M.

Date of Action

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611.93/6-856

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2023, JUNE 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

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1. WANG OPENED 50TH WITH SHORT HANDWRITTEN PREPARED STATEMENT: WITH VIEW PUSHING TALKS FORWARD HE HAD AT LAST MEETING PATIENTLY, REPEATEDLY EXPLAINED REASONABLENESS THEIR MAY 11. THAT DRAFT PROVIDED FOR SEEKING, ASCERTAINING PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS IN 2 MONTHS OF ANNOUNCEMENT DECLARATION THUS SHOWING SINCERITY DESIRE SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. IT ENTIRELY ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES AND HE DID NOT FEEL IT NECESSARY AGAIN GO OVER GROUND ALREADY COVERED SO MANY TIMES.

2. WANG SAID AT LAST MEETING HE ASKED ME THIS MORNING PUT FORWARD CONCRETE CONSTRUCTIVE OPINIONS ON THEIR MAY 11. HOLLOW EXPRESSIONS OR ULTERIOR DESIGNS WOULD NEVER HELP US SETTLE PROBLEMS. HE NOW READY LISTEN MY CONCRETE OPINIONS THIS REGARD.

3. TURNING TO TYPESCRIPT STATEMENT WANG CONTINUED NEXT WOULD LIKE DEAL WITH QUESTION UNDER FIRST ITEM AGENDA. HE GLAD LEARN US HAD INDICATED TO INDIAN EMBASSY IT WOULD NOT OFFER OBSTRUCTION DEPARTURE CHILDREN BORN CHINESE STUDENTS ACCOMPANYING PARENTS.

4. WANG ALSO GLAD LEARN US GOVERNMENT GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY LIST NAMES CHINESE IMPRISONED US. HOWEVER, WOULD LIKE NOTE THEIR SIDE AT VERY OUTSET TALKS HAD GIVEN ME LIST COMPRISING NAMES ALL AMERICANS CHINA INCLUDING PRISONERS, WHEREAS WE THUS FAR FAILED GIVE THEM LIST CHINESE US. MY GOVERNMENT HAD LONG DELAYED GIVING ACCOUNTING THIS MATTER EVEN AFTER INDIAN EMBASSY MADE REPRESENTATIONS, AND IT NOT UNTIL JUNE 1 THIS YEAR THAT WHAT WE CLAIMED WAS LIST ALL KNOWN ALIEN CHINESE PRISONERS US, WAS HANDED OVER. HE MUST EXPRESS HIS REGRET OVER THIS.

5. WANG

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5. WANG SAID I HAD INDICATED LAST MEETING THIS LIST ONLY COVERED 30-40 PERSONS. THIS FIGURE BY FAR SMALLER THAN NUMBER CHINESE KNOWN BE IN PRISON US. MUST ALSO EMPHATICALLY STATE THUS FAR US NOT YET GIVEN COMPLETE LIST ALL CHINESE US. THEY THEREFORE HIGH LY DISSATISFIED.

6. WANG SAID THEY ALSO COULD AGREE MY UNREASONABLY CHARACTERIZING CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY AS CRIMINALS AND AMERICANS IMPRISONED HIS COUNTRY AS POLITICAL PRISONERS.

7. WANG SAID LAST MEETING I INDICATED MY GOVERNMENT WOULD PERMIT REPRESENTATIVES INDIAN EMBASSY INTERVIEW EACH CHINESE PRISONER DETERMINE WHETHER HE DESIRED RETURN. MUST FRANKLY TELL ME THIS MOVE NOTHING OTHER THAN ATTEMPT "SCREEN" CHINESE PRISONERS US. MUST TELL ME COULD NOT AGREE THIS. APPARENTLY US INTENDED USE ENTIRELY IMPERMISSIBLE MEANS SUCH AS SCREENING FEW SELECTED CASES OF CHINESE PRISONERS IN ORDER COVER UP OBSTRUCTION OFFERED TO RETURN LARGE NUMBERS CHINESE.

8. WANG SAID QUESTION RETURN CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY COULD ONLY ARISE AFTER US UNDERTAKEN APPROPRIATE MEASURES LET THEM OUT OF PRISON. AS TO QUESTION WHETHER THEY DESIRED RETURN, AFTER THEY RELEASED SHOULD BE LEFT DECIDE THIS SELVES. IF MY SIDE HAD REAL INTENTION ABIDING BY TERMS AGREED ANNNOUNCEMENT, SHOULD UNDERTAKE SUCH MEASURES, SIMILAR WHAT PRC ALREADY RE AMERICANS, DONE TO SETTLE CASES CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY, THEN REFRAIN FROM OBSTRUCTING THLIR RETURN, ONCE THEY OUT OF PRISON.

9. WANG SAID FINALLY HE MUST REMIND ME US THUS FAR FAILED ACCOUNT PERSONS NAMED LISTS HE GIVEN ME PAST MEETINGS, NOR HAD US REMOVED SUCH OBSTRUCTIVE MEASURES AS ENTRY PERMIT TAIWAN RE-QUIREMENT DESIGNED PREVENT RETURN CHINESE.

10. WANG AGAIN URGED US GIVE ACCOUNTING WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY, HAD HERE THIS MORNING LIST FIVE CHINESE PREVENTED FROM RETURNING AND REQUESTED ME LOOK INTO CASES WELL AS ALL PREVIOUS CASES AND GIVE ACCOUNTING.

11. I REPLIED

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11. I REPLIED DID NOT KNOW WHETHER I UNDERSTOOD HIS STATEMENT CORRECTLY REGARDING PRISONERS. IT MY UNDERSTANDING PURPORT HIS STATEMENT WAS THAT UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THERE OBLIGATION EACH SIDE LET EACH PERSON IN PRISON OUT OF PRISON REGARDLESS REASON HIS BEING THERE. THEN ONCE THEY OUT PRISON THEY FREE DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT THEY DESIRE RETURN RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES, AND THIS WHAT PRC ALREADY DONE. WITHOUT EXPRESSING OPINION AT MOMENT WOULD APPRECIATE HIS ENLARGING ON THAT. DID HE MEAN ALL AMERICANS IMPRISONED HIS COUNTRY NOW BEEN RELEASED AND NOW FREE DECIDE WHETHER THEY WANT RETURN?

12. WANG WAS SURE MADE SELF QUITE CLEAR. HAD DEALT IN HIS STATEMENT WITH QUESTION I RAISED. HAD SAID HE GLAD LEARN MY GOVT HAD HANDED INDIAN EMB LIST NAMES CHINESE IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY. HAD POINTED OUT THIS LIST ONLY COVERED PORTION CHINESE RESIDING US. WHEREAS WHAT THEY REQUESTED WAS COMPLETE LIST ALL CHINESE RESIDING MY COUNTRY. MY SIDE LONG DELAYED WITHOUT REPLYING THIS REQUEST.

13. WANG SAID HE HAD DECLARED EVEN LIST HANDED INDIAN EMB APPEARED UNSATIFACTORY BECAUSE NUMBER CHINESE KNOWN THEIR SIDE BE IMPRISONED US FAR EXCEEDED FIGURE GIVEN THEM THAT LIST.

14. WANG SAID THEY COULD NOT AGREE THIS MOVE MY GOVT OF ASKING INDIAN EMB INTERVIEW THESE FEW CHINESE. THIS MOVE NOTHING BUT "SCREENING" CHINESE US PRISONS. WHAT THEY ASKING MY GOVT DO WAS TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES REGARD THESE CHINESE IN PRISON SO AS LET THEM FREE AGAIN. ONCE THESE PRISONERS BEEN RESTORED FREEDOM US GOVT SHOULD NOT OFFER FURTHER OBSTRUCTIONS THEIR RETURN. WHAT THEY ASK OF US GOVT SIMILAR WHAT HIS GOVT ALREADY DONE RESPECT AMERICANS CHINA. THEIR SIDE HAD CARRIED OUT INDIVIDUAL REVIEW CASES AMERICANS AND ADOPTED LENIENT POLICIES AND RELEASED NUMBERS THESE PRISONERS IN ADVANCE FULFILLMENT SENTENCES. HE SURE WHAT THEY HAD DONE WELL KNOWN ME.

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LJ

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Action Assigned to CA/OR
Action Taken
Control: 5329
Rec'd: JUNE 8, 1956
9:56 P.M.
Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

1/6

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2023, JUNE 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

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15. I SAID AS UNDERSTOOD HIS POSITION IT WAS THAT US SHOULD RELEASE ALL CHINESE US PRISONS REGARDLESS CRIME COMMITTED AND REGARDLESS WHETHER NOT THEY DESIRED RETURN. WAS THAT CORRECT?

16. WANG SAID HAD MADE POINT QUITE CLEAR OPENING STATEMENT. WHAT THEY ASKED WAS FOR MY GOVT REVIEW CASES CHINESE PRISONERS JUST AS HIS GOVT DONE IN PAST AND FOR MY GOVT TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES SETTLE CASES. THAT WHAT HIS GOVT DID RESPECT AMERICANS. AS TO RETURN THESE CHINESE PRISONERS ONCE THEY OUT PRISON IT MATTER FOR PRISONERS SELVES DETERMINE. THEY ASKED US NOT OFFER OBSTRUCTION THEIR RETURN.

17. I ASKED WAS HE OBJECTING TO MEASURES OUTLINED TO HIM LAST MEETING TO PERMIT THESE PEOPLE RETURN.

18. WANG SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT MEASURES MY GOVT IN ASKING REPRESENTATIVES INDIAN EMB INTERVIEW THESE PEOPLE.

19. I WAS UTTERLY UNABLE FOL HIM. HE WAS ONE WHO FIRST SUGGESTED THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT AND SUGGESTED GOVT INDIA ACT THAT CAPACITY IN US. WE HAD GONE BEYOND REQUIREMENT UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. SOLE QUESTION UNDER TERMS REFERENCE ON WHICH WE FIRST MET HERE AND ALSO UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WAS WHETHER ANY THESE PEOPLE DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY. WE HAD GONE BEYOND ANYTHING REQUIRED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO PERMIT THIRD PARTY SUGGESTED BY HIM TO DETERMINE ITS SATISFACTION WHETHER NOT ANY THESE PEOPLE DID DESIRE RETURN. NEVER OCCURRED ME HE WOULD OBJECT THIRD PARTY DOING MORE THAN REQUIRED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, PARTICULARLY LIGHT OUR PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS.

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20. WANG SAID NO QUESTION AROSE REGARDING CAPACITY INDIAN EMBASSY REPRESENT INTERESTS THEIR NATIONALS US ON BEHALF HIS GOVT. NOW PROBLEM THIS PORTION CHINESE NATIONALS US WAS THAT THEY HAD LOST FREEDOM. QUESTION OF RETURN THESE PEOPLE DEPENDED FIRST PLACE ON WHAT MEASURES US GOING TAKE THAT REGARD. THEIR SIDE DID NOT ADVANCE EXCESSIVE DEMANDS. THEY ONLY ASKED MY GOVT DO SIMILARLY WHAT HIS GOVT ALREADY DONE. I WELL KNEW BECAUSE OF MEASURES UNDERTAKEN HIS GOVT MANY FORMERLY IMPRISONED AMERICAN CRIMINALS HAD THEIR CASES REVIEWED AND SETTLED. AFTER CASES BEEN SETTLED THEY RELEASED IN ADVANCE AND ALREADY RETURNED US. WHAT ASKED OF US GOVT EXACTLY SAME.

21. I UTTERLY FAILED FOL THIS. WHAT I INFORMED HIM LAST TIME WAS THAT ANY CHINESE IN PRISON WHO DESIRED RETURN WANG'S COUNTRY WOULD PROMPTLY BE ENABLED REGARDLESS LENGTH SENTENCE, OR CRIME COMMITTED. I TOOK IT WHAT HE NOW ASKING WAS WE NOT DO THIS.

HE ASKING US TAKE MEASURES SIMILAR WHAT THEY ALREADY DONE. DID HE WANT US PERMIT SOME CHINESE GO AND CONTINUE HOLD OTHERS?

22. WANG SAID OF COURSE THEIR SIDE CONCERNED WITH INTERESTS EVERY NATIONAL THEIR COUNTRY. THAT WHY HE REPEATEDLY REQUESTED US FURNISH HIM COMPLETE LIST CHINESE NATIONALS MY COUNTRY. THEY ALSO ASKED THAT IF ANY CHINESE NATIONAL MY COUNTRY DESIRED RETURN PRC BE ALLOWED DO SO WITHOUT OBSTRUCTION. AS TO QUESTION OF RETURN CHINESE NOW PRISON MY COUNTRY IT ESSENTIALLY MATTER FOR US UNDERTAKE ON OWN INITIATIVE MEASURES TO SETTLE THEIR CASES. IF US GOVT DOES NOT TAKE INITIATIVE SETTLING CASES HOW CAN THEY COME OUT PRISON AND RETURN.

23. I SAID ANY PRISONER WHO DESIRES RETURN WILL PROMPTLY BE ENABLED DO SO.

24. WANG SAID THAT DEPENDED MEASURES TAKEN US GOVT IN REVIEWING CASES. THEY WOULD WELCOME MY GOVT'S ADOPTION SUCH MEASURES;

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25. I SAID ESSENCE HIS POSITION SEEMED BE HE OBJECTING OUR GOING BEYOND TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND WHAT REQUIRED OF US UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. SEEMED ME RIDICULOUS POSITION AND NEVER OCCURED ME HE WOULD ADOPT SUCH POSITION THIS MATTER.

26. WANG COULD NOT ACCEPT THAT. RETURN NATIONALS DEPENDED ON CONCRETE ACTS. HE GAVE ME NAMES MORE THAN 50 CHINESE INCLUDING MORNING'S LIST. THESE PEOPLE ALL DESIRED RETURN PREVENTED DOING SO. AS TO PRISONERS, IF MY GOVT NOT WILLING SETTLE THEIR CASES AND ONLY MADE EMPTY STATEMENT WHEN THEY DESIRED RETURN THEY COULD DO SO, SUCH STATEMENT COMPLETELY HOLLOW. IF MY GOVT WOULD UNDERTAKE MEASURES SETTLE CASES RESTORE FREEDOM THESE PEOPLE SO THEY ABLE RETURN HIS COUNTRY OF COURSE WOULD WELCOME.

27. I SAID IN OTHER WORDS HE WAS WITHOUT REF TO WHETHER NOT ANY INDIVIDUAL DESIRED RETURN ATTEMPTING DICTATE MY GOVT STEPS IT SHOULD TAKE RE ALL ALIEN CHINESE CRIMINALS MY COUNTRY.

28. WANG SAID THESE PEOPLE RESIDING US UNDER CONTROL MY GOVT. IF I ONLY STATED WE WOULD PERMIT THEM GO HOME BUT AT SAME TIME WOULD NOT TAKE ACTUAL MEASURES, HE NOT PREPARED BELIEVE IT. HE ASKED ME WHETHER MY GOVT PREPARED REMOVE OBSTRUCTIVE MEASURES TO RETURN CHINESE SUCH AS ENTRY PERMIT TAIWAN REQUIREMENT, AND WHETHER MY GOVT WILLING UNDERTAKE MEASURES SETTLE CASES CHINESE PRISONERS.

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Rec'd: JUNE 9, 1956
12:29 A.M.

Action Assigned to CA/DIR 1/6
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2023, JUNE 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

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29. I ASKED WANG IF HE PREPARED BELIEVE REPRESENTATIVES INDIAN GOVT AS TO WHETHER OR NOT ANY INDIVIDUAL IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY DESIRED RETURN.

30. WANG COMPLAINED I HAD NOT YET REPLIED HIS QUESTIONS.

31. I SAID THERE TWO PERTINENT FACTS RE CARRYING OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. FIRST WAS WHETHER NOT PERSON DESIRED RETURN. SECOND WAS WHETHER NOT HE PREVENTED RETURNING. BOTH COUNTS FACTS RE US PERFORMANCE SPOKE FOR SELVES. FACTS RE AMERICANS PRC ALSO SPOKE FOR SELVES. THERE NEVER BEEN ANY QUESTION BUT THAT AMERICANS WHOSE NAME I GAVE HIM AT OUTSET TALKS DESIRED RETURN. THERE NEVER BEEN ANY QUESTION THEY NOT BEEN PERMITTED RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY AS PROMISED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, BY WHATEVER NAME THIS CALLED OR HOWEVER IT RATIONALIZED. FAR AS CHINESE US CONCERNED, NEVER BEEN ANY FACTS TO CONTRADICT MY CATEGORICAL STATMENTS THEY FREE RETURN. NOT SINGLE CASE ANY SPECIFIC COMPLAINT ANY SPECIFIC OBSTRUCTION BEEN BROUGHT OUR ATTENTION BY INDIAN EMBASSY.

32. I SAID CHINESE STEADILY RETURNING FREELY HIS COUNTRY. ACCORDING BEST INFO I HAD, AT LEAST 160 HAD RETURNED SINCE AUG 1. THERE NOT BEEN ANY EVIDENCE THUS FAR ANY OF CRIMINALS DESIRED RETURN. THEY NOT INCLUDED ORIGINAL DISCUSSIONS HERE AND I DID NOT CONSIDER THEY COVERED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. NEVERTHELESS WE GONE BEYOND ITS TERMS. EVEN PERMITTING THIRD PARTY SUGGESTED BY HIM SEE THEM IN ORDER DETERMINE WHETHER NOT THEY DESIRE RETURN. IF DID DESIRE PROMPT ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN PERMIT THEM DO SO.

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-2- 2023, JUNE 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF FIVE) FROM GENEVA CORRECTED PAGE 2.

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33. I WAS SURE HE WOULD REALIZE THERE NO POSSIBLE BASIS FOR OBJECTIONS HE MADE OR HIS DEMANDS ON MY GOVT. WORLD WOULD BE ABLE READILY RECOGNIZE WHO -- NOT ONLY IN PAST BUT FUTURE -- CARRIED OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND EVEN WENT BEYOND PROVISIONS. IF IT HIS DESIRE MY GOVT WITHDRAW MEASURES OUTLINED HIM REGARDING CHINESE PRISONERS GOING BEYOND TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, WOULD APPRECIATE HIS CLEARLY SAYING.

34. WANG COULD NOT AGREE MY CONTENTION IMPRISONED CHINESE NOT COVERED AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. TO ENGAGE EMPTY TALK WITHOUT TAKING CONCRETE MEASURES NOT ONLY FAILED GO BEYOND TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BUT WAS ACTUALLY FAILURE CARRY OUT TERMS.

35. WANG SAID UP TO PRESENT THEY NOT RECEIVED COMPLETE LIST CHINESE RESIDENTS US AND HAD NO MEANS VERIFY WHETHER CHINESE IN QUESTION DESIRED RETURN. HE ASKED WHETHER US PREPARED GIVE LIST. THERE WERE NUMBER OF PERSONS THEY KNEW DEFINITELY DESIRED RETURN BUT BECAUSE OBSTRUCTION MY GOVT NOT ABLE DO SO, SO FAR THERE STILL 34 PERSONS ON LIST I HANDED HIM PREVIOUSLY WHO NOT YET RETURNED. IN ADDITION HERE FURTHER 53 PERSONS WHOSE NAMES GIVEN ME PREVIOUS MEETINGS INCLUDING MORNINGS WHO THEY KNEW DEFINITELY DESIRED RETURN BUT UNABLE DO SO. THEY REQUESTED ME CONDUCT INQUIRY THIS REGARD AND GIVE THEM ACCOUNTING. THEY AWAITED CONCRETE ACT MY GOVT RE THESE PEOPLE AND WANG WOULD LIKE KNOW IF MY GOVT PREPARED TAKE ANY.

36. WANG SAID REQUIREMENTS FOR CHINESE RESIDENTS US OBTAIN ENTRY PERMIT TAIWAN VIOLATION AGREEMENT. THEY HAD REPEATEDLY REQUESTED WITHDRAWAL, BUT REQUIREMENT STILL REMAINED AND STILL PREVENTED CHINESE US EXERCISING RIGHT RETURN HIS COUNTRY. HE WOULD LIKE KNOW WHETHER US GOVT PREPARED REMOVE THIS OBSTRUCTION. AS TO CHINESE PRISONERS, PRIOR ANY MEASURES UNDERTAKEN SETTLE THEIR CASES HOW COULD ANYONE TALK ABOUT FREEDOM RETURN HIS COUNTRY?

37. WANG SAID I HAD JUST ASKED WHETHER THESE PEOPLE DESIRED RETURN AND WHETHER THEY PREVENTED. THESE PERSONS EXACTLY SUCH CASES IN WHICH THEY DESIRED RETURN AND PREVENTED. SIMPLY STATING THAT IF THESE PERSONS DESIRED RETURN THEY ABLE DO SO WOULD NOT ACTUALLY ENABLE THEM RETURN.

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38. I SAID HE HAD SPOKEN OF VERIFICATION. STEPS I OUTLINED TO HIM REGARD PRISONERS WOULD ENABLE INDEPENDENT VERIFICATION BY THIRD PARTY AS TO WHETHER PERSON DESIRED RETURN, IF I UNDERSTOOD HIS STATEMENT MORNING CORRECTLY HE OBJECTING THAT VERIFICATION.

39. WANG SAID IF MY INTENT TO CARRY OUT SO-CALLED SCREENING THESE PEOPLE, THEY WOULD STRONGLY OBJECT. THAT ACTION WOULD NOT BE DEMONSTRATION SINCERITY IN SETTLEMENT QUESTION. IF MY GOVT HAD SINCERITY WHY NOT TAKE CONCRETE STEPS?

40. I ASKED WHAT FURTHER MEASURES COULD POSSIBLY BE TAKEN THAN, IF THEY DESIRED GO HOME, PERMITTING THEM;

41. WANG SAID THAT HOLLOW REMARK. IF HIS GOVT HAD ADOPTED SUCH MEASURES HE BELIEVED AMERICANS FORMERLY IMPRISONED CHINA WOULD STILL BE THERE. IN SETTLING CASES AMERICANS HIS GOVT DID NOT ENGAGE HOLLOW TALK BUT TOOK CONCRETE MEASURES. WOULD LIKE ASK WHETHER MY GOVT PREPARED TAKE INITIATIVE ADOPT CONCRETE MEASURES RE CHINESE PRISONERS.

42 I ASKED IF I UNDERSTOOOD HIM RIGHTLY THEN WAS HIS GOVT PREPARED PROMPTLY FREE ALL AMERICANS NOW PRISONS?

43. WANG COMPLAINED I HAD NOT YET ANSWERED HIS QUESTIONS. BEFORE THEY ANSWERED HE DID NOT THINK IT NECESSARY DELVE FURTHER THAT QUESTION. HE STILL AWAITED MY CONCRETE OPINIONS RE SECOND ITEM AGENDA.

44 I SAID HE AND I HAD HAD LONG DISCUSSIONS ABOUT WHOLE QUESTION RESPECTIVE NATIONALS OVER LONG PERIOD TIME. I HAD ALWAYS DONE BEST UNDERSTAND AND RESPECT HIS POINT VIEW. MUST CONFESS MORNING I FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE. HE RAISED ENTIRE QUESTION CHINESE PRISONED US MANY TIMES RECENT MONTHS. NOW I HAD TOLD HIM OF STEPS TO PERMIT PRISONERS PROMPTLY RETURN IF DESIRE DO SO REGARDLESS LENGTH SENTENCE, SERIOUSNESS CRIMES. I HAD WITH GREAT DEAL EFFORT AND DIFFICULTY GONE FAR BEYOND ANYTHING IN DISCUSSIONS LEADING UP TO AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. NOW HE APPEARED - NOT ONLY APPEARED, DID OBJECT MY HAVING DONE SO, FOUND HIS POSITION UTTERLY INEXPLICABLE.

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5. WANG SAID IT QUITE RIGHT THEY ALWAYS BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT CHINESE IMPRISONED US AND THEY STILL CONCERNED. HE HAD STATED HE GLAD LEARN MY GOVT NOW GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY LIST PERSONS IMPRISONED. HAD HOWEVER POINTED OUT THEY NOT SATISFIED WITH LIST BECAUSE DID NOT TALLY WITH INFORMATION THEY HAD. ESSENTIAL CONCERN THEIR SIDE WAS WHAT CONCRETE MEASURE US GOING TAKE SETTLE CASES PRISONERS. IF US WOULD NOT UNDERTAKE MEASURES SETTLE CASES, TO SAY WHEN THEY DESIRE RETURN COULD DO SO WOULD NOT SETTLE QUESTION. THIS WAS ALL HE HAD ON THIS QUESTION MORNING.

GOWEN

RJB

(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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38-39

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Control: 5414

Rec'd: JUNE 10, 1956

10:03 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2023, JUNE 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION 4 OF 5)

Action Office Symbol 1-1

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

46. I TOOK IT THAT HE WILLING HAVE US DETERMINE WITHOUT VERIFICATION BY INDIANS WHETHER THESE PERSONS DESIRED RETURN OR NOT.

47. WANG SAID IT NOT QUESTION OF DESIRE TO RETURN IT MATTER FOR MY GOVT TO SETTLE CASES.

48. I SAID QUESTION WAS WHETHER THEY DESIRED RETURN. IF NOT IT NOT PROPER QUESTION FOR US DISCUSS HERE.

49. WANG SAID WITHOUT SETTLING CASES HOW COULD ONE SAY WHETHER THEY DESIRED RETURN OR NOT. HARD FOR PERSONS IN PRISON EXPRESS FREE WILL. QUESTION WHETHER THEY DESIRE RETURN COULD ONLY ARISE AFTER CASES BEEN SETTLED.

50. I ASKED HOW HE RECONCILED THAT WITH AT LEAST SEVERAL CASES OF AMERICANS THAT BEEN RELEASED OR SENTENCED HIS COUNTRY ON UNDERSTANDING THEY BE IMMEDIATELY DEPORTED. I REFERRED CASES AMERICANS IN WHICH SENTENCE BEEN IMMEDIATE DEPORTATION.

51. WANG DID NOT UNDERSTAND.

52. I EXPLAINED THAT AS I UNDERSTOOD HIS POSITION ALL CHINESE PRISONERS US SHOULD BE RELEASED FROM PRISON THEN THEY COULD EXPRESS DESIRE AS TO WHETHER NOT THEY DESIRED RETURN. QUESTION I ASKING WAS HOW HE RECONCILED THIS WITH FACT AT LEAST MANY AMERICANS WHO LEFT HIS COUNTRY DID SO UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES OF BEING SENTENCED IMMEDIATE DEPORTATION.

53. WANG SAID HAD ALREADY DEALT AT LENGTH WITH POLICIES HIS GOVT AND WAYS IT SETTLED CASES AMERICANS PRISONED CHINA. ESSENTIAL THING WAS THEY GIVEN LENIENT TREATMENT TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION

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BEHAVIOR GRAVITY OFFENSES. LENIENT POLICY HIS GOVT SHOWN BY FACT MANY AMERICAN PRISONERS RELEASED ADVANCE THEIR SENTENCES. AS RESULT LENIENT POLICY LARGE NUMBER FORMER AMERICAN PRISONERS REGAINED FREEDOM.

54. WANG SAID THEY DID NOT ASK ANYTHING ELSE FROM US. ONLY ASKED WE ADOPT SIMILAR MEASURES TO THOSE HIS GOVT RE AMERICAN PRISONERS. IF US DID THAT THEY WOULD BE SATISFIED.

55. WANG SAID WE HAD DISCUSSED THIS PROBLEM MUCH MORNING AND I HAD NOT YET ANSWERED QUESTIONS HE PUT. DID NOT THINK NECESSARY US STALL MORE MORNING.

56. I SAID AS I UNDERSTOOD HIS OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS THEY WERE: FIRST WHETHER US PREPARED GIVE LIST ALL TENS THOUSANDS CHINESE US. NEXT QUESTION AS I UNDERSTOOD WAS WHETHER US PREPARED RESCIND REQUIREMENT THAT ALIEN IN US ON TEMPORARY VISIT WHO DESIRES EXTEND STAY MUST PRESENT EVIDENCE CAN PROCEED ANOTHER COUNTRY AT END STAY. THAT IN EFFECT WAS QUESTION POSED BY WHAT HE CALLED TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT QUESTION. NEXT QUESTION WAS WHETHER US PREPARED FREE ALL ALIEN CHINESE SERVING PRISON TERMS FOR CRIMES.

WAS I CORRECT THAT THESE WERE QUESTIONS?

57. WANG SAID THERE ALSO QUESTION CONCERNING PERSONS WHOSE NAMES GIVEN ME DESIRING RETURN BUT UNABLE.

58. I SAID RE FIRST QUESTION ON LIST CHINESE US WE PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED AT LENGTH. ANSWER NO. HAD PREVIOUSLY OUTLINED REASONS TO HIM. RE SECOND QUESTION ON REQUIREMENTS OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS FOR PERSONS DESIRING REMAIN US, ANSWER NO. HAD NO RELATION WHATEVER TO THOSE DESIRING RETURN. DID NOT PREVENT THEM NOW OR IN FUTURE FROM RETURNING HIS COUNTRY UNLESS HE CHOSE SO MAKE IT. AS FAR AS NAMES PERSONS HE GIVEN ME, TOLD HIM IN PAST AND HAVE CONTINUED TELL HIM THEY FREE RETURN WHENEVER DESIRE. FAR AS PRISONERS CONCERNED, ANSWER NOT. US NOT PREPARED FREE ALIEN PRISONERS IF THEY TO REMAIN IN US, EXCEPT IN ACCORDANCE EXISTING US PROCEDURES. IF THEY DESIRED

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RETURN, ANSWER IS YES, THEY WOULD PROMPTLY BE ABLE.

59. WANG WAS DISSATISFIED WITH ANSWERS I HAD GIVEN. WOULD NOT HELP IN SETTLEMENT QUESTION RETURN NATIONALS. IN FACT IT PREVENTING AND OBSTRUCTING RETURN CHINESE NATIONALS. THEREFORE NOT IN CONFORMITY SPIRIT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. HE THEREFORE RESERVED RIGHT FURTHER COMMENT THIS QUESTION NEXT MEETING. RE QUESTION DECLARATION HAD ALREADY MADE SELF CLEAR LAST MEETING AND TODAY AND NOW PREPARED LISTEN MY CONCRETE OPINIONS.

60. I REPLIED IN OPENING STATEMENT HE HAD MADE TWO STATEMENTS WITH ONE WHICH I COULD NOT AGREE AND ONE WITH WHICH DTD. FIRST STATEMENT WITH WHICH COULD NOT AGREE WAS HIS MAY 11 ACCEPTABLE BOTH SIDES. SECOND STATEMENT WITH WHICH AGREED WAS HOLLOW EXPRESSIONS ULTERIOR DESIGNS WOULD NOT HELP SETTLE PROBLEMS WE FACED. I HAD AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS OUTLINED EXACTLY REASONS I FELT HIS MAY 11 EVEN MORE FILLED WITH HOLLOW EXPRESSIONS THAN HIS PREVIOUS DRAFTS. IT NOT MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE WE BEEN SEEKING. DRAFT AS WHOLE WENT AGAINST VERY PURPOSE RENUNCIATION FORCE. WHAT DRAFT DID WAS INTENSIFY VERY THREAT WE SHOULD BE TRYING REMOVE. CHANGING WORD HERE OR COMMA THERE NOT GOING CHANGE THAT FACT. I PERFECTLY READY AS ALWAYS CONSIDER ANY SUGGESTION THAT LED TOWARD DECLARATION CONSTITUTING REALLY MEANINGFUI RENUNCIATION FORCE. I NOT READY CONSIDER SUGGESTION LEADING OPPOSITE DIRECTION. FOUND IT HARD RECONCILE HIS MAY 11TH WITH DESIRE EXPRESSED REACH AGREEMENT DECLARATION.

61. I SAID WAY REALIZE DESIRE FOR AGREEMENT WAS BUILD ON EACH BASIS AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED UNTIL WE ACHIEVED SOMETHING FULLY SATISFACTORY BOTH WAY TO AGREEMENT NOT THROW OUT WHAT ALREADY AGREED ON SUBSTITUTE LANGUAGE WHICH SELF RAISES NEW QUESTIONS. WHEREAS I BEEN CAREFUL IN MY SUGGESTIONS TO PRESERVE AGEA AGREEMENT AVOID RAISING NEW CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS AND ENDEAVORED RESPECT PRINCIPAL RECIPROCITY, COULD NOT CONSIDER HIS MAY 11 DID SO.

62. I POINTED OUT SETTING TIME LIMIT MAY 11 DRAFT NOT ONLY CARRIED CLEAR IMPLICATION THREAT HIS GOVT INTENDED USE FORCE

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AT END TWO MONTH PERIOD, ALSO APPEARED PLACE ARBITRARY TIME LIMIT EFFORTS TWO US HERE FIND RESOLUTIONS PROBLEMS CONFRONTING US. MY GOVT HAD NOT DID NOT PROPOSE APPROACH QUESTION CONFRONTING US THIS SPIRIT. DID NOT FEEL TIME LIMITATIONS SHOULD BE PLACED EITHER ON PERIOD COUNTRY SAYS WILL NOT RESORT WAR NOR ON PERIOD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES WILL BE SOUGHT. HIS DEC 1 APPEARED AFFIRM PRINCIPLE RENUNCIATION FORCE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES WITHOUT INITIATING IT BY TIME LIMITATIONS. THAT ONE OF ASPECTS HIS DEC 1 I WELCOMED AND BEEN CAREFUL PRESERVE IN EACH OF REVISIONS I OFFERED.

GOWEN

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Control: 5415
Rec'd: JUNE 9, 1956
1:57 A.M.

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer 1-6

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2023, JUNE 8, 8 P.M. (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

63. I SAID DID NOT THINK WE DISCHARGED DUTIES HERE OR CONTRIBUTED TO REACHING AGREEMENT BY MAKING THREATS, DELIBERATELY THROWING AWAY AGREEMENTS ALREADY REACHED. THOUGHT WAY DISCHARGE DUTY OWN PEOPLE - HIS WELL AS MINE - AND WORLD WAS WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY PRESERVING ENLARGING AREA AGREEMENT ALREADY ESTABLISHED. THIS WHAT I ATTEMPTED DO IN MY APRIL 19. THIS WHAT I STILL DETERMINED DO IF HE WOULD GIVE ME EVEN SLIGHTEST COOPERATION.

64. WANG EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT MY STATEMENT. EVERY TIME HE CAME MEETING HOPED ACHIEVE RAPPROCHEMENT OUR POSITONS AND SUCCEED IN REACHING AGREEMENT. HE REGRETTED MY STATEMENT DID NOT LEAD RAPPROCHEMENT.

65. WANG SAID HIS STATEMENT THAT MAY 11 DRAFT ACCEPTABLE BOTH MADE ON BASIS ASSUMPTION BOTH SHARED DESIRE REACH AGREEMENT. AS HE REPEATEDLY EXPLAINED TIME LIMIT ADVANTAGEOUS BOTH SIDES. WITHOUT TIME LIMIT WOULD IMPLY DELIBERATE INTENT DRAG OUT TALKS WITHOUT SETTLING DISPUTES.

66. WANG SAID AS HE HAD TOLD ME MANY TIMES COUNTRY WHICH THREATENED WAS US WHICH THREATENING HIS COUNTRY. THEY WOULD NOT ALLOW PROBLEM BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES LAST FOREVER WITHOUT ARRIVING SETTLEMENT. WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING RESULTING FREEZING STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA.

67. WANG SAID I HAD AGAIN MENTIONED MY APRIL 19. AS HE HAD STATED SO OFTEN IT ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE. BY AGAIN MENTIONING MY APRIL 19 I SHOWED LACK RESPECT POINTS VIEW BOTH SIDES AND LACK SINCERITY IN DISCUSSIONS.

68. WANG AGREED WITH MY REF TO DISCHARGING DUTIES TOWARD PEOPLE OF WORLD. THEY, INCLUDING PEOPLE MY COUNTRY HIS COUNTRY

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CONTROL: 5415
CORRECTION ISSUED: 6/13/56, Noon, CWD.

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-2- 2023, JUNE 8, 8 P.M., FROM GENEVA (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)
CORRECTED PAGE 2.

DID NOT DESIRE SEE TALKS DRAGGING OUT WITHOUT ACHIEVING SETTLEMENT. THEREFORE FELT OBLIGATION TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT SO WORLD PEOPLE ABLE JUDGE MATTER.

69. I SAID HE HAD FOUND MY APRIL 19 ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE. DID HE FIND LAST PARA THAT DRAFT NOW UNACCEPTABLE?

70. WANG SAID I WOULD RECALL HIS HAVING STATED PREVIOUSLY IF IT DESIRED MENTION TAIWAN AREA SECOND PARA MUST ALSO MENTION HOLDING FMC THIRD PARA AS WELL AS TIME LIMIT.

71. I ASKED DID SECOND PARA HIS DEC. 1, THEN, NOT APPLY TAIWAN AREA?

72. WANG SAID MUST NOT TAKE SINGLE PARA, MUST LOOK AT INTEGRAL DRAFT AS WHOLE.

73. I SAID IF IT WANG'S DESIRE MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT OF COURSE HIS CHOICE. COULD NOT BUT REGRET SUCH DECISION. HOWEVER ENTIRELY SATISFIED PUBLIC READILY ABLE JUDGE WHO BEEN DOING MAXIMUM PRESERVE AREA AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED AND EXPEDITE REACHING UNDERSTANDING ON MEANINGFUL DECLARATION AND WHO HAS DROPPED AREAS AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED AND INTRODUCED NEW EXTRANEOUS CONTROVERSIAL ELEMENTS. I THOUGHT COMPARISON TWO DRAFTS WOULD ENABLE PUBLIC READILY JUDGE WHO WILLING UNAMBIGUOUSLY RENOUNCE WAR SETTLEMENT DIFFERENCES AND WHO THUS FAR NOT.

74. WANG SAID PUBLIC WOULD BE ABLE JUDGE WHO DESIRED SETTLE QUESTIONS, REACH AGREEMENT DECLARATION AND WHO OFFERING OBSTRUCTION.

75. SAYING HAD NOTHING MORE I PROPOSED NEXT MEETING SATURDAY JUNE 16. WANG PROPOSED INSTEAD NEXT MEETING BE THURSDAY JUNE 21 FOR ADMINISTRATIVE REASONS. I AGREED.

GOWEN

CWD:TTK/14

Assigned ... CA/OIR

Action Taken

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 JUN 13 PM 5 06
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Rec'd. June 18

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

June 8, 1956.

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 37

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown)
☐ Deny) Basis I-301
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/19/72

Dear Walter:

It is after 9:00 p.m., we have just finished up all the loose ends of today's meeting, and I have a 6:00 a.m. departure tomorrow morning hence only a very short note.

However I did want to let you know how much I appreciated the full information in your letters Nos. 45 and 46 as well as the info telegrams. They have all been a big help.

I have fully covered my thoughts in my telegrams, but as you can see I was really taken aback today at the violence and extremes of Wang's reaction. However, do not believe we should yet be discourage at the possibility of our tactics having some success. At least we can now really put them on the spot.

Wouldn't blame you if you thought I had cooked up the next meeting date with Wang. Only wish I could maneuver him that well.

Am arranging to keep in touch with Dave re reply to their public statement. He has a full draft which he will immediately release on my behalf if he considers it fits. If not he will get in touch with both myself and the Department.

Hope we can shortly have some word on Edvall whose orders expire June 30.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Dept. of State,
Washington 25, D.C,

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G TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Control: 6185
Rec'd: June 11, 1956
12:03 p. m.

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

This Document must be Returned to RM/R Central Files

FROM: Prague

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 557, June 11, Noon.

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 557, REPEATED GENEVA 48.

GENEVA FOR OSBORN.

1. On further consideration believe we should in my statement replying any CHICOM statement say something on implementation if raised in CHICOM statement.

2. Therefore subject to Department's views suggest addition following if implementation included CHICOM statement: "All Chinese in United States continue be entirely free leave United States for any destination their choice and not (repeat not) single one has been refused exit. Neither Ambassador Wang nor Indian Embassy has brought to our attention single fact to contrary. I shall continue seek release 13 Americans still held in CHICOM prisons more than nine months after commitment permit their expeditious return to United States".

3. Still believe any specific comment or background information on Chinese in United States prisons should come only from Washington. However, if question specifically raised in CHICOM statement and correspondents make inquiry believe Geneva could point out to correspondents use of "all" in foregoing. Because inability Chinese in prisons enter countries other than PRC or possibly GRC believe statement as worded valid even with respect imprisoned Chinese.

JOHNSON

SW:TTK/14

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 JUN 11 PM 2 27

611.93/6-1156

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MAR-2 1959

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 6484
Rec'd: June 11, 1956
6:21 p.m.

FROM: Prague

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 561, June 11, 6 p.m.

For Department's information following is text my draft statement to be issued at Geneva if and when Chinese Communists issue public statement.

"As I informed Ambassador Wang when he told me of intention issue new statement, I am surprised his government is willing expose its latest proposal public scrutiny. Ambassador Wang's draft declaration May 11 is even more ambiguous and lacking in elements of genuine renunciation force than was his draft on December 1. It shows not (repeat not) slightest advance over Chinese Communist attitude of last year when Department of State was obliged comment 'the Communists so far seem willing to renounce force only if they are first conceded the goals for which they would use force'.

"Although Ambassador Wang has indicated he still shares my desire reach agreement on meaningful renunciation force, he has rejected my successive suggestions for simple revisions in his own draft December 1 which would accomplish this purpose. On April 19, I proposed draft which incorporated those revisions in form which took full account both points of vies.

"Despite Ambassador Wang's rejection this further effort my part, I shall continue seek agreement with him on statement that will make genuine contribution to establishment of secure peace in Far East".

If necessary will add thereto statement on implementation accordance my telegram 557.

JOHNSON

JAK:EGM/3

Action Assigned to

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Review

DEPARTMENT OF STATE 1956 JUN 12 PM 12 36

BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Control: 6779
Rec'd: June 12, 1956
8:23 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 2030, June 12, Noon.

1-

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SENT PRIORITY PRAGUE 50, REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT 2030.

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FROM OSBORN

Prague's 557 Department Repeated Geneva 48.

1. Suggest following wording for implementation paragraph: "All Chinese in United States desiring return PRC continue be entirely free go. Not single Chinese has encountered any obstruction departure. Neither Ambassador Wang nor Indian Embassy brought attention single fact contrary. Shall continue seek release Americans still held CHICOM prisons more than nine months after CHICOMS assumed commitment permit expeditious return United States".

2. View wide range possible CHICOM lines attack on implementation well as possible coincidental release some Americans, request discretion do whichever of following appears appropriate: (1) Issue statement with or without implementation paragraph; (2) hold up release statement pending consultation with you and Department.

SW:TTK/14

Action Assigned to OAID

Action Taken

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Officer

Direction to DC/R

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Control: 6782
Rec'd: June 12, 1956
8:37 a.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2033, June 12, Noon

PRIORITY.

SENT DEPARTMENT 2033, REPEATED INFORMATION PRAGUE 51.

FROM OSBORN.

CHICOMS have just announced press conference for 3:30 our time.

GOWEN

LMS:PVB/6

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Control: 6978
Rec'd: June 12, 1956
1:33 p.m.

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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R file

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FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2039, June 12, 4 p.m.

PRIORITY

SENT DEPARTMENT 2039, REPEATED PRIORITY PRAGUE 52.

FROM OSBORN

1. Statement mild, relatively factual. No (repeat no) mention implementation. Datelined Foreign Ministry PRC June 12. Presume full text being carried FBIS. Summary follows:

2. (A) Chinese side, to realize aim relaxing, eliminating tension Taiwan area, repeatedly demanded FMC. American side persists in demanding China accept present state "US interference China's internal affairs occupation Taiwan and has refused take positive stand" on FMC.

(B) Full text April 19 draft cited.

(C) Draft characterized as US demand China accept "US occupation China's territory Taiwan by use threat force and intervention in liberation by China of coastal island", recognize so-called right ICSD, fails mention FMC. This exposes US attempt freeze status quo et cetera. This is "announcement requiring China acquiesce US aggression. Is of course what Chinese side cannot accept."

Chinese side, taking consideration repeated US request announcement be applicable Taiwan area, submitted May 11 draft (quoted in full).

(E) Since US already occupying Taiwan, if declaration made applicable Taiwan area, must also explicitly provide for FMC. Therefore May 11 draft stipulates that within two months should seek and ascertain et cetera.

(F) If US sincerely desires peaceful settlement, there no justification for further dragging out. People throughout world worried about "inevitable consequences" prolonged failure talks reach agreement. "Chinese side therefore deems it necessary make above facts known world."

3. Releasing our statement four o'clock today without (repeat without)

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-2- 2039, June 12, 4 p.m., from Geneva

without) mention implementation. Text as transmitted by Prague to Department. Delivering copy CHICOM CONGEN addressed Wang.

GOWEN

RSP:CAB

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STATE
JUN 15 AM 7 17
OF
AFFAIRS

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 657

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☒ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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56 JUN 12 PM 7 35

DC/T

SENT TO: Amembassy PRAGUE 389

RPT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 2128
FOR JOHNSON

Origin

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We have given most careful consideration to suggestion your 2009. After weighing all factors involved we have concluded balance of advantage lies with inclusion Taiwan reference in letter. Our reasoning as follows:

1. Our public position would be indefensible both domestically and with respect to GRC if we did not at some stage give Chinese convicts option going Taiwan. If this done prior to Indian visit, either by letter or orally, Indians almost certain learn of it when interviewing prisoners and would inform Communists. If done subsequent to Indian visit, this would open possibility of prisoner originally opting for Chinese mainland changing his mind. Effect of this would be far worse than if Indians learned prisoner had been offered free choice of two destinations in beginning. Since it is unlikely we can keep knowledge of Taiwan option from Indians, even if communicated to prisoner by means other than original letter, we consider best course is to keep record clear by presenting both choices in that letter.

2. If we were confident Chinese prisoner move would bring about release

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611.93/6-1256 SECRET FILE

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough/ikb 6/12/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: L- Mr. Phleger (in substance) CA - Mr. McConaughy

FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS JUN 12 1956 ASSISTANT SECRETARY Department of State

FE:HPS

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JUN 12 1956 P.M.

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release of Americans we would be willing run greater risk having our position misunderstood in US and on Taiwan. Wang's attitude last meeting inspires little confidence that this move will succeed. Therefore, omitting Taiwan reference from letter would not only not ensure Communists remaining ignorant of this option, as pointed out above, but even if they did, it now appears they unlikely respond favorably to Chinese prisoner move.

3. Wang's adamant opposition to Indian interviewing of prisoners may make whole question academic. If Indians should refuse conduct interviews it could do little harm to include Taiwan reference in letter.

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10:20 AM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2041, JUNE 13, NOON

SENT PRAGUE 53, REPEATED INFORMATION DEPARTMENT 2041

FROM OSBORN

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OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
JUN 1 1955
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CONFIDENTIAL

June 14,

Dear Ralph:

The failure of the Chicom statement to hit implementation may be a reflection of Peiping's tactical dilemma. Wang's line of counterattack on the prisoner release was planned on the assumption that the prisoner move is a US plot to repeat the Korea screening operation. Wang wouldn't want to compromise this line by assuming a different position in public; yet he is aware of the many vulnerabilities of this line, and of how foolish he would look if our move on prisoners turns out not to be a plot. Accordingly Peiping may have felt it wiser to say nothing more on implementation until some initial results of the screening are in.

If no results are in by June 21, we ourselves have a choice to make. Should we really try to reassure Wang that the operation is "straight", or should we let Wang continue to entangle himself in his ridiculous line of last meeting? So long as we don't know what the prisoners' choice is going to be, the last course would be safer as well as easier.

What Wang might do on implementation, if his dilemma is not resoved by June 21 by the appearance of theinitial results of the screening, is to shift increasing emphasis to the "obstructed" students. We can of course counter this by our old standbys:-- no representations from Indians, Chinese steadily returning Wang's country (including Dr S.D. Liao, who was on Wang's February 6 list, and who is now back in China). Might it not also be a good idea to start dropping a few low-keyed remarks about Chicom pressures on students' familixies in China? We could do so without violating the confidence of Victor Chou et al, as we how have the Chinese news reports on the registration of student families. The Chicoms are vulnerable on this point and it might not hurt for them to know it.

On renunciation, I have no new thoughts--a lack which no doubt distresses you--but still feel that it would be in keeping with Wang's tactics if he were to submit a new draft soon. He likes to keep the initiative, both in the talks and publicly, and Peiping is probably fully aware, now that we have publicly

Ralph N. Clough, Esquire,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, DC.

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confessed our deadlock, that both the initiative and the public advantage will now accrue to whichever side first makes a strong and apparently "reasonable" effort to break the deadlock.

As you know, our estimate here of Wang's tactics is that he has been trying so determinedly to elicit our specific objections to his May 11 draft precisely in order that he may proceed to "meet" them in a new proposal.

A possibility that occurs to me is that Wang may seize upon the Department's press release--faute de mieux--as providing the specific objections he has been seeking.

If I were Wang, I think I could work up a prepared statement for next meeting or the one after making the following points:

1. US statement charged PRC side had rejected own draft of December 1. This not so. PRC side still willing agree on that draft.
2. US can either accept December 1 draft as is, or it can insist on amendments. If it insists on amendments, they must not be one-sided. If US insists on ICSD, PRC will be entitled to insist on "mutual respect". If US insists on Taiwan reference, PRC entitled insist on FMC, preferably with time limit agreeable both sides, if necessary without time limit.
3. How there can be any objection to words which PRC proposes to add is not understandable unless US is determined either to violate principle of "mutual respect" ~~xxxxxx~~ by freezing up status quo while postponing indefinitely the practical step of a FMC, which necessary to resolve Taiwan area dispute.

Of course, an alternative to Wang's making this pitch in a meeting would be for Peiping to make them in a public statement, but for tactical reasons it would be more likely for them to be made in ~~x~~ the meetings, before taking the position to the public.

This is, of course, entirely speculative, and we'll see what actually happens.

I'm enclosing Wang's latest list. Did not feel these lists now warrant telegraphic handling. If I'm wrong, please tell me.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

David L Osborn

Enclosure: Wang's Obstruction List of June 8.

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June 8, 1956

Mr. ....

Mr. ... went to the United States in 1948 and studied medicine at the Pennsylvania University, Philadelphia. He was already on his way home in September 1951 but was intercepted at Hawaii by the U.S. Immigration Service and escorted back to the United States. He is still unable to return.

Mr. ....

Mr. ... went to the U.S. in 1949 and studied microbiology at the University of California. He had planned to return the next year but his successive applications for departure were turned down and is still unable to return.

Mr. ....

Mr. ... went to the U.S. in 1949 and studied civil engineering at the Purdue University, Indiana, where he received a master's degree in 1950. In 1951 Mr. ... entered the Columbia University in New York for post-graduate study. He is still being obstructed from making his departure for home.

Mr. ... and wife Mrs. ....

Mr. and Mrs. ... went to the U.S. in 1946 and 1948 respectively. Mr. ... was a post-graduate at the University of Chicago where he received a doctor's degree in Physics in 1952 and is now engaged at an Observatory. Mrs. ... also received a doctor's degree in Mathematics at the University of Chicago. Their return is being

obstructed by the U.S. Immigration Service and last year the U.S. Government even prevented Dr. ... from attending a gathering of the International Astronomical Union in Ireland where he had been invited to present his thesis.

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1956年6月8日

....

1948年赴美，在費城兵夕法尼亞大學學法，1951年9月返國行經夏威夷为美國移民局扣留押回，迄今未能返回。

....

1949年赴美，在加利福尼亞大學學微生物學，原定次年返國，后曾數度申請回國，均受阻撓，迄今未能回來。

....

1949年赴美，在印第安納州普渡大學學土木工程，1950年得碩士學位，1951年轉入紐約哥倫比亞大學研究，迄今仍受阻不能回來。

....

... 夫妇分別於1946年和1948年赴美，入芝加哥大學当研究生，1952年得物理學博士學位，現在一天文台工作。此在芝加哥大學得數學博士學位。他們受美國移民局阻撓不能回國。甚至去年國际天文學会在夏尔圖开会邀范去作报告也遭美國政府阻撓不能前往。

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 660

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Guidance ~~for~~ June 21 meeting.

1. Continue your efforts obtain maximum psychological advantage from our pending initiative on offer to Chinese prisoners of repatriation and on Indian visits to verify this and freedom of choice. You are given discretion in determining how you will exploit absurd position Wang took at last meeting in objecting ~~to~~ Indian Embassy performance its role, and in demanding unconditional release ~~of~~ Chinese criminals. Although we believe it is psychologically too early ~~to~~ apply renewed high pressure to Chinese Communists on implementation, especially in view release Clifford and Phillips last week, we do not believe we can afford fail ~~to~~ take note ~~of~~ ridiculous situation in which Wang has placed himself. It may be possible to capitalize on it at least to limited extent without forcing Communists into more rigid position on American prisoners. Also point out ~~that~~ 17 additional Chinese from US have returned to mainland since May 23. Total ~~of~~ 177 since August 1.

2. FYI Indian Embassy has informed Department by letter today ~~that~~ it will have to await instructions from New Delhi before it can accept our

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Drafted by: E:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 6/19/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances

L - Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)

WPMc 640

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JUN 19 1956

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invitation ~~to~~ visit prisoners. This possibly foreshadows Indian refusal ~~to~~ make visits, resulting from ~~FREELY~~ Chinese Communist request ~~that~~ Indians abstain. Rejection our invitation would be embarrassing for Ambassador Mehta, who expressed gratification when we made decision. Department officer will probably call on prisoners alone if Indians refuse participate. This would seem best expedient open to us but from public relations standpoint it would not be as good as Indian visits.

3. If you consider it advisable, you may inform Wang ~~that~~ two of Chinese prisoners named in list which we gave to Indian Embassy (FYI Nos. 15 and 27 on list) have recently been released from prison on expiration of terms, and ~~that~~ Indian Embassy informed. Coincidental that these two men were released about same time Clifford and Phillips released. Endeavor avoid any implication ~~of~~ relationship. FYI Five more Chinese prisoners will become eligible for parole next two months. ~~END FYI~~

4. FYI Chinese Embassy here ~~is~~ pressing us hard for permission ~~for~~ its consuls ~~to~~ visit Chinese prisoners immediately. We have informed Embassy we acknowledge its rights ~~to~~ visit prisoners for legitimate purposes and ~~that~~ we will assist if satisfactory reason shown. In light ~~of~~ GRC refusal ~~to~~ accept prisoners on release, obvious GRC intention ~~to~~ pressure prisoners not to depart hardly seems sound grounds for visit. Prisoners already aware from our circular letter ~~of~~ June 13 ~~that~~ they need not depart for either destination if they do not want to. END FYI

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5. Hold your ground on renunciation question. You may invite Wang ~~to~~ reply in ~~this~~ meeting to ~~this~~ points made in our press release. We particularly would like ~~to~~ have his explanation of ~~this~~ reasons why he can not accept the slight additions to his December 1 draft.

Dulles

DULLES

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Control: 13507
Rec'd: JUNE 22, 1956
7:27 A.M.

Action Assigned to
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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2103, JUNE 20, 7 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 51ST TODAY WITH PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. BEFORE DO ANYTHING ELSE MORNING, THINK WE HAVE MISUNDERSTANDING CLEAR UP. VIEW YOUR SURPRISING STATEMENTS LAST MEETING, FEEL NECESSARY EXPLAIN ONCE MORE, AS CLEARLY CAN, ACTION MY GOVERNMENT INTENDS TAKE REGARD ALIEN CHINESE PRISON MY COUNTRY.

B. LET ME START WITH SITUATION ANY INDIVIDUAL CHINESE PRISONER BEFORE MY GOVERNMENT DECIDED APPLY SUCH CASES PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. LIKE ANY OTHER CONVICTED CRIMINAL MY COUNTRY, HE SERVING SENTENCE FAIRLY OPENLY HANDED DOWN IN COURT OF LAW. LIKE ANY OTHER CRIMINAL, HE RECEIVED FAIR LENIENT TREATMENT AS MATTER COURSE. LIKE ANY OTHER CRIMINAL, HE COULD NORMALLY LOOK FORWARD BEING RELEASED, OR PAROLED, WELL ADVANCE FULL TERM SENTENCE; THIS BEING ACCORDANCE STANDARD PRACTICE MY COUNTRY PAROLING PRISONERS GOOD BEHAVIOR. AS FAR AS RETURN YOUR COUNTRY CONCERNED, ANY SUCH CHINESE PRISONER WAS ENTIRELY FREE DO SO, AFTER RELEASE. THIS WAS SITUATION ALIEN CHINESE PRISONER MY COUNTRY BEFORE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT EVEN THOUGHT OF.

C. ABOUT DECEMBER LAST YEAR, YOU BEGAN MAKE ISSUE CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY. WITHOUT CITING SPECIFIC CASES, YOU ALLEGED MY COUNTRY VIOLATING PROVISIONS ANNOUNCEMENT RESPECT SUCH PRISONERS. IN MARCH, YOUR GOVERNMENT EVEN WENT FAR AS MAKE IMPLICATION IN PUBLIC STATEMENT, IN SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS YOU BECAME MORE AND MORE EXPLICITY ASSERTING CHINESE PRISONERS

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MY COUNTRY COVERED BY ANNOUNCEMENT.

D. I RECALLED YOUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS REASONS WHY ANNOUNCEMENT, LIGHT OUR DISCUSSIONS LAST AUGUST SEPTEMBER LEADING UP ITS ISSUANCE, OBVIOUSLY WAS NOT INTENDED APPLY ORDINARY CRIMINALS SERVING SENTENCES MY COUNTRY. HOWEVER, CONTROVERSY THIS QUESTION NOW BESIDE POINT. POINT IS YOU DEMANDED APPLICATION ANNOUNCEMENT CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY. POINT IS, YOU WERE USING THIS DEMAND BASIS CHARGING US VIOLATION ANNOUNCEMENT. ORDER REMOVE ANY POSSIBLE BASIS SUCH CHARGES, MY GOVERNMENT DECIDED APPLY PROVISIONS ANNOUNCEMENT EVERY ALIEN CHINESE PRISONER US. MY GOVERNMENT, THAT IS TO SAY, DECIDED TAKE MEASURES, FIRSTLY, MAKING IT POSSIBLE EACH SUCH PRISONER DESIRING DO SO RETURN HIS COUNTRY EXPEDITIOUSLY.

E. AT LAST MEETING YOU APPEARED OBJECT MY GOVERNMENT'S TAKING THESE MEASURES, INSISTING INSTEAD EACH PRISONER BE REQUIRED FINISH TERM PRISON, AND ONLY AFTER FINISHING TERM OR BEING PAROLED, BE ALLOWED RETURN HIS HOMELAND. AS HAVE SAID, THIS ALWAYS BEEN POLICY MY COUNTRY RESPECT CHINESE - OR FOR THAT MATTER ANY ALIEN PRISONERS. IF WORDS ANNOUNCEMENT ARE HAVE ANY MEANING AT ALL AS APPLIED PRISONERS, THEY SHOULD OBVIOUSLY MEAN ANY PRISONER DESIRING RETURN CAN DO SO PROMPTLY, WITHOUT WAITING EXPIRATION SENTENCE OR COMPLETION NORMAL PAROLE PROCEDURES.

F. SECONDLY MY GOVERNMENT DECIDED TAKE MEASURES ACCORDANCE WITH AND EVEN GOING BEYOND LETTER ANNOUNCEMENT RESPECT THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT. ORDER SHOULD BE NO QUESTION BY ANYONE BYT THAT EACH ALIEN CHINESE PRISONER US HAD BEEN FULLY INFORMED HIS OPPORTUNITY CHOOSE PROMPT DEPORTATION YOUR COUNTRY, MY GOVERNMENT'S AUTHORITIES NOT ONLY INFORMED EACH PRISONER INDIVIDUALLY THIS OPPORTUNITY; IT ALSO OFFERED LET REPRESENTATIVES INDIAN EMBASSY INTERVIEW EACH PRISONER ORDER CONFIRM HIS FREE CHOICE.

G. AT LAST MEETING YOUR REJECTION THIS PROPOSITION PARTICULARLY VEHEMENT AND ESPECIALLY DIFFICULT FOR ME UNDERSTAND. THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT NOT ONLY PART ANNOUNCEMENT, BUT ORIGINALLY

SUGGESTED BY YOU. INDIAN EMBASSY NOT ONLY DESIGNATED IN ANNOUNCEMENT PERFORM FUNCTIONS MENTIONED THEREIN IN US BUT THIS DESIGNATION ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED BY YOU.

H. IN FACT, IF DIDN'T UTTERLY FAIL COMPREHEND YOUR REMARKS LAST MEETING, LEFT WITH CONCLUSION YOU OBJECTING MY GOVERNMENT'S APPLICATION ANY OR ALL PROVISIONS ANNOUNCEMENT CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY. YOU OBJECT MEASURES DESIGNED PERMIT THEIR EXPEDITIOUS RETURN YOUR COUNTRY; YOU OBJECT THEIR BEING ASSURED ACCESS THIRD PARTY. IN SHORT, YOU APPARENTLY WANT MY GOVERNMENT CONTINUE TREAT THEM EXACTLY AS IT TREATED THEM EVEN BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT EVER THOUGHT OF

GOWEN

CES

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2103, JUNE 20, 7 P.M. (SECTION 2 OF 5)

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1. FIND GREAT DIFFICULTY RECONCILING THIS APPARENT POSITION WITH YOUR PREVIOUS DEMANDS ANNOUNCEMENT BE APPLIED PRISONERS MY COUNTRY. HOPE YOU CAN CLEAR THIS UP FOR ME THIS MORNING.

2. WANG NOTED MY REMARKS ON CHINESE NATIONALS PRISON US CONTAINED SEVERAL DELIBERATE DISTORTIONS WELL AS NUMBER OUT-RIGHT SOPHISTRIES. HE COULD NOT AGREE THESE REMARKS. THEY HAD ALWAYS CONSIDERED ANNOUNCEMENT COVERED RETURN CHINESE STUDENTS, OTHER CHINESE NATIONALS, WELL AS CHINESE IMPRISONED US. MY CLAIM AGREEMENT ONLY COVERED PART NATIONALS NOT CONFORMITY ACTUAL FACT.

3. WANG SAID WE HAD VERY CLEAR UNDERSTANDING ON QUESTION HOW NATIONALS WOULD EXERCISE RIGHT RETURN RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. WHAT THEY ASKED WAS BOTH SIDES CARRY OUT AGREEMENT FAITHFULLY AND NOT OFFER ANY OBSTRUCTION. THEIR SIDE HAS PRECISELY CARRIED OUT AGREEMENT. IT THEIR CONSISTENT POLICY ADOPT MEASURES ON THEIR OWN IN ACCORDANCE THEIR LAW IN SETTLING QUESTION RETURN AMERICAN NATIONALS CHINA. MATTER FACT SINCE TALKS BEGAN, OF 40 AMERICAN OFFENDERS 29 ALREADY EXERCISED RIGHT RETURN, AS RESULT MEASURES ADOPTED GOVERNMENT, MAJORITY AMERICAN PRISONERS CHINA ALREADY EXERCISED RIGHT RETURN.

4. WANG SAID ON THEIR HAND THEY ALWAYS BEEN CONCERNED WITH CHINESE IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY. THEY RAISED QUESTION CHINESE PRISONERS FAR BACK AS LAST DECEMBER BUT I FOR LONG TIME GAVE NO ACCOUNTING. THAT WAS IN PAST CAUSE GREAT DISSATISFACTION THEIR PART. NEVERTHELESS, WANG HAD EXPRESSED APPRECIATION LAST MEETING ON LEARNING OF ACTION MY GOVERNMENT HANDING OVER NAMES CHINESE PRISONERS INDIAN EMBASSY. ALTHOUGH IN MAKING REMARK HE POINTED OUT LIST NOT COMPLETE, AND ALSO STATED HE COULD NOT AGREE WITH ARBITRARY CHARACTERIZATION BY MY SIDE OF AMERICAN

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PRISONERS CHINA AS POLITICAL PRISONERS WHILE CHINESE IMPRISONED US COMMON CRIMINALS.

5. WANG COULD ONLY CONSIDER AS ARBITRARY MY ASSERTION HE HAD AGREED PRISONERS SHOULD NOT BE EXPEDITIOUSLY RETURNED BUT SHOULD FINISH TERMS SENTENCES. HE STRONGLY REJECTED THIS REMARK.

6. WANG SAID WHAT THEY OBJECTED TO WAS MEANS ADOPTED MY GOVERNMENT BRING INDIAN EMBASSY INTO SCREENING CHINESE PRISONERS. CHINESE IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY HAD GREAT DIFFICULTY EXPRESSING FREE WILL WHILE IN OUR JAILS. COULD EXPRESS FREE WILL ONLY AFTER MY GOVERNMENT TAKEN MEASURES ON OWN LEADING TO RELEASE FROM PRISON. THAT WHY HE REQUESTED AT LAST MEETING MY GOVERNMENT ADOPT MEASURES ON OWN REGARD CHINESE PRISONERS IN ORDER THESE PRISONERS MAY BE SET FREE AND AFTER RELEASE THAT NO OBSTRUCTION BE PLACED IN WAY THEIR RETURN. HOWEVER, IN MY OPENING WANG FOUND NO INDICATION MY GOVERNMENT PREPARED TAKE SUCH MEASURES. I HAD ONLY REPEATED EMPTY REMARKS THAT IF SOME PERSON DESIRED DO SO HE ABLE RETURN, IF WE GOING BE SATISFIED WITH EMPTY REMARKS THAT EITHER CHINESE NATIONALS WHO NOT COMMITED OFFENSES, OR CHINESE WHO HAD COMMITED OFFENSES COULD RETURN IF THEY DESIRED, AND MY GOVERNMENT NOT PREPARED ADOPT MEASURES ON ITS OWN CREATE CONDITIONS SO THESE PEOPLE COULD ACTUALLY RETURN HE COULD ONLY CONSIDER ALL MY PROMISES AND REMARKS EMPTY.

7. WANG SAID IT QUITE TRUE INDIAN EMBASSY BEEN ENTRUSTED BY WANGS GOVERNMENT TAKE CARE INTERESTS THEIR NATIONALS MY COUNTRY. INDIAN EMBASSY ASKED MY GOVERNMENT PROVIDE COMPLETE LOST CHINESE NATIONALS MY COUNTRY TO ENABLE EMBASSY CHECK WHETHER THOSE CHINESE DESIRED RETURN. HOWEVER, MY GOVERNMENT REFUSED.

INDIAN EMBASSY REQUESTED MY GOVERNMENT MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT CLARIFYING QUESTION TAIWAN ENTRY. MY GOVERNMENT DID NOT COMPLY THIS REQUEST. PRESENT QUESTION IS WHETHER US GOVERNMENT WILL ACCORD EVERY FACILITY INDIAN EMBASSY TO EXPEDITE PERFORMANCE ITS FUNCTIONS. HOWEVER, THEY COULD NOT AGREE TO INDIAN EMBASSY'S BEING LED INTO DAMAGING TRAP.

8. WANG SAID THEY STILL AS ALWAYS CONCERNED OVER SITUATION

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CHINESE NATIONALS MY COUNTRY INCLUDING IMPRISONED. HOWEVER, QUESTION THEIR RETURN DEPENDED ON MY GOVERNMENT'S ADOPTING MEASURES ENABLING THEM. THEY COULD NOT CONSIDER SATISFACTORY MY GOVERNMENT'S SIMPLY MAKING REMARKS THAT SOMEBODY COULD RETURN WITHOUT ADOPTING MEASURES ON OWN ENABLE THEM.

9. WANG SAID THANKS TO MEASURES TAKEN HIS GOVERNMENT ON ITS OWN MAJORITY AMERICAN NATIONALS THEIR COUNTRY RETURNED.

WHAT CORRESPONDING MEASURES WAS MY GOVERNMENT PREPARED ADOPT?

GOWEN

GSB

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 6/22/56 12:20PM. EMB(CWO)

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Control: 13526 1
Rec'd: JUNE 22, 1956
Date of Action 8:07 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol ____

Name of Officer ____

NO: 2103, JUNE 20, 7 PM (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

Direction to DC/R ____

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10. I SAID WANG HAD SPOKEN OF INDIAN EMBASSY BEING LED INTO WHAT HE TERMED DAMAGING TRAP. I SURE, I DIDN'T UNDERSTAND WHAT WANG HAD IN MIND. HAD TRIED EXPLAIN HONESTLY AND STRAIGHT FORWARDLY AS COULD EXACTLY WHAT WE DOING. CERTAINLY NO TRAP OR TRICK OUR PART INTENDED OR EVEN POSSIBLE. OUR WHOLE THOUGHT IN INVITING INDIAN EMBASSY PARTICIPATE IN MEASURES WAS TO GIVE THEM EVERY ASSURANCE THESE MEASURES BEING HONESTLY CARRIED OUT.

11. I SAID WE HAD CONFIDENCE INTEGRITY GOOD FAITH INDIAN EMBASSY AND ITS REPRESENTATIVES. AS HE SUGGESTED THEY ASSUME THIRD POWER ROLE IN US, I HAD ASSUMED HIS GOVERNMENT ALSO FELT SAME WAY ABOUT THEM.

12. I ASKED WANG LET ME MAKE THIS SIMPLE AS COULD. AS POINTED OUT THIS MORNING CHINESE ALIEN PRISON MY COUNTRY, SAME ANY OTHER ALIEN OR AMERICAN FOR THAT MATTER, COULD ALWAYS EXPECT LENIENT CONSIDERATE TREATMENT AND IN NORMAL COURSE EVENTS COULD EXPECT RELEASE PRIOR EXPIRATION SENTENCE. WHEN HE COMPLETED SENTENCE COULD, SAME ANY OTHER ALIEN, LEAVE US FOR ANY DESTINATION HIS CHOICE. THAT PERFECTLY NORMAL SITUATION CHINESE ALIENS EVEN BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT. ANNOUNCEMENT STATES RESPECTIVE NATIONALS DESIRING RETURN SHALL BE ENABLED EXPEDITIOUSLY DO SO. IF THAT TO HAVE MEANING FOR PRISONERS CERTAINLY COULD NOT LEAVE THEM IN SAME SITUATION EXISTING PRIOR ITS ISSUANCE, ELSE WHAT POINT ISSUING?

13. I SAID HAD EXPLAINED WE NOW APPLIED OUR INTERPRETATION ANNOUNCEMENT ALIEN CHINESE PRISONERS US. WE APPLIED PLAIN WORDS ANNOUNCEMENT. UNDER ANNOUNCEMENT THERE TWO FACTORS INVOLVED. FIRST WAS WHETHER OR NOT PERSON DESIRED RETURN. SECOND WHETHER NOT HE ABLE EXPEDITIOUSLY. FAR AS CHINESE US CONCERNED WHO NOT PRISON MEASURES LONG AGO TAKEN PERMIT ANY ALL THEM

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RETURN WHO DESIRE. AS I MANY TIMES EXPLAINED HERE THEY DID NOT HAVE TO EXPRESS DESIRE. DID NOT HAVE TO APPLY ANYONE. ALL HAD TO DO WAS GO. THEY THUS ABLE FREELY INDICATE DESIRE BY ACTS.

14. I SAID SITUATION PRISONERS ADMITTEDLY LITTLE DIFFERENT. HOW CTULD PRISONER DEFINITIVELY EXPRESS DESIRE? WE HAD HAD NO EVIDENCE OR INDICATION ANY THEM DID DESIRE. HOWEVER, IN ORDER THERE BE NO POSSIBLE DOUBT PRISONER UNDERSTOOD CHOICES FREELY OPEN HIM I HAD EXPLAINED WANG MEASURES WE TAKING INFORM PRISONERS THOSE CHOICES. PRISONER'S CHOICE WAS TO LOOK FORWARD EARLY RELEASE PRIOR FINISHING SENTENCE IN NORMAL COURSE EVENTS ON COMMUTATION SENTENCE, PAROLE, TIME OFF GOOD BEHAVIOR.

15. I SAID AS MATTER FACT MIGHT INCIDENTALLY MENTION SINCE LIST PRISONERS GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY TWO PRISONERS MENTIONED THEREIN ALREADY THUS BEEN RELEASED NORMAL COURSE EVENTS.

16. I CONTINUED IF ON OTHER HAND PRISONER DESIRED RATHER RETURN IMMEDIATELY WANG'S COUNTRY HE ALSO FREE DO SO. CHOICE WAS DID PRISONER DESIRE AWAIT RELEASE NORMAL COURSE EVENTS OR DID HE DESIRE IMMEDIATELY RETURN WANG'S COUNTRY? IT VERY SIMPLE STRAIGHT FORWARD CHOICE. WE COULD INDEPENDENTLY PUT CHOICE EACH PRISONER OURSELVES AND ACT ACCORDANCE WHAT HE TOLD US. HOWEVER, TO GIVE WANG FURTHER ASSURANCES OUR GOOD FAITH, WE INVITED INDIAN EMBASSY PARTICIPATE IN ORDER IT COULD DETERMINE FOR SELF WISHES OF PRISONER.

17. I SAID WANG HAD SPOKEN OF SCREENING . DID NOT KNOW EXACTLY WHAT HE MEANT OR HAD IN MIND THIS REGARD. I NEVER THOUGHT OF IT THESE TERMS AT ALL. I THOUGHT OF IT ONLY IN TERMS INDIAN EMBASSY BEING ABLE SATISFY SELF EACH PRISONER FREELY MADE OWN CHOICE.

18. I SAID WANG HAD SPOKEN GREAT DIFFICULTY OF PRISONERS EXPRESSING FREE WILL. FRANKLY DIDN'T SEE WHAT DIFFICULTY PRISONER HAD VERY SIMPLE DECISION. ABLE STATE DECISION PRESENCE REPRESENTATIVE THIRD POWER. THUS FIRST QUESTION AS I POINTED OUT WAS WHETHER MAN DESIRED RETURN. THESE WERE MEASURES WE HAD TAKEN DETERMINE AND CONFIRM THAT DESIRE. HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD WANG IS PRISONER DID DESIRE RETURN ACTION WOULD PROMPTLY

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BE TAKE PERMIT HIM. FURTHER ACTION THIS MATTER AWAITED REPLY INDIAN EMBASSY OUR INVITATION.

19. I SAID WANG ALSO ASSERTED LIST PRISONERS GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY NOT COMPLETE. DID NOT KNOW ON WHAT HE BASED ASSERTION, BUT COULD ASSURE HIM NOT CORRECT.

20. WANG WAS SURE HAD MADE POINTS QUITE CLEAR BOTH LAST MEETING AND MORNING AND DID NOT THINK NECESSARY MAKE FURTHER EXPLANATIONS. AS HE HAD SAID ALTHOUGH LIST HANDED OVER BY MY GOVERNMENT INCOMPLETE THEY STILL APPRECIATED THAT ACTION MY GOVERNMENT. WOULD NOT AGREE US INVITING INDIAN GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATE SCREENING CHINESE PRISONERS. IF MY GOVERNMENT HAD TRUE DESIRE FULLY CARRY OUT AGREEMENT AND ASSIST INDIAN EMBASSY PERFORMANCE ITS FUNCTIONS REGARDING RETURN CHINESE WHY WAS IT MY GOVERNMENT SO FAR REFUSED GIVE COMPLETE LIST CHINESE NATIONALS US SO COULD MAKE CHECK DETERMINE WHETHER NATIONALS DESIRED RETURN?

GOWEN

VMM

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 6/22/56 12:20PM. EMB(CWO)

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31

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Action Taken

1/6

Action

FE

Control: 13525

Rec'd: JUNE 22, 1956

Date of Action: 8:11 A.M.

Info

RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2103, JUNE 20, 7 P.M. (SECTION 4 OF 5)

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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21. WANG SAID IT MATTER COMMON SENSE NOBODY LIKED STAYING IN JAIL. IT ALSO MATTER COURSE EVERY PERSON IN PRISON DESIRED EARLY RELEASE. IF CHINESE PRISONERS ALLOWED EARLY RELEASE AND FREELY RETURN, HE WOULD BE ONLY TOO GLAD RECEIVE THAT INFORMATION. HOWEVER, WHETHER PRISONERS COULD DO SO DEPENDED ON MEASURES ADOPTED MY GOVERNMENT THEIR CASES. WANG HAD NOTHING FURTHER THIS MATTER MORNING.

22. I CONTINUED BE PUZZLED WANG'S ATTITUDE. HE CONTINUED SPEAK LIST ALL CHINESE US BEING GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY SO COULD CHECK THEIR DESIRE RETURN. REGARDING THOSE NOT PRISON NO SUCH CHECK NECESSARY. ALL THEY HAD DO WAS RETURN. WE GAVE INDIAN EMBASSY LIST THOSE IN PRISON SO COULD CHECK ON WHETHER THEY DESIRED RETURN. YET WANG SAID DID NOT WANT INDIAN EMBASSY MAKE SUCH CHECK. FOUND THIS IMPOSSIBLE UNDERSTAND.

23. WANG SAID THIS VERY SIMPLE. OBSTRUCTIVE MEASURES MY GOVERNMENT IN PAST HAD LEFT FEELING OF TERROR IN MINDS CHINESE US. THEY ASKED FOR COMPLETE LIST CHINESE NATIONALS SIMPLY BECAUSE MANY CHINESE STILL NOT INFORMED ABOUT ANNOUNCEMENT. THAT MADE CHECK NECESSARY AND DESIRABLE.

24. I SAID IT CERTAINLY STRANGE IF ANY CHINESE US FELT WHAT WANG CALLED TERROR ABOUT DEPARTING US, THAT AT LEAST ONE SUCH CASE NOT COME TO ATTENTION INDIAN EMBASSY AND THAT INDIAN EMBASSY NOT CALLED IT OUR ATTENTION.

25. I SAID NOT ONLY HAD THERE NOT BEEN SINGLE SUCH CASE BUT CHINESE CONTINUED FREELY DEPART US RETURN HIS COUNTRY. SINCE LAST INFORMATION THIS POINT I KNEW DEFINITELY

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OF 17 ADDITIONAL WHO RETURNED WANG'S COUNTRY MAKING TOTAL 177 DEFINITELY KNOWN SINCE AUGUST 1 LAST YEAR. ALL THIS CERTAINLY DID NOT INDICATE ANY OBSTRUCTION OR SO-CALLED TERROR PART CHINESE MY COUNTRY RETURNING WANG'S COUNTRY IF THEY DESIRED DO SO. ACCORDING PUBLIC STATEMENTS MADE BY INDIAN EMBASSY SOME CHINESE MY COUNTRY HAD COMMUNICATED WITH IT CONCERNING VARIOUS MATTERS. TO BEST MY KNOWLEDGE NONE THESE COMMUNICATIONS HAD INVOLVED ALLEGED OBSTRUCTION.

26. WANG SAID FACT INDIAN EMBASSY NOT YET RAISED INSTANCE OBSTRUCTION DID NOT MEAN ACTUALLY NO OBSTRUCTION PART MY GOVERNMENT . HE HAD GIVEN ME NAMES 55 PERSONS WHO OBSTRUCTED. FIFTY-THREE THEM NOT YET RETURNED. AMONG 103 PERSONS WHOSE NAMES I GAVE HIM PREVIOUSLY 28 STILL NOT RETURNED. SUCH WERE FACTS.

27. IT SEEMED TO ME EVEN WANG'S OWN STATEMENTS SIMPLY SUBSTANTIATED FACT CHINESE STEADILY RETURNING, IF ANY THEM FELT OBSTRUCTED THEY ENTIRELY FREE COMMUNICATE INDIAN EMBASSY.

28. WANG SAID IF I HAD NO FURTHER REMARKS THIS PROBLEM HE WOULD LIKE SPEAK ON PROPER QUESTION.

29. WANG CONTINUED FROM PREPARED STATEMENT MY GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT JUNE 12 CALLED FOR FOLLOWING COMMENTS. IN STATEMENT MY GOVERNMENT STATED MY SIDE HAD ADOPTED DRAFT PROPOSED BY WANG DECEMBER 1 EXCEPT FOR TWO REVISIONS AND WANG'S SIDE NOT ONLY REJECTED OWN DRAFT BUT ADVANCED NEW CONDITIONS. MUST BE POINTED OUT ALTHOUGH IN OUTWARD APPEARANCE WE MADE ONLY TWO REVISIONS THESE TWO REVISIONS CAUSED QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN DRAFT. THIS AGAIN PROVED SO FAR THERE NOT BEEN SLIGHTEST CHANGE IN STUBBORN PERSISTENCE MY SIDE CALCULATED FREEZE PRESENT STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA AND REFUSE NEGOTIATE TO IMPROVE SITUATION.

30. WANG SAID SECOND PARAGRAPH MY APRIL 19 STILL RETAINED AMBIGUOUS WORDS ABOUT NOT RESORTING THREAT USE FORCE TAIWAN AREA ELSEWHERE, WHILE FAILING MAKE SPECIFIC PROVISION ON

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HOLDING SIN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOREIGN MINISTERS. APPARENT AIM MY SIDE DOING SO WAS REQUIRE THEM ACCEPT PRESENT STATE MY COUNTRY'S OCCUPATION TAIWAN INTERVENTION LIBERATION BY CHINA ITS COASTAL ISLANDS WHILE INDEFINITELY PROTRACTING TALKS.

31. WANG SAID IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS HE ALREADY MADE QUITE CLEAR POSITION THEIR SIDE WAS EITHER WE AGREE GENERAL STATEMENT ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES CHINA-US WITHOUT RESORTING USE FORCE OR IF IT DESIRED MENTION TAIWAN AREA SPECIFICALLY STATEMENT MUST ALSO PROVIDE HOLDING SIN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOREIGN MINISTERS. THEIR MAY 11 PROVIDED FOR SEEKING ASCERTAINING PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS INCLUDING HOLDING SINO- AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOREIGN MINISTERS WITHIN PRESCRIBED TIME FOR SETTLEMENT SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTES. IT THUS TOOK FULL ACCOUNT VIEWS MY SIDE AND DID SO WITH VIEW REACHING AGREEMENT ACCEPTABLE BOTH. THIS REPRESENTED STEP FORWARD AND COULD NOT BE CALLED RETROGRESSION, HOWEVER DISTORTED.

GOWEN

GSB

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office (FE) notified 6/22/56 12:20 PM.EMB(CWO)

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Action Assigned to
Control: 13558
Rec'd: JUNE 22, 1956
8:13 A.M.
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 2103, JUNE 20, 7 P.M. (SECTION 5 OF 5)

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32. WANG SAID ADDITION OF PHRASE "WITHOUT PREJUDICE PURSUIT, ETC. OR INHERENT RIGHT, ETC." TO PREAMBLE MY APRIL 19 WOULD MEAN THAT ON CHINA'S TERRITORY TAIWAN WELL AS ANY OTHER AREA WHERE US INTENDED CARRY OUT ITS AGRESSION US COULD CONTINUE ITS POLICY AGRESSION AND WOULD HAVE SO-CALLED RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE WHILE DOING SO. HE MUST SERIOUSLY STATE ON CHINA'S TERRITORY THERE NO ROOM TALK ABOUT SO-CALLED AMERICAN RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE NOR COULD RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE BE PERMITTED IN ANY WAY JUSTIFY POLICY AGGRESSION. THEIR MAY 11 SET FORTH PRINCIPAL MUTUAL RESPECT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY SOVERIGNTY NON-INTERFERENCE INTERNAL AFFAIRS, WHICH REASONABLE AND CONFORMITY CHARTER UN. THERE NO POSSIBLE BASIS FOR US OBJECT THEM. HENCE HE CONSIDERED IF WE DESIRED REACH AGREEMENT ON ANNOUNCEMENT US SHOULD NOT TRY DISTORT MAY 11.

33. I SAID HE HAD SPOKEN OF WHAT HE TERMED MY "STUBBORN PERSISTENCE". WOULD FREELY ADMIT IT STUBBORN PERSISTENCE IN ATTEMPTING ASSURE OUR DIFFERENCES NOT LEAD WAR BUT SETTLED ONLY BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. WOULD ADMIT TO STUBBORN PERSISTENCE IN ATTEMPTING REACH AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION SAYING THIS UNAMBIGUOUSLY WITHOUT QUALIFICATION OR TIME LIMIT. WOULD ADMIT STUBBORN PERSISTENCE IN INSISTING SUCH DECLARATION CLEARLY APPLY TO WHAT WE BOTH AGREED WAS MOST SERIOUS DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA.

34. I SAID WANG'S STATEMENT MORNING WELL AS PREVIOUS STATEMENTS MADE CLEAR HE APPARENTLY DID NOT CONSIDER HIS DEI# 1 APPLIED DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. THIS ONE OF VERY AMBIGUITIES THAT DRAFT I ATTEMPTED CLEAR UP IN MY APRIL 19. IF THERE AGREEMENT WITH ME ON UNAMBIGUOUS UNQUALIFIED UNTIME-

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LIMITED DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION FORCE INCLUDING TAIWAN AREA WELL AS ELSEWHERE, WOULD BE NO GROUNDS FOR REJECTING MY APRIL 19. I REGRETTED HE NOT YET WILLING ACCEPT THIS SIMPLE STRAIGHT FORWARD PROPOSAL SO WE COULD RESUME PROGRESS TALKS.

35. WANG SAID ON HIS PART ALREADY MADE LARGE PROGRESS. PROGRESS WHILE DEPEND ON ATTITUDE US GOVERNMENT TOWARDS THIS ENTIRE PROBLEM. WANG HOPED AT NEXT MEETING I WOULD BE ABLE MAKE REMARKS FURTHERING PROGRESS.

36. I REPLIED I HAD NOTHING MORE MORNING. WANG SUGGESTED WE MEET THURSDAY 28. I AGREED.

GOWEN

GSB

AS RECEIVED.WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

NOTE: Mr. Waddell's office(FE) notified 6/22/56 12:20PM. EMB(CWO)

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1062

58

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
JUN 25 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WPM
WSJ

June 20, 1956

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 38

Dear Walter:

First, Ekvall has not heard anything concerning extention of his orders and his time is up on June 30. It is putting him in a difficult position with regard to extending the lease on his house, etc.

Next, I received the guidance for tomorrow's meeting this morning and appreciate it very much. I plan to open with implementation, attacking his position at the last meeting but in a fairly low key and see where it leads. Incidentally, with respect to renunciation I find that the correspondents here really do not understand what the fuss is all about. The American correspondents accept what we say on faith but really do not understand it and the foreign correspondents are more skeptical. One of the difficulties I find is that by emphasizing the "slightness" of our April 19 changes to their December 1 draft the question is raised as to why then their December 1 draft, if not ideal, is nevertheless not acceptable. They follow our explanations but one can see that they are not really very convinced.

Yesterday I encountered Wang at the airport in Prague on our way down, he having come in from Warsaw. I missed seeing him when I first came in the waiting room as he was sitting in the corner all alone but he came across the room to speak to me. He made a point of asking me about the President's health, expressed gratification that

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

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Lot 72 D 415

SECRET

he was getting along well. Incidentally, as in the past Czech officials made a point of taking me out to the plane ahead of the other passengers, leaving him to fend for himself.

In Zurich while waiting to change planes we talked at some length in English at which he is obviously improving. I commented on the new horizontal, left to right style of the magazine he was reading which led us to some discussion of the language simplification program. He said they planned definitely to reorganize the language using an alphabet of twenty-seven letters which will be Roman and not Cyrillic. He volunteered that he asked to postpone the next meeting because he wanted to be in Warsaw for the visit of the Indian Vice President and the opening of a trade fair in Poland in which they had a large exhibit. He commented that there was also a large exhibit of American books at the trade fair. He said his wife spends most of her time in Warsaw and that they have four children. We engaged in a little mutual commiseration on the problems of educating children in the diplomatic service. The usual afternoon rush at the Zurich airport led him to comment on the opening of the tourist season in Europe. I told him that it was expected 550,000 Americans would visit Europe this summer, to which he commented that was a very fine thing as such visits would lead to increased understanding of other people. He said that he had difficulty in getting back to Warsaw between our meetings as on the return trip there was a six-hour layover at Prague and the weather was bad on the Warsaw-Prague leg. He was as usual outside the meeting room very affable and friendly. None of this has any particular significance, I know, but I thought you would be interested.

Incidentally, while I was gone the UN here called David and said that their space situation was going to be very tight during the ECOSOC meetings from July 9 through August 15 and wondered whether Wang and I had any plans for a vacation. David told them we had not and that he did not anticipate there would be any recess. There would not in any event be any recess of such a length although there was always the possibility of a week's recess as in the past. They said that in that event they might find it possible to avoid meeting during the week of July 9. David said of course he could make no commitment but that he had no objection to their saying something to the Chinese if they wished to do so and

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they indicated they were going to call the Chinese. There is, of course, also the problem of our meeting during the week of July 4. I am planning a major reception in Prague for the Fourth therefore would not want to meet here until the 6th or 7th. If we do that we might well skip the meeting of July 9 and meet next the week of July 16. I would appreciate any thoughts you may have on this.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. For your info I am submitting from here an efficiency report from here on Dave's work with me. I assume you will do one from your end on his work in C.A.

P.P.S.
I just saw in the paper the news of Jimmy Bilcher's accident. Sure a tragedy. Would appreciate anything you learn on how they are getting along & where I could write to them.

663

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712

33-B

Action FE

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CORRECTION ISSUED: 6/28/56, 1:15 p.m.

Control: 12827

Rec'd: June 21, 1956 10:46 a.m.

Action Assigned to Cafler

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Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R file

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FROM: Geneva - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2100, June 21, 3 p.m.

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FROM JOHNSON

One hour 55 minute meeting this morning, 1½ hours of which in implementation. I opened with statement pointing out absurdity his position last meeting on Chinese prisoners which in effect as demand we not apply agreed announcement such prisoners. His replies along same lines last meeting referring to "Indian Embassy being led into damaging trap" and PRC would "not agree to India participating in screening prisoners".

We cut short implementation discussion saying we wanted take up "proper" question of draft declaration. His mild prepared statement referred to Department's June 12 press release. Our so-called minor changes their December 1 draft actually brought about "qualitative change" showing continued US stubborn persistence "freezing present status quo Taiwan and refusing negotiation" on subject. Apparent US aim is requiring PRC accept present state US occupation Taiwan interference liberation off-shore islands while indefinitely protracting these talks. PRC position continued be declaration could consist either of general statement or peaceful settlement disputes without resorting threat use force, or if Taiwan area specifically mentioned FMC for specific settlement must also be proposed. If US desires agreement on announcement should not distort their May 11 draft.

I replied admitting to "stubborn persistence" in seeking unambiguous, unqualified, unlimited in time renunciation of force specifically applicable Taiwan area as well as elsewhere and stating their failure accept our April 19 revisions indicated they unwilling accept this simple straightforward proposition. His remarks this morning as well as previously indicated they did not consider their December 1 draft applicable Taiwan area. This one of points of ambiguity my April 19 draft intended clarify.

Next meeting Thursday June 8. Proceeding Prague Friday morning returning Geneva Tuesday.

GOWEN

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE ~~June 22, 1956~~
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☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

LETTER NO. 47

Dear Alex:

In reply to that portion of your letter of May 28 relating to employment of Ted Liu as a Chinese interpreter, there has been no definite decision yet to set up a position for a Chinese interpreter in the State Department. However, in view of Mr. Liu's qualifications, PER is looking into possibilities for placing him. Any decision may have to await approval of the FY 1957 budget, but Ralph Clough will be glad to see Mr. Liu if he decides to visit Washington.

With reference to the extention of Ekvall's assignment mentioned in your letter No. 37, Defense assured me this morning that they will see to it that Ekvall's assignment to you is continued. They have already set aside the funds and established the allotment and authorization for the new fiscal year, in the budget of the Army Attache at Paris. Defense says that the Army Attache at Paris is squawking at the long duration of Ekvall's detail to Geneva. The Paris Attache apparently was led to believed that he would get more benefit out of Ekvall's assignment to Paris (especially as to North African matters) than has proved possible. I don't know why the attache at Paris should be allowed to rock the boat

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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when it was clearly understood last year that the assignment to Paris was merely a device to get around some administrative problems, and that Ekvall's real responsibility was to you. Defense said it may be necessary to inquire again into the possibility of assigning Ekvall to Berne. In that event they want FE to try to get the active assistance of EUR in inducing the Swiss Government to agree to this. I told Defense I felt it would be preferable not to meddle with the existing arrangement. In any event the continued presence of Ekvall on your staff is assured and you should not lose any sleep over the administrative problem.

Enclosed is a copy of our letter to the Indian Embassy of June 18 and the Indian Embassy reply. You will see that the Indians are blowing very cool all of a sudden. I fear they have received the word from the Chinese Communists and do not intend to make any protest.

I doubt if we will make any reply to the "Observer" article in the "Peiping Daily" of June 21 replying to our press release of June 12. I suppose you have the full text of the "Observer" article. In case you don't, a copy is enclosed.

I will be writing you a short letter on substantive matters Monday morning, which should reach you in time for Thursday's meeting.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

PS: Krishna Menon had lunch privately at the Indian Embassy with Sherman Adams on June 19, but did not raise any topic connected with the Geneva talks or any other Chinese Communist question.

SECRET

Enclosures:

1. Copy of letter from British Consulate General Peiping re Bishop Walsh
2. Letter to Amb. Mehta from Mr. Robertson dated June 18, 1956.
3. Letter to Mr. Robertson from Amb. Mehta dated June 19, 1956.
4. Copy of "Observer" article in "~~Peiping~~ Peking Daily" of June 21, 1956.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
☐ Releasable if _____ concurs June 25, 1956
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☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/1/56

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 48

Dear Alex:

We have decided to put some pressure on the Indian Ambassador here to proceed with the prisoner interviews. We are calling him in some time today. We plan to hand him a letter signed by Mr. Robertson emphasizing the urgency of the matter in view of the fact that the prisoners were informed some time ago that they would shortly receive a visit. We shall also remind Mehta of the repeatedly expressed Indian interest in the question of Chinese prisoners in this country, and the gratification which Mehta expressed on May 31 when he was informed of our decision. We intend to indicate our belief that the Indians should proceed with the interviews regardless of any inexplicable shift which may have occurred in the attitude of the Chinese Communists. We will let him see that in our view the Indians have an obligation to us and to their own conscience, and that they should not unquestioningly play the Chinese Communist game in this matter against their better judgment. We have an added reason for moving rapidly on this, in that we find that we are on weak grounds in stalling off the GRC on its insistent request to interview the prisoners. Article VI of the Treaty of January 11, 1943 on the relinquishment of extraterritorial

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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rights in China (copy attached) gives the Chinese this right specifically with no conditions attached as to the purpose of the visit. The Chinese are really aroused over this whole question. It has posed some very acute problems for the new Ambassador Hollington Tong. He has done his best to placate Taipei but he feels that the rise of this issue just at the beginning of his Mission, has given him a bad start in Washington. In a letter of June 23 (copy attached) the Chinese indicate that they will take any of the prisoners who wish to go to Taiwan if no Indian representative, or representative of another third country is present, when the wishes of the criminals are ascertained. You will see that there are some possibilities of our getting some good out of the situation even if the Indians let us down. We will do all we can to exploit the position in any event. It has occurred to me that if we cannot use the Indians we might have a representative of the International Red Cross, or the American Red Cross to accompany our representative when the prisoners are interviewed. The International Red Cross would of course be preferable. We expect to send Ralph Clough to interview all the prisoners as the Department's representative.

You will be interested in a short item in Drew Pearson's column of June 24:

"Amb. Alex Johnson in Geneva has been instructed to keep talking to the Chinese Communists for another yearif necessary, to give the Far East crisis a chance to cool off. Johnson has been talking for almost a year already and he's now a bit impatient, wondering how much longer he had to listen to Red insults and demands for a meeting with Secretary Dulles. Back came a cable from the State Department last week, telling him to keep talking indefinitely, making no concessions."

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While this does not fully reflect your instructions of last week, it looks to me as if somebody who saw our guidance telegram talked to Pearson. In any event there is a basic leak somewhere and this sort of thing is highly mischievous. It is certain to come to the attention of the Chinese Communists and will probably be given a certain amount of credence by them.

The British Embassy informed us on Saturday that Fathers Clifford and Phillips have received orders from their superiors to leave. They are to take the SS Hamburg from Shanghai to Hong Kong sailing June 29. We are glad that they are leaving.

We have not been able to get anything from General Erskine's office this morning on Ekvall's orders. We believe that local interests of the Army Attache in Paris are the only stumbling block since he has all the necessary authorization and the money for Ekvall. It may have been cleared up already. We gave them a copy of your telegram of June 22. We shall continue to press the Pentagon on this until it is completely resolved.

There is no present disposition here for us to take the initiative on tabling any new formulation of the renunciation of force draft. Any change which might recommend itself to Wang would necessarily involve something of a substantive backdown and would imply even more than it literally conveyed. The disposition here is to stand on the April 19 draft.

There is nothing new on the Nehru visit. We have done a short briefing paper on the Geneva talks for the Nehru visit. [illegible] Copy will be forwarded.

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SECRET

We are pretty hard pressed with Ralph away on two weeks leave. He returns on Wednesday. Regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Copy of letter from Amb. Tong to Mr. Robertson dated June 23, 1956.
2. Copy of Article VI of the Treaty of Jan. 11, 1963.
3. ~~Copy paper prepared for Nehru visit.~~

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 666

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☒ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

714
13277
1956 JUN 25 PM 8 44

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2217

Origin
Info

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for June 28 meeting.

1. FYI Indian Ambassador wrote Department June 25 as follows: QUOTE Under the terms of the Agreed Announcement made at Geneva on September 10, 1955, this Embassy may make representations to the United States Government only if requested to do so by a Chinese who believes that he is encountering obstruction in departure to the People's Republic of China. Further, we are competent to investigate the facts in any such case, only if desired to do so by the People's Republic of China. This Embassy has received no authority from the People's Republic of China to interview the Chinese prisoners named in the list attached to your aide memoire of May 31. I regret, therefore, that we are unable to act in the manner requested in your two communications referred to above. I trust you will appreciate the position. UNQUOTE

You will note ~~XXXX~~ Indian Embassy letter carefully avoids any implication that Embassy will not act if requested ~~XX~~ do so by a Chinese. Department's tentative plan, if Indian Embassy will not visit prisons, is to offer each prisoner opportunity ~~XX~~ express decision as to whether he desires ~~XX~~ be deported to Communist China, or ~~XX~~ Taiwan ~~TAIPEI~~ or ~~XX~~ remain in prison and also, if he wishes

Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 6/26/56

Bureau of Intelligence and Research
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson
JUN 26 1956
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)

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to communicate with Indian Embassy. END FYI

2. You should seek exploit Wang's abrupt reversal of position on Chinese prisoners, but avoid giving Wang any clue as to action we propose take in light of Indian letter. Inquire of Wang how he proposes reconcile his sudden loss of interest in Chinese prisoners with his former insistence that Agreed Announcement applied to prisoners, that information be supplied concerning them and that they be given benefit provisions Agreed Announcement. Place on record your conclusion that his newly discovered objections to performance of any Indian Embassy function as to prisoners is totally at variance with his frequently reiterated previous position, and is inexplicable.

3. Results we seek from prisoner move remain the same: (1) put maximum psychological pressure on Chinese Communists make good on their Agreed Announcement and release imprisoned Americans, and (2) make Chinese Communists position untenable if they refuse to act. Hence we do not wish to provoke them to a point where reaction inimical to prospects imprisoned Americans would occur. At same time we cannot fail expose complete inconsistency of their position on prisoners. We note that last meeting Wang continued assert that Chinese prisoners coverdd by Agreed Announcement.

4. We have nothing new to add on renunciation of force and you should continue reiterate our position, stressing our attempts arrive at meaningful declaration by adopting their proposed language with clarifying additions.

5. FYI Would be interested in any reaction by Wang postponement of Nehru's scheduled July visit.

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6. Re your letter 38, no objection July 6 or 7 for next meeting. If UN space demands make meeting impracticable week of July 9, we would prefer responsibility for postponement until week of July 16 be shared with Wang.

Dulles

" DULLES "

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SECRET
Classification

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (667)

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☒ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
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VERBATIM TEXT

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 2218

715

13479
1956 JUN 27 PM 12 31
DC/T

Origin

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FOR JOHNSON

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Following reply to Indian Ambassador's letter June 25 being sent today:

QUOTE I acknowledge your letter of June 25 stating that your Government has instructed you that under the Agreed Announcement of September 10, 1955 the Embassy of India can act only in cases of Chinese who request it to do so and only if the Chinese Communists so desire. You further state that since you have no authorization from the Chinese Communists to visit the Chinese prisoners in this country you are unable to do so.

While the United States was of the view that the announcement did not apply to Chinese criminals in U. S. prisons, nevertheless in order not to furnish any basis for the further refusal of the Chinese Communists to permit Americans in China to return to the United States, it determined to make the necessary arrangement to permit such Chinese prisoners to return if they so desired.

The United States decision was made in the light of the insistent representations of Chinese Communist Ambassador Wang Ping-nan at Geneva, that the Agreed Announcement was applicable to Chinese prisoners and strongly criticizing

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/RNClough/bp/emm 6/27/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

S/S-CR
JUN 27 1956 P.M

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criticizing the U. S. for not permitting them ~~to~~ expeditiously to leave the U. S.

The decision of this Government was also taken in the light of inquiries from your Embassy as to whether Chinese prisoners had been informed of the Agreed Announcement, and in the light of informal requests from your Embassy for a list of Chinese prisoners.

Following a survey by the U. S. Government to identify all prisoners of Chinese nationality in U. S. Federal or State prisons and after advising your Embassy on May 31 of our plans, this Department on June 13 sent a letter to all the Chinese prisoners informing them that they would be visited for the purpose of ascertaining whether they elected to return to China. A copy of this letter was sent you on June 18. The prisoners now expect a visit pursuant to this statement.

We have assured the prisoners that we will give them free choice between the courses which have been presented to them. In order for this choice to be universally accepted as a free one, we believe it is important that the representatives stipulated in the Agreed Announcement, namely the Indian Government representative, visit the prisoners. This action would be in compliance with Section 2A of the Agreed Announcement.

It is earnestly hoped that you will seek on a priority basis a reconsideration of the decision of your Government.

I appreciate all that you have done to assist us with this difficult question. UNQUOTE

Dulles DULLES
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Control: 17330
Rec'd: JUNE 28, 1956
10:04 A.M.

Action Assigned to Cabin
Action Taken Noted
Date of Action
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Name of Officer Wonce
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2129, JUNE 28, 1 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO HOURS 35 MINUTES MEETING THIS MORNING, TWO HOURS OF WHICH ON RENUNCIATION. WANG MADE BRIEF OPENING STATEMENT TO EFFECT MAY 11 DRAFT WAS MAJOR EFFORT MEET OUR POINT VIEW AND IF US SINCERE WITT GIVE UP ATTEMPTS OBTAIN PRC AGREEMENT FREEZING STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA.

2. I MADE LONG EXTEMPORANEOUS REPLY POINT OUT REAL PROBLEM WAS LACK WILLINGNESS PRC TAKE FIRST FUNDAMENTAL STEP RENOUNCING FORCE INCLUDING TAIWAN AREA, CONTRASTING THIS WITH US POSITION. CHARACTERIZED THEIR POSITION AS ASKING MY GOVERNMENT AGREE TO NEGOTIATIONS UNDER VERY CLEAR AND CONTINUED THREAT THEIR PART RESORT FORCE IF NECESSARY. THIS ANACHRONISTIC POSITION WOULD NEVER BE ACCEPTED BY MY GOVERNMENT OR ANY OTHER SELF-RESPECTING GOVERNMENT. THEIR EQUATING RENUNCIATION FORCE WITH AGREEING TO MAINTENANCE STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA WAS DOCTRINE OF DESPAIR AND PESSIMISM IN EFFECT SAYING SOME DISPUTES COULD NOT BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY. FROM THIS LED BACK TO URGING ACCEPTANCE APRIL 19 DRAFT.

3. IN REPLY WANG RENEWED FAMILIAR CHARGES US OCCUPATION TAIWAN DISTINCTION BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC MATTERS, AND PARTICULARLY URGING "FIVE PRINCIPLES" FIRST PARAGRAPH MAY 11 DRAFT, PRC WILL NOT AGREE TO ANYTHING THAT WILL PERPETUATE SITUATION TAIWAN AREA. OUR TASK IS TO PUSH FORWARD PEACEFUL RESOLUTION TAIWAN AREA DISPUTE.

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4. RENUNCIATION ENDED ON THIS INCLONCLUSIVE NOTE WITH NO SLIGHTEST INDICATION ANY SHIFT POSITION BY WANG AND I ALSO AVOIDED ANY INDICATION POSSIBLE CHANGE.

5. HE OBVIOUSLY NOT DESIRING ANY IMPLEMENTATION DISCUSSION I MADE PREPARED STATEMENT ALONG LINES PARAGRAPH TWO DEPTEL 2217. I INTRODUCED SUBJECT REFERRING MY REMARK LAST MEETING FURTHER ACTION WAS AWAITING REPLY INDIAN EMBASSY AND REPLY NOW RECEIVED TO EFFECT PRC HAS NOT AGREED TO INDIAN EMBASSY INTERVIEWING PRISONERS. MADE NO OTHER STATEMENT REGARD INDIAN EMBASSY LETTER AND AVOIDED ANY STATEMENT THAT INDIAN EMBASSY HAD REFUSED ACT. WANG DENIED THEY HAD REVERSED THEIR POSITION AND AVOIDED ANY DIRECT REPLY RETREATING TO PREVIOUS COMPLAINTS OUR NOT FURNISHING LIST CHINESE US, ACCOUNTING FOR NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME, TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS ETC,. ALSO REPEATING LIST THOSE IN PRISON "NOT COMPLETE". IN REBUTTAL I STUCK TO PRISONERS ASKING HIM DIRECT QUESTION WHETHER IT THEIR POSITION THAT IF PRISONER DESIRED RETURN HE SHOULD NOT BE ABLE PROMPTLY DO SO BUT RATHER AWAIT COMPLETION SENTENCE OR NORMAL PAROLE PROCEDURES, AND WHETHER THEY WILLING ACCEPT OUR WORD ON WHETHER DESIRES RETURN. NOTING HIS STATEMENT ON FULL CONFIDENCE IN INDIAN EMBASSY I EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION AND SAID MY GOVERNMENT COULD TAKE MUCH SATISFACTION THAT CONSIDERING NUMBER CHINESE IN US AND LONG PERIOD SINCE ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT INDIANS HAVE MADE NO COMPLAINT LACK FULL COOPERATION MY GOVERNMENT NOR HAD ALLEGED SINGLE CASE ANY OBSTRUCTION. WANG AVOIDED ANY REPLY REFERRING TO HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENT AS "FULLY SETTING FORTH THEIR POSITION".

6. I PROPOSED NEXT MEETING JULY 6 AND WANG COUNTERED WITH PROPOSAL FOR TUESDAY, JULY 10 " BECAUSE OF PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENT" TO WHICH I AGREED. DEPARTING PRAGUE FRIDAY MORNING.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2135, JUNE 28, 7 PM (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

1. DIRECT DISCOURSE REPORT 52ND MEETING FOLLOWS:

2. WANG (PREPARED STATEMENT):

LAST MEETING YOU INDICATED DESIRE MAKE PROGRESS TALKS. TOLD YOU I WELCOMED INDICATION. HOWEVER SINCE WE BEGAN SECOND ITEM AGENDA MONTH AFTER ANOTHER SLIPPEDAWAY WHILE THUS FAR NOT ABLE ARRIVE AGREEMENT DECLARATION BECAUSE YOUR SIDE PERSISTS UNJUSTIFIABLE POSITION. THAT UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION.

3. MAY 11 OUR SIDE REPRESENTS MAJOR EFFORT MEET YOUR POINT VIEW; THEREFORE ENTIRELY ACCEPTABLE. IN SPITE CLEAR WORDS THIS DRAFT YOU INSIST WITHOUT BASIS ASSERTING IT CONTAINS AMBIGUITIES AND CONSTITUTES RETROGRESSION, AND YOU OBJECT STIPULATION TIME LIMIT. REGRET YOU PERSISTED SUCH UNJUSTIFIABLE ATTITUDE. IF SINCERITY YOUR SIDE MAKE DECLARATION SECOND ITEM, SHOULD GIVE UP ATTEMPTS FREEZE UNJUSTIFIABLE SITUATION TAIWAN AREA AND INTERVENE ITERNAL AFFAIRS MY COUNTRY. IF DESIRE YOUR SIDE SETTLE DISPUTES NO REASON OBJECT SEEKING ASCERTAINING PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS INCLUDING SINO-AMERICAN FM.C WITHIN TWO MONTHS DECLARATION. IF YOU MAVE CONSTRUCTIVE OPINIONS THIS REGARD READY HEAR.

4. I SAID: SEEMS ME WE STILL CONFRONTED SAME DIFFERENCE APPROACH QUESTION SECOND ITEM. YOU STILL SEEM REGARD THIS FROM STAND POINT MAKING DECLARATION FOR OWN SAKE IS PRIMARY PURPOSE. IF THAT WERE PURPOSE WOULD BE EASY. WE COULD MAKE ALL KINDS DECLARATIONS, JOINT STATEMENTS, WHICH ONE US COULD INTERPRET

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ONE WAY OTHER. OTHER WAY COULD EASILY TEMPORARILY GIVE SURFACE APPEARANCE AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, I REGARD ISSUES PROBLEMS BETWEEN US TOO IMPORTANT HANDLE SUCH MANNER.

5. I: BEEN STRIVING REACH AGREEMENT FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITION. PROPOSITION WHICH OUR VIEW AND VIEW HOST COUNTRIES WORLD IS FIRST STEP AND FUNDAMENTAL TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. DO NOT WANT TAKE TIME MORNING REPEAT REVIEW MY POINT VIEW, BUT THINK VITAL WE KEEP THESE FUNDAMENTALS MIND.

6. I: SPEAKING VERY FRANKLY WOULD AGAIN LIKE HAVE YOU UNDERSTAND EXACTLY HOW WE VIEW SITUATION. YOU PROFESS DESIRE FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTION PROBLEMS BETWEEN US INCLUDING PROBLEMS EXISTING TAIWAN AREA. SAME TIME, BEFORE TALKS BEGAN AND DURING TALKS, YOU BEEN AND YOUR GOVERNMENT CONTINUED ENUNCIATE POLICY USING FORCE RESOLVE SITUATION TAIWAN AREA ITS SATISFACTION IF OTHER MEANS NOT RESULT SOLVING TO ITS SATISFACTION. THUS, HOWEVER PHRASED OR WHATEVER WORDS USED EXPRESS IT, YOU ASKING MY GOVERNMENT AGREE NEGOTIATE UNDER CLEAR CONTINUED EXPRESSION THREAT YOUR GOVERNMENT RESORT USE FORCE IF NECESSARY OBTAIN DESIRES. SHOULD THINK POSSIBLE YOUR GOVERNMENT APPRECIATE THIS IS CONDITION AND SITUATION NEITHER MY NOR OTHER SELF-RESPECTING GOVERNMENT POSSIBLY ACCEPT IN WORLD TODAY. WORLD I HOPE PROGRESSED BEYOND THAT POINT.

7. I: MY GOVERNMENT SEEKS WITH YOU AS ELSEWHERE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES, IMPOSSIBLE IN THIS, WELL AS MANY OTHER DISPUTES. FOR FRAIL HUMAN MINDS LOOK INTO FUTURE DETERMINE EXACTLY WHAT MEANS OR WHAT WAY PARTICULAR DISPUTES CAN BE SETTLED. NOT NECESSARY WE DO SO EVEN NOT DESIRABLE. WHAT NECESSARY OR EVEN ESSENTIAL IS WE DETERMINED ONLY USE PEACEFUL MEANS. ONCE THAT DETERMINATION MADE, MAY OPEN PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. MY PROPOSAL OCTOBER 8, MY POSITION SINCE BEEN WE TAKE THIS FIRST, SIMPLE, FUNDAMENTAL STEP. YOU PURPOSE STILL APPEARS BE ATTEMPT FORCE US INTO NEGOTIATIONS UNDER CONTINUED THREAT RESORT FORCE UNLESS NEGOTIATIONS ENTIRELY YOUR SATISFACTION.

8. I: FAR AS ATTEMPTS MAKE PROGRESS RESOLVING SITUATION CONCERNED, I MADE MOST EARNEST ATTEMPTS DO SO. I WELCOMED YOUR DECEMBER 1 AS IT SEEMED STEP TOWARDS AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH IT QUITE DIFFERENT FROM WHAT I HAD MIND WHEN MADE ORIGINAL

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PROPOSALS OCTOBER 8, I WAS WILLING ACCEPT IT AS FRAMEWORK BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS ORDER MAKE PROGRESS. YOU YOURSELF CHARACTERISED THAT DRAFT GENERAL STATEMENT PRINCIPLE RENUNCIATION FORCE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN US. THAT PRECISELY WHAT I TOOK IT BE WHEN YOU SUBMITTED. MY ONLY QUARREL WAS IT TOO GENERAL AND SUBJECT MISUNDERSTANDING. THIS GAVE RISE TWO QUESTIONS. FIRST, WAS DRAFT INTENDED MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE MY SIDE DEFEND SELF IF ATTACKED? SECOND, WAS THIS GENERAL STATEMENT APPLICABLE ALL DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES INCLUDING TAIWAN AREA?

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Action Assigned to CLOSE
Control: 17804
Rec'd on Taken JUNE 29, 1956
6:22 A.M.
Date of Action
Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

1/6

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2135, JUNE 28, 7 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

9. I: JANUARY 12 I PUT FORWARD DRAFT INCORPORATING SIMPLE CLEAR ANSWERS THESE QUESTIONS. IN RESPONSE MY JANUARY 12 YOU DENIED HAD ANY INTENTION PREJUDICING POSITION MY SIDE. YOU ACKNOWLEDGED OF ALL DISPUTES TAIWAN AREA MOST IMPORTANT. YOU STATED INTENDED PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES APPLY ALSO TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER REJECTED MY SIMPLE AMENDMENTS CLEARLY EMBODYING THESE POINTS. YOU ASKED AND AGAIN THIS MORNING WHETHER IT INTENTION MY SIDE PREJUDICE POSITION YOUR SIDE WHICH YOU CLAIM INHERENTLY PEACEFUL. TO COVER POINT I INSERTED CLEAR AMENDMENT MY APRIL 19. QUESTIONS I THUS ASKED ABOUT YOUR DECEMBER 1 MIGHT BE PHRASED: WHETHER INTENDED PREVENT MY SIDE DEFENDING SELF IF ATTACKED? DID IT NOT APPLY ALSO TAIWAN AREA? WAS IT INTENDED PREJUDICE RIGHT EITHER SIDE PEACEFUL PURSUIT POLICIES? THESE PERFECTLY NATURAL QUESTIONS, DIRECTLY APPLICABLE PERTINENT THIS FIRST STEP RENUNCIATION FORCE. DO NOT INTRODUCE EXTRANEOUS AMBIGUOUS ELEMENTS. HAVE TRIED BE CAREFUL PRESERVE AREA AGREEMENT YOUR DECEMBER 1 INDICATED ALREADY REACHED. HOWEVER, IF YOU ANY SKGGESTIONS HOW ANSWERS CAN BE EXPRESSED MORE EFFECTIVELY MORE ACCEPTABLY TO YOU I GLAD HEAR THEM. AS PREVIOUSLY EXPLAINED, I NOT FEEL THEY ANSWERED BY YOUR MAY 11.

10. I: HAVE TALKED SOME LENGTH MORNING THIS SUBJECT NOT WITH DESIRE ENGAGING POLEMICS, RATHER SEE WHETHER SOME WAY TWO OF US WITH HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY CANNOT REACH GREATER MEASURE UNDERSTANDING THAN WE THUS FAR SUCCEEDED. SEEMS ME PROPOSITION I SET FORTH IN PAST AND AGAIN MORNING SO SIMPLE NORMAL

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FUNDAMENTAL IT MUST BE ACCEPTED BY ANYONE SINCERELY DESIRING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. WISH YOU MOST EARNESTLY CONSIDER WHAT I HAVE SAID BECAUSE IT BEEN SAID ALL SINCERITY EARNEST DESIRE SEE WHETHER CANNOT REACH AGREEMENT CLEARLY UNAMBIGUOUSLY ELIMINATING DANGER HOSTILITIES OUR TWO GREAT PEOPLES AND OPEN BROAD ROAD GENUINELY RBV# PEACEFUL RESOLUTION DIFFERENCES.

11. WANG SAID: YOU SPOKEN SOME LENGTH MORNING LARGE COLLECTION VIEWS SUBJECTS YOU PREVIOUSLY STATED. ALTHOUGH YOU STATED MORE THAN ONCE YOU HAVE SINCERITY IN DESIRE RESOLVE PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, FAIL FIND ANY SUCH SINCERITY FROM STUDY SPEECH AS WHOLE.

12. W: ISSUE CONFRONTING OUR COUNTRIES CLEARLY EVIDENTLY CASE US ARMED OCCUPATION TERRITORY MY COUNTRY AND US THREAT FORCE AGAINST MY COUNTRY. HOWEVER, YOU BY SOPHISTRY TRYING TURN SITUATION INTO OPPOSITE AND ALLEGE MY COUNTRY THREATEN YOURS. ISSUE IS US ARMED OCCUPATION ANY COUNTRY'S TERRITORY. HOWEVER YOU REVERSE THIS AND CLAIM UNREASONABLE RIGHT SELF DEFENSE AS OFTEN STATED IN PAST.

13. W: IN PAST I REPEATEDLY ENUNCIATED POSITION MY SIDE ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA: THERE EXIST 2 ASPECTS TAIWAN AREA. ON ONE HAND, INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA US, WHICH WE NOW DISCUSSING AND TRYING FIND SOLUTION. ON OTHER HAND, PROBLEM TAIWAN AREA ESSENTIALLY INTERNAL MATTER THEREFORE ALLOWS NO INTERVENTION FOREIGN POWER. IN YOUR STATEMENT MORNING YOU AGAIN TRIED DELIBERATELY DISTORT THIS POSITION RESPECT SETTLEMENT INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES TAIWAN AREA AND OUR PEACEFUL INTENTIONS.

14. W: YOU AGAIN MENTIONED MORNING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. FIRST PARA MAY 11 PRECISELY SETS FORTH NORMAL HSI PRINCIPLES REGULATING AND ESTABLISHING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. HOWEVER, US ARMED OCCUPATION OUR TERRITORY TAIWAN NOT ONLY MATTER CHINESE PEOPLE WILL NOT LONG TOLERATE BUT IS A MATTER NO SOVEREIGN STATE CAN TOLERATE. YOU STATED WILL STRIVE FOR RESOLUTION OUR DISPUTES TAIWAN AREA PEACEFUL MEANS. HOWEVER, FACT IS YOUR SIDE CONTINUES TRY FREEZE PRESENT STATUS TAIWAN AREAS, SO YOUR SIDE

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CAN PERPETRATE OCCUPATION TAIWAN. YOU MENTIONED MORNING YOUR PROPOSAL OCTOBER 8 AND YOUR APRIL 19. ALL THESE PROPOSALS FULLY SUPPORTED VIEWS I JUST STATED. I CANNOT CONSIDER THESE INDICATION SINCERITY RESOLUTION BY PEACEFUL MEANS OUR DISPUTES. THAT REASON MY REPEATED OBJECTIONS THESE UNACCEPTABLE PROPOSITIONS. THUS US PROPOSITIONS CANNOT HELP RESOLVE ISSUES.

15. W: PURPOSE THESE TALKS PRECISELY SEEK PEACEFUL MEANS SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. NOT PURPOSE THESE TALKS ENGAGE EMPTY DISCUSSION WITHOUT SETTLING ANY QUESTIONS. I AGREE WE NOT DISCUSSING MAKING DECLARATION FOR SAME DECLARATION. BUT MY SIDE CANNOT AGREE MAKE DECLARATION WHICH WOULD DO NOTHING CHANGE PRESENT UNJUSTIFIED SITUATION. TAIWAN AREA, BUT WOULD INSTEAD PERPETUATE SUCH SITUATION. DECLARATION SHOULD SET FORTH COMMON DESIRE SETTLE ISSUES. DECLARATION SHOULD ADVANCE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. IF BOTH SIDES HAVE COMMON SINCERITY DESIRE FIND PEACEFUL RESOLUTION DISPUTES BELIEVE WE ABLE MAKE PROGRESS. MIGHT FRANKLY SAY MY COUNTRY HAS SINCERITY AND PEACEFUL INTENT. THIS INTENT DEMONSTRATED ALL DRAFTS WE PRESENTED. HOPE US ALSO SAME DESIRE AND DEMONSTRATE DESIRE BY ACTION. IN INTEREST BOTH OUR PEOPLES FOR US MAKE SPEEDY PROGRESS ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT.

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10:09 P. M.

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Date of Action

Action Officer Initials

Name of Typist

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2135, JUNE 28, 7 P. M. (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

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16. I SAID: HAVE JUST FEW SHORT REMARKS. FIRST, YOU PERSIST IN THESE TALKS AND DRAFTS IN ATTEMPTING GET US ACCEPT YOUR INTERPRETATION NATURE DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA. I CAREFULLY TRIED IN DRAFT AND REMARKS AVOID DISCUSSION NATURE ORIGIN OUR DISPUTES IN INTEREST MAKING PROGRESS. AS HAVE SAID MANY TIMES, CONSIDER THIS PREMATURE AND NOT GERMANE IMMEDIATE TASK. ONLY POSSIBLE MAKE PROGRESS, AND UNDERSTOOD YOU AGREE, IF WE TAKE VERY COMPLICATED SITUATION EXISTING BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES STEP BY STEP. IF WE CONFUSE STEPS CAN ONLY HOPE-LESSLY CONFUSE, BOG SELVES DOWN. I ALWAYS AND STILL TAKE VIEW FIRST STEP RENUNCIATION USE FORCE SETTLEMENT DISPUTES. YOU APPEAR STILL TAKE POSITION THAT FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT RENOUNCE FORCE RESPECT DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA MEANS YOUR GOVERNMENT AGREES STATUS QUO AND SACRIFICES POSITION THIS DISPUTE THERE.

17. I: HOWEVER DISPUTE REGARDED, THIS SEEMS REMARKABLE DOC-TRINE: DOCTRINE OF DESPAIR, PESSIMISM. IT IN EFFECT SAYS SOME DISPUTES NOT CAPABLE SETTLEMENT PEACEFUL MEANS. IF OTHER GOVERNMENTS IN WORLD ADOPTED THIS DOCTRINE OUTLOOK INDEED BLEAK. HOWEVER, AT LEAST MOST GOVERNMENTS REJECT THIS DOCTRINE. MY GOVERNMENT REJECTS DOCTRINE THERE ARE DISPUTES CANNOT BE SETTLED PEACEFUL MEANS. GIVEN GOODWILL DETERMINATION FIND SETTLEMENTS ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS THERE NO DISPUTE NOT CAPABLE RESOLUTION PEACEFUL MEANS. ALL I ASKED AND CONTINUE ASK IS YOU JOIN ME SAYING THIS UNEQUIVOCALLY REGARD ALL DISPUTES INCLUDING TAIWAN AREA.

18. WANG SAID:

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18. WANG SAID: CANNOT ACCEPT ASSERTION MAY 11 CONTAINS WHAT YOU CALL AMBIGUITIES. DON'T THINK ASSERTION CORRECT. RECALL WHEN I PROPOSED DECEMBER 1 YOU ASSERTED DRAFT AMBIGUOUS BECAUSE DIDN'T INSERT TAIWAN AREA. THEN IN MAY 11 DRAFT INSERTED TAIWAN AREA THUS MAKING PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES SPECIFICALLY TAIWAN AREA. YOU STILL SAY MAY 11 AMBIGUOUS. I CAN ONLY REGARD THIS AS DELIBERATE DISTORTION. MY LATEST AND PREVIOUS DRAFTS, ALL TAKE ACCOUNT ACTUAL SITUATION DISPUTES TWO COUNTRIES. NO INTENT THESE DRAFTS TRY RESOLVE BY SINGLE STROKE ALL DISPUTES. AS INTENTION THESE DRAFTS ADOPTION AND AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION CONSTITUTE FIRST STEP SOLUTION DISPUTES.

19. WANG: ABNORMAL SITUATION TAIWAN AREA URGENTLY CALLS FOR SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, OUR SIDE HAS NOT SLIGHTEST DESPAIR OR PESSIMISM WITH REGARD SETTLEMENT. OUR SIDE FIRMLY OPPOSED PRESENT SITUATION TAIWAN AREA. HOWEVER, ALWAYS HAD FAITH THIS ABNORMAL SITUATION TAIWAN AREA CAN OF NECESSITY BE RESOLVED.

20. WANG: YOU SPOKE GREAT LENGTH SETTLEMENT DISPUTES PEACEFUL MEANS. IT EXACTLY POLICY MY GOVERNMENT PURSUE SUCH MEANS IN RESOLUTION DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. MY GOVERNMENT JOINED WITH OTHERS PROCLAIMING WELL KNOWN FIVE PRINCIPLES. IF THESE FIVE PRINCIPLES ACCEPTED BY ALL COUNTRIES AM SURE ALL DISPUTES CAN BE RESOLVED. MAY 11 EXACTLY PROPOSITION ACCOMPLISHING BASIS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES COUNTRIES. IF YOUR GOVERNMENT GENUINELY DESIRES SETTLE INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES PEACEFUL MEANS HAS NO BASIS OPPOSE MAY 11 AND NO GROUND OBJECT SEEKING ASCERTAIN PRACTICAL FEASIBLE MEANS SETTLEMENT DISPUTES INCLUDING CONVOCATION FMC REPEAT FMC WITHIN TWO MONTHS ANNOUNCEMENT DECLARATION DECISIONS SET FORTH MY DRAFT ARE IN ACCORD GENERAL PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. PROVISIONS SET FORTH FEASIBLE PRACTICAL. IF ONE SIDE PROFESSED DESIRE SETTLEMENT DISPUTES PEACEFUL MEANS WHILE REFUSING TAKE PEACEFUL FEASIBLE STEPS THIS DIRECTION, HOW CAN PEACEFUL RESOLUTION BE ACHIEVED.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1976 JUN 29 AM 9 30
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Control: 17833
Rec'd: JUNE 28, 1956
10:57 P. M.

Action Assigned to 1/
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to RM/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2135, JUNE 28, 7 P. M. (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

20. I SAID: ALL WANT SAY STILL FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE UNDERSTAND WHY IF YOUR SIDE REALLY WANTS REACH AGREEMENT IT REJECTS AREAS AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED AND IN YOUR MAY 11 INTRODUCES NEW EXTRANEOUS ELEMENTS.

MY APRIL 19 PRESERVED ALL YOUR DECEMBER 1.

22. WANG SAID: ALTHOUGH YOUR APRIL 19 RETAINS SOME OF TEXT MY PREVIOUS DRAFT, IN SUBSTANCE YOUR SIDE NOT IN ANY WAY CHANGED POSITION. THAT WHY I SAID COULD NOT ACCEPT IT.

23. I SAID: NOTHING FURTHER THAT SUBJECT, BUT LIKE TAKE UP ANOTHER MATTER. (FROM PREPARED STATEMENT) CONTINUE BE PUZZLED ATTITUDE YOU TAKEN REGARD STEPS I INFORMED YOU MY GOVERNMENT TAKING CONCERNING ALIEN CHINESE PRISONERS. AS INFORMED YOU LAST MEETING, FURTHER ACTION AWAITING REPLY INDIAN EMBASSY TO OUR INVITATION TO DETERMINE WHICH PRISONERS DESIRE RETURN YOUR COUNTRY. WE NOW RECEIVED REPLY FROM INDIAN EMBASSY TO EFFECT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS NOT AGREED ITS INTERVIEWING.

24. I: FIND THIS POSITION YOUR GOVERNMENT NOW TAKEN REGARD THESE PERSONS UTTERLY INEXPLICABLE AND TOTALLY AT VARIANCE POSITIONS YOU PREVIOUSLY TAKING.

25. I: FIRST, YOU PREVIOUSLY INSISTING PROVISIONS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BE APPLIED THESE COMMON CRIMINALS. I HAVE AGREED THIS.

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THIS. AS POINTED OUT LAST MEETING IF PROVISIONS ANNOUNCE-
MENT TO HAVE ANY MEANING RESPECT THESE PERSONS, IT MEANS THAT,
SAME ANY OTHER CHINESE US, THEY CAN PROMPTLY PROCEED YOUR
COUNTRY IF SO DESIRE. THEREFORE, FIRST QUESTION IS DO THEY
DESIRE RETURN YOUR COUNTRY? THIS CONNECTION YOU PREVIOUSLY
ASKING FOR LIST SUCH PRISONERS. ASSUMED YOUR INTEREST IN SUCH
LIST COULD ONLY BE SATISFY SELF SUCH PERSONS BEEN INFORMED
ANNOUNCEMENT, WHETHER THEY DESIRED RETURN YOUR COUNTRY AND
IF SO ABLE DO SO. SUCH LIST HAS BEEN GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY.
YOU BEEN INSISTING INDIAN EMBASSY BE PERMITTED MAKE CHECK
DETERMINE WHETHER CHINESE MY COUNTRY DESIRE RETURN. IN ORDER
FURTHER MEET POINT VIEW YOU EXPRESSED THIS REGARD, WE TOOK
INITIATIVE INVITING INDIAN EMBASSY MAKE SUCH CHECK WITH REGARD
THESE PRISONERS THOUGH WENT BEYOND TERMS ANNOUNCEMENT. JUST
NEVER OCCURRED ME YOU WOULD SUBSEQUENTLY REVERSE POSITION
AND OBJECT OUR PERMITTING INDIAN EMBASSY CARRY OUT WITH RESPECT
THIS GROUP PERSONS EXACTLY WHAT BEEN REQUESTING.

26. I: CAN ONLY ASSUME YOUR PRESENT OBJECTIONS TO PERFORM-
ANCE INDIAN EMBASSY THIS FUNCTION WITH RESPECT THESE PRISONERS
MEANS YOU REVERSING PREVIOUS POSITION RESPECT APPLICABILITY
ANNOUNCEMENT THESE PERSONS. IF SO THIS OF COURSE ENTIRELY
YOUR CHOICE.

27. WANG SAID: OUR POSITION RESPECT CHINESE US INCLUDING THOSE
IN PRISON ALWAYS VERY CLEAR. CANNOT ACCEPT ALLEGATION MY
SIDE REVERSED PREVIOUS POSITION. CAN ONLY REGARD THIS ALLE--
TION AS UNJUSTIFIABLE ENTIRELY UNSUPPORTED. WE INVITED
INDIA ACT AS THIRD POWER TAKING CARE INTERESTS OUR NATIONALS
US INCLUDING QUESTION THEIR RETURN. INDIAN EMBASSY REQUESTED
YOUR GOVERNMENT GIVE IT COMPLETE LIST ALL CHINESE US AS MY
GOVERNMENT DID AT VERY BEGINNING THESE TALKS GIVING YOU LIST
ALL AMERICANS MY COUNTRY. INDIAN EMBASSY REQUESTED THESE LISTS
FACILITATE PERFORMANCE FUNCTIONS. HOWEVER, YOUR GOVERNMENT SO
FAR NOT GIVEN LISTS. WE REQUESTED YOUR GOVERNMENT GIVE US
INFORMATION AND MAKE ACCOUNTING CHINESE PRISONERS YOUR COUNTRY
BUT NEVER REQUESTED INDIAN EMBASSY QUESTION THEM. WE DO NOT
AGREE INDIAN EMBASSY QUESTIONING THESE CHINESE IN PRISON,
BECAUSE

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BECAUSE THEY CANNOT FULLY EXPRESS FREE WILL IN PRISON.

28. WANG: I JUST CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY IF YOUR GOVERNMENT GENUINELY INTERESTED CARRYING OUT ANNOUNCEMENT, IT NOT WILLING TAKE INITIATIVE SETTLING CASES THESE IMPRISONED CHINESE WHEN SET FREE NOT OFFERING OBSTRUCTION THEIR RETURN MY COUNTRY. THIS REQUEST MY SIDE CANNOT BE CALLED EXCESSIVE BECAUSE ONLY REQUESTING YOU DO SAME AS MY COUNTRY IN CASES AMERICAN PRISONERS, TAKING INITIATIVE SETTLE CASES ENABLING RETURN. JUST CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY IF YOUR GOVERNMENT DESIRES CARRY OUT ANNOUNCEMENT FAITHFULLY HASN'T GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY COMPLETE LIST CHINESE IN US; WHY HAS NOT GIVEN ANY ACCOUNTING 28 PERSONS IN LIST 103 NOT YET RETURNED NOR FOR 53 OF 55 NAMES GIVEN YOU WHO NOT RETURNED, EVEN LIST IMPRISONED CHINESE YOU GAVE INDIAN EMBASSY NOT COMPLETE THEREFORE UNSATISFACTORY.

29. WANG: AGAIN YOUR GOVERNMENT NOT TAKEN STEPS REMOVE TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT REQUIREMENT WELL AS SO-CALLED PERMANENT RESIDENT REQUIREMENT. IN PAST WE OFTEN MADE COMPLAINTS THIS REGARD. IF YOUR GOVERNMENT REALLY WILLING FACILITATE INDIAN EMBASSY HELP CHINESE RETURNING MY COUNTRY WHY SHOULD IT PERMIT CONTINUATION SITUATION I SPOKE OF. POSITION MY GOVERNMENT ALWAYS CLEAR. WE HAVE FULL CONFIDENCE INDIAN EMBASSY PERFORMING FUNCTIONS YOUR COUNTRY REPRESENTING INTEREST OUR NATIONALS. ALWAYS CONCERNED WITH INTERESTS EVERY NATIONAL US AND DESIRE SEE THEY CAN FREELY RETURN WITHOUT OBSTRUCTION. HOPE YOUR GOVERNMENT ABLE GIVE SATISFACTORY REPLY ALL THESE QUESTIONS I RAISED.

GOWEN

EMB

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* **ACTION COPY**

47

CONFIDENTIAL

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Control: 7834

Rec'd: JUNE 28, 1956
10:56 P. M.

Date of Action

Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

Action
FE

Info
RMR
3S
G
SP
C
L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 2135, JUNE 28, 7 P. M. (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION.

FROM JOHNSON.

30. I SAID: LET ME ASK TWO QUESTIONS. FIRST WITH RESPECT CHINESE IN PRISON. IF UNDERSTAND CORRECTLY YOUR POSITION IS IF THEY DESIRE RETURN YOUR COUNTRY IT IS NOT YOUR DESIRE THEY BE FERMITTED PROMPTLY BUT RATHER THEY AWAIT COMPLETION SENTENCES OR NORMAL PROCEDURES PAROLE GOOD BEHAVIOR. THAT IS THEY IN EXACTLY SAME POSITION AS BEFORE ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED. NEXT QUESTION IS AS YOU NOT AGREEABLE INDIAN EMBASSY INTERVIEWING PRISONERS ARE YOU WILLING ACCEPT WHATEVER PRISONERS MAY TELL OF REGARDING DESIRE RETURN.

31. I SAID: GLAD NOTE YOUR AFFIRMATION FULL CONFIDENCE INDIAN EMBASSY CARRYING OUT FUNCTIONS. EMBASSY NEVER ANY RESPECT INDICATED SLIGHTEST DISSATISFACTION FULL COOPERATION MY GOVERNMENT CONSISTENTLY EXTENDED IT IN CARRYING OUT FUNCTIONS. NEITHER HAS EMBASSY BROUGHT OUR ATTENTION ANY CASE ANY OBSTRUCTION WHATSOEVER BEING OFFERED DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE US DESIRING RETURN. CONSIDERING TENS THOUSANDS CHINESE US AND LENGTH TIME ANNOUNCEMENT IN EFFECT, THINK THAT TRULY REMARKABLE RECORD ONE IN WHICH MY GOVERNMENT CAN TAKE MUCH SATISFACTION.

32. WANG SAID: OUR POSITION WITH REGARD CHINESE IN PRISON AND REASON WHY OBJECT INDIAN EMBASSY QUESTIONING BEEN GIVEN PREVIOUSLY AND AGAIN MORNING. DON'T THINK NECESSARY REPEAT. DON'T THINK CLAIM INDIAN EMBASSY HAS NO DISSATISFACTION IN CARRYING OUT FUNCTIONS TELLS WHOLE STORY. INDIAN EMBASSY ASKED YOUR GOVERNMENT FOR LIST ALL CHINESE US. YOUR GOVERNMENT SO FAR REFUSED. THIS NOT DEMONSTRATION WILLINGNESS OFFER HELP EMBASSY. CALLING THIS SITUATION SATISFACTORY AT VARIANCE WITH FACT.

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CONFIDENTIAL

-2- 2135, JUNE 28, 7 P. M. (SECTION 5 OF 5) FROM GENEVA, CN 17834

FACT.

33. I SAID: SUGGEST IF AGREEABLE FRIDAY JULY 6. THIS EXCEPTIONAL IN VIEW JULY 4 NATIONAL HOLIDAY HAVE TO BE PRAGUE. WANG SAID: PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENT FRIDAY SUGGEST TUESDAY JULY 10. I AGREED.

GOWEN

EMB

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(670)

Rec'd June 5

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Deny)
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 7/6

June 28, 1956.

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 39

Dear Walter:

I am not sending any comment telegram this week as I do not have much to add to my sum ary message, and, in any event you will receive this long before you have to get out the guidance for the next meeting.

Things went about as expected this morning. I had not intended to say much on renunciation but listening to his opening statement the mood seized me and I let myself go. It is the type of act that loses its usefulness if put on too often, but after arriving there this morning it seemed to me a good idea. It is also, I feel, much more effective when I do it obviously extemporaneous rather than reading a prepared statement. I tried again to go as far as I felt I could in holding out the "pot of gold" if they would behave themselves. It seems to me this is now and again necessary if I am to do everything possible to assume that we keep going along the present lines. However, it is hard to find new ways to say the same old thing. My present feeling is that with careful handling we can expect to be able to plow this same furrow until November but, depending on what happens then not much beyond that. It is not too early to consider how we will handle the various contingencies that might be expected at about that time, but I leave that in your good hands.

There is no question but that we really have them on the ropes with regard to the prisoners. I am still hoping it will accomplish something other than giving me some fun in the meetings. However, as I said previously, I think the greatest pressure on them will come if and when some prisoners actually

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

leave. Until then they will try to dismiss it as a stunt on our part. I do hope that some prisoners can be gotten on their way shortly and then I can really turn on the heat here. Tell Ralph that I have much confidence in him. It does not affect my conscience in the slightest to have a few dope peddlers and murderers go back, and I am surprised the GRC is still making such a point over competing with Peiping for the affections of such persons. If the Indians continue to turn us down I would not be inclined to try to bring in the ICRC but believe the ARC has considerable merit. As you can sense my main interest is in getting some under way as quickly as that is possible. Incidentally, I thought your reply to the Indian letter was excellent. It said exactly the right things in the right way. You will note that in this morning's meeting I avoided saying that the Indians had refused to act so as to leave the door open for them to change their minds but sought to leave an impression that the PRC attitude was holding up everything. I thought it better not to press him today beyond the point that I did.

With respect to para 5 of Deptel 2217, I could not think of any way to obtain a reaction to the postponement of Nehru's visit. However, if I happen to run into him again on the plane I may be able to turn the conversation in that direction and see what reaction I get. I regret that such conversations are so very limited in their possible scope by the language problem.

Incidentally his failure in any way to mention the matter this morning leads me to believe that, as I hoped, the Indians have not passed on to them the text of our letter to the prisoners.

With respect to the last para of Deptel 2217 I had, of course, intended that Wang would share the responsibility for any postponement, and that was the reason for our suggestion that the UN call Wang and simply say the same thing to him that they had said to us. This would then have provided a basis for my raising the matter with him. However, it subsequently developed that the UN did not do so but scrambled around and decided they could with some difficulty accommodate us even during the week of July 9. However, they thereafter called Wang saying that there would be some difficulties in accommodating us through the ECOSOC session and did he have in mind any vacation in the talks during July or August. His

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reply was that he did not. I pass this on as an added indication of the lack of any present intention to break off. Thus, my carefully laid plans for a week's vacation have again gone astray. Because of the work in Prague and my Nurenberg speech my plans for the week of June 11 fell through, and this next week I, of course, have the big July 4 show in Prague. Am expecting about 500 this year and am giving them a buffet and a dance. Do not misunderstand that I am complaining, but just letting you know what I have been trying to do in a personal way.

Thanks for the Drew Pearson item which I have not seen here. I certainly agree that it is not very helpful.

Thanks for taking care of Ekvall's orders. He has now received them and is set for another six months. I think Erskine's office was giving you a little line on Paris being the block. Everything I know is to the contrary, but in any event it is cleared up.

I think it significant Menon did not raise the Chicoms with Sherman Adams. I have a general feeling that the Indians have somewhat cooled on Peiping and are not tooting their horn as vigorously as they once were. I hope this prisoner business assists in the process.

They have just brought in the FBIS on Chou's June 28 speech renewing the offer to negotiate with Taiwan. There was some excitement among the correspondents at the Palais this morning about it but they did not have the full text and I have of course refused to make any comment. While it is a repetition of what has been the theme for some time there is a difference in emphasis and I believe for the first time it is couched in formal terms. It is a much more adroit piece of work than their previous statements on the subject and undoubtedly sets the tone for their future propaganda line. However USIA really ought to be able to get in some real licks on the last paragraph.

We have experimented in today's full report of meeting with putting it into direct discourse. Let us know how you like it compared with former indirect discourse form. Neither of them read too well after being put into "telegraphese" but we got bawled out by someone back there (I believe it was the telegraph people) for using unnecessary words so we are complying. However, with something like this it seems to me to make very hard reading.

Regards to all.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (671)

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

SECRET
Classification

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY //

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance ~~for~~ July 10 meeting.

1. Agreed Announcement.

~~You~~ Recall to Wang ~~that~~ our decision to extend Agreed Announcement to Chinese alien criminals was reached after Wang had dwelt on this question for many weeks. Express ~~regret~~ surprise that PRC now placing obstacles in way of Indian Government performance its function and register hope ~~that~~ PRC will refrain from further interference. FYI We are still awaiting Indian reply our second letter ~~of~~ June 27 asking reconsideration ~~of~~ Indian refusal ~~to~~ visit prisoners. We feel ~~that~~ we should allow short additional time for Indian reply before we proceed with prisoner visits independently of Indians. Believe it preferable not reveal Wang precise Indian attitude or our probable course of action in face ~~of~~ Indian position. END FYI

2. Renunciation of Force.

Go over usual ground.

3. While you should be prepared meet on July 19, there would be no objection here to postponement next meeting until July 26 if Wang suggests it. FYI Unlikely there will be any visits to prisoners before week of

Drafted by: FE:CA:WFMcConaughy/ikb/em 7/6/56

Clearances: WFMcC

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter F. McConaughy

FE - Mr. Robertson (Cleared in substance)

SECRET
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611.93/7-656 CS/T

611.93/4-656 SECRET FILE

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July 23. END FYI

Hoover
ACTING
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

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672

(23) E

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Number 2 of 4 copies, Series A

July 6, 1956

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- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 7/6/84

B6

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 49

Dear Alex:

We all liked the way you handled the June 28 meeting. The extemporaneous review of the position on renunciation was fine. You further exposed the illogic of Wang's position on the prisoner question while keeping him guessing as to what the Indian Embassy has told us and how we will proceed with the interviews. While your new format for your full report of the meeting was quite intelligible, I do not believe we get the full flavor of the exchanges as well as with the customary form. Maybe it is just that we are accustomed to the indirect rather than the direct discourse. But in any case the "telegraphese" destroys some of the shadings which convey the overtones of the dialogue. Who ever called you down for excess verbage should not have done so. We ran into the same problem here with our guidance telegrams. An employee of DC/T complained about our failure to economize on words. I took the matter to Stufflebeam, the Chief of the office, pointing out that the administrative subordinate should not even see these limit distribution telegrams much less quibble about the number of words in them. Stufflebeam agreed fully and stated he would issue orders that in view of the importance of the talks and the need for conveying exact inflections, no questions would be raised as to unnecessary words. The same principle would apply to you. I would suggest

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

that you go back to the old form and abandon the "telegraphese". Of course we endeavor to cut out any completely unnecessary articles and prepositions but we do not consider ourselves as constricted as in the case of routine messages.

The Indian Embassy on June 28 acknowledged our letter of June 27 saying they had again referred the matter to Delhi. I suppose there is a remote chance of some sort of reconsideration but we cannot rely on it. Our plans are to proceed with the visits ourselves, probably in company with an American Red Cross representative, after giving the Indians a reasonable time for reply to our June 27 letter. We have no evidence that any of the prisoners are interested in returning to Mainland China. A number have already voluntarily indicated that they have no interest in going to Communist China. There is some possibility that one or two may apply to go. We recognize that you would be helped if we could move fairly rapidly on the interviews with the prisoners. We hope to get going just as soon as we have given the Indians a fair period of time to reconsider.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter we have received from Purdue University regarding another insane Chinese student who is held in an Indiana State Asylum at Logansport. We are trying to get the facts on this with the help of the I & N.S. and the Indiana authorities. We are informing Purdue that of course the student is free to return to Mainland China if he wants to do so, provided the responsible authorities consider that he is mentally competent to make a decision, and feel that he can safely be released from the hospital where he is undergoing treatment. This looks like the Liu case all over again.

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We xxxx received your Letter No. 39 of June 29 on July 5, which contained much of interest. The indication that Wang expects to carry right on through the summer is significant. We agree that it is not too early to start thinking about the various possibilities that may develop in the Autumn. The disposition here is not to try to develop anything new/on renunciation. You will have to continue using your ingenuity to play the same theme. There will be a chance to introduce new material on implementation as we go forward with the prisoner question.

I sympathize with your no-vacation dilemma. I wonder if something could not be maneuvered around the Swiss National Holiday on August 1. It falls on Wednesday but may be a meeting could be skipped that week without your taking all the initiative since the usual Thursday meeting date is so close to the holiday. Even a vacation of one week would certainly help.

. . . . . .

Ralph Clough's father died suddenly last Sunday. He has been out all week. Judge Phleger is away for several days, but participated in a Geneva meeting with WSR and me on Tuesday, just before he left. Bill Sebald is due back from his grand tour of the entire Far Eastern area on July 22.

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Please ask Helenka to include a carbon copy of your letters in the future.

Regards and good wishes to all of you,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Carbon copy of letter to Secretary Dulles from A. H. Tichenor re
2. Article from The Times - Thursday May 24, 1956

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 673

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

720

03443

1956 JUL 9 PM 3 56

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 16

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

1. Letter from Mackensen to his father dated April 30 indicates he has been brainwashed to attack our position on implementation and to elect to remain in Communist China after his term completed. Letter describes in glowing terms his trip around China with other prisoners. Says he is receiving QUOTE first-class treatment UNQUOTE in prison and is completely satisfied that Chinese side carrying out its part of Geneva Agreement on return civilians. He declares QUOTE I am somewhat disturbed that Chinese in U.S. aren't faring so well. Though our ambassador at Geneva and British Charge d' Affaires in Peking have had complete reports on Americans in China, so far as I know, so far there have been no comparable reports from our side on Chinese in America to Ambassador Wang or to Indian Embassy. It seems to me if we are to carry on negotiations in good faith, then we must do so on basis of complete equality and mutual benefit. How else can negotiations be successful? At same time I have read letters from Chinese who have relatives in America (particularly students), whose whereabouts and disposition have become a question. Whatever you may have heard concerning

611.93/7-956 CS/T

611.93/7-956

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:emm 7/9/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger

9 1956 P.M.

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concerning this matter, it is evident that there have been all kinds of intimidation, restrictions, and other unsavory methods used against ~~XXXX~~ patriotic Chinese in our country - and their families at home have all suffered because of this. They are innocent victims of unwarranted discrimination. UNQUOTE

Goes on to say his detention completely different from QUOTE what Chinese in US are facing UNQUOTE. He was detained for QUOTE open hostility to trends in Chinese domestic affairs and for aiding those who would turn back the course of Chinese history. UNQUOTE. Declares he intends to resign from Board of Foreign Missions and request permission to remain and work in China when his term up in ten months. Full text by letter.

2. Indian Government requested and received our permission July 7 to inform Chinese Communists text our circular letter to Chinese prisoners. You should anticipate possible Chinese Communist reaction tomorrow's meeting.

Dulles
(WPMcC)

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(674)

(24)

E

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
July 9, 1956
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☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date 7/1/76

B6

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 50

Dear Alex:

Enclosed is a copy of a disturbing letter from ... to his parents dated April 30. You will see from this that the Chinese Communists have done a most thorough job on him. It is significant that they have indoctrinated him with false information on the Geneva talks and on the status of the Chinese in this country.

It would seem that the Chinese Communists are determined to prevail on some of our Nationals to "elect" to remain in Communist China after their terms are completed, as a counter to the lack of interest of most Chinese in this country in returning to Communist China.

... father, ...

naturally is quite upset over this letter and wants all publicity avoided, at least for the present.

We are debating whether you should make any reference to this letter in the meeting tomorrow. We will probably send a summary of it by telegram later today. In the meanwhile, we want to get the

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

full text off to you before the pouch closes a few minutes hence.

Regards and good wishes ,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Copy of letter from ... dated April 30.
2. Copy of letter from ... dated June 29.

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(675)

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

ACTION COPY

31-36

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Control: 1968
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10:31 AM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 20, JULY 10, NOON

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. ONE HOUR FIFTEEN MINUTES MEETING TODAY. I OPENED WITH PREPARED STATEMENT EMPHASIZING MUTUALITY MY APRIL 19 DRAFT AND CHARGING HIM WITH "HAGGLING AND BARGAINING" OVER TAIWAN AREA REFERENCE BY ESTABLISHING PRECONDITIONS FOR ITS INCLUSION. ENDED WITH HOPE THAT WE COULD AT LEAST MOVE IN DIRECTION APRIL 19 DRAFT.

2. HE REPLIED WITH PEPARED STATEMENT ALONG LINES CHOU EN LAI'S REMARKS ON TALKS IN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SPEECH WITH EMPHASIS ON STALLING CHARGES. "ANY ANNOUNCEMENT MUST BE CAPABLE RELAXATION AND ELIMINATION TENSION TAIWAN AREA INSTEAD OF PERPETUATING STATUS QUO US OCCUPATION." AIM OF US HAS ALWAYS BEEN SECURE ANNOUNCEMENT ADVANTAGEOUS SOLELY TO US AND FAILING SUCH ATTEMPT INDEFINITELY DRAG OUT THESE TALKS. CANNOT AGREE THESE TALKS BEING USED AS "TOOL" BY ONE PARTY, CONTINUATION MUST BE ADVANTAGEOUS BOTH SIDES.

3. DURING GIVE AND TAKE I KEPT COMING BACK TO APRIL 19 DRAFT, POINTING OUT MUTUAL ADVANTAGE AS FIRST STEP PEACEFUL RESOLUTION AND RENEWING CHARGE THEY UNWILLING MAKE UNCONDITIONAL RENUNCIATION FORCE AS FIRST STEP.

4. WANG REPLIED THAT IT DID NOT APPEAR POSITIONS TWO SIDES LIKELY COME CLOSER TOGETHER ON RENUNCIATION A DECLARATION, AND THEREFORE UNLESS AT NEXT MEETING I HAD

Action assigned to ____
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NEW CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL HE SUGGESTED TALKS TAKE UP DISCUSSION OTHER AGENDA TWO ITEM, THAT IS TRADE EMBARGO.

5. I MADE NO DIRECT REPLY TO HIS SUGGESTION BUT POINTED OUT INFERENCE HIS GOVERNMENT WAS REJECTING UNCONDITIONAL RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND WHILE I DISCOURAGED AT THEIR ATTITUDE FELT ISSUES TOO IMPORTANT FOR DESPAIR AND STILL HOPEFUL HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD ADOPT THIS GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE PRINCIPLE INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT. IF IT PERSISTS IN MAINTAINING ITS THREAT INITIATE FORCE TAIWAN AREA HARD BE OPTIMISTIC PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES.

6. HE ATTEMPTED AVOID ANY DISCUSSON IMPLEMENTATION, AND I TOOK INITIATIVE MAKING BRIEF STATEMENT NOTING FATHERS CLIFFORD AND PHILLIPS PERMITTED LEAVE ONLY AFTER COMPLETION FULL TERM SENTENCES AND MAKING POINTS PARA ONE DEPTEL 11. WANG CLOSED OFF SUBJECT BY GENERAL STATEMENT WAS US RATHER THAN PRC INTERFERING WITH INDIAN EMBASSY.

7. HE PROPOSED NEXT MEETING JULY 24 BUT READILY ACCEPTED MY COUNTERPROPOSAL FOR THURSDAY JULY 26.

GOWEN

RNS

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1954 JUL 10 PM 2 28
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676

INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

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56-52
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2:12 P.M.

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Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 22[illegible], JULY 10, 5 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF FOUR)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 53RD TODAY WITH FOLLOWING PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. YOU AND I HAVE DISAGREED ABOUT MANY THINGS DURING COURSE OUR DISCUSSION ON RENUNCIATION USE FORCE. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT WE DO AGREE BOTH YOUR COUNTRY AND MINE ARE DISSATISFIED WITH AND CONCERNED ABOUT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF EXISTING SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA. ALTHOUGH WE APPROACH MATTER FROM GREATLY DIFFERING PREMISES I BELIEVE WE ARE AGREED IT WOULD BE IN OUR MUTUAL SELF-INTEREST PEACEFULLY RESOLVE OUR DISPUTES.

B. YET YOU HAVE REJECTED, AT PAST MEETINGS, STEPS I HAVE PROPOSED TO THIS END. IF YOU ACCEPT PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OUR DIFFERENCE AS BEING SOMETHING EQUALLY DESIRABLE FOR BOTH OF US, I CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY YOU REJECT STEPS NECESSARY REALIZE THIS PRINCIPLE.

C. I HAVE PROPOSED AS FIRST STEP TWO OF US DECLARE UNEQUINALLY ON BEHALF OUR GOVERNMENTS WE ARE NOT RPT NOT GOING TO GO TO WAR OVER ANY OUR DISPUTES. SURELY YOU AGREE THIS STEP ESSENTIAL TO TRULY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. WHAT IS ALTERNATIVE? TO DECLARE WE ARE GOING TO WAR OVER OUR DISPUTES? OR THAT WE MAY DO SO, IF OUR DESIRES ARE NOT MET WITHIN SPECIFIC PERIOD OF TIME COULD ANY NEGOTIATIONS BE PEACEFUL IF HELD IN SHADOW SUCH PRONOUNCEMENT?

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D. I HAVE PROPOSED THAT TWO OF US MAKE IT CLEAR DECLARATION CANNOT BE DISTORTED INTO ABANDONMENT BY EITHER SIDE ITS INHERENT RIGHT PURSUE ITS POLICIES BY PEACEFUL MEANS. IS IT NOT RPT NOT TO OUR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE HAVE IT PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT DECLARATION IS NOT DESIGNED PREVENT EITHER OUR COUNTRIES FROM DEFENDING ITSELF IF ATTACKED?

E. I HAVE ALSO PROPOSED DECLARATION BE MADE EXPRESSLY APPLICABLE TO TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE. AGAIN, I FIND IT HARD UNDERSAND HOW THIS COULD BE REGARDED AS "ONE-SIDED" PROVISION. IS IT NOT RPT NOT DESIRE YOUR COUNTRY AS IT IS OF MINE, MAKE POSSIBLE PEACEFUL RESOLUTION PER DIFFERENCE? IF YOUR GOVERNMENT DOES SHARE DESIRE MY GOVERNMENT IN THIS REGARD, IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ME UNDERSTAND HOW IT PERSISTS IN ITS ATTEMPT TO HAGGLE AND BARGAIN OVER TAIWAN AREA REFERENCE? SINCE TAIWAN AREA REFERENCE CLEARLY TO OUR MUTUAL ADVANTAGE, HOW CAN YOUR GOVERNMENT CONTINUE ESTABLISH PRECONDITIONS FOR ITS INCLUSION?

F. NONE OF PROPOSALS I HAVE MADE ARE UNILATERAL OR DESIGNED SERVE INTERESTS OF ONE SIDE MORE THAN OTHER. ALL THEM ARE DESIGNED SOLELY MAKE POSSIBLE REALIZATION OF DISIRE MY GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE, THAT DIFFERENCES OUR TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT LEAD TO WAR , BUT SHOULD BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY. YOUR GOVERNMENT PROFESSES SHARE THIS DESIRE. IF IT REALLY HAS THIS DESIRE, IT SHOULD NO LONGER PERSIST IN ESTABLISHING PRECONDITIONS FOR ITS REALIZATION. IT SHOULD BE WILLING FOR TWO OF US TO REACH AGREEMENT ON DECLARATION BASED UPON YOUR OWN DRAFT DECEMBER 1, WITH NECESSARY AND REASONABLE REVISIONS THEREOF CONTAINED MY DRAFT APRIL 19. I HOPE YOU HAVE ALSO CONSIDERED REMARKS I MADE IN THIS REGARD AT LAST MEETING AND THIS MORNING WE CAN AT LEAST MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION.

GOWEN

CFP

15 JUL 11

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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CORRECTION ISSUED: 7/12/56, 9:15 a.m.

Control: 5241
Rec'd: July 10, 1956 4:27 p.m.

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer

FROM: Geneva - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 22, July 10, 5 p.m. (SECTION TWO OF FOUR)

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FROM JOHNSON.

2. Wang replied from prepared statement he had carefully listened remarks I made this morning but failed detect any new elements. In statement this morning I had merely repeated old tune of arguments he had long before repeatedly refuted. I had again referred to April 19 draft. This draft as he had clearly stated in previous meetings, their side could not (repeat not) accept. He did not (repeat not) consider it would contribute to progress talks to advance these old arguments even going so far as to put forward draft which had been rejected.

3. Wang said he would like remind me once again our discussions on second item now been going on nearly ten months. Out of desire resolve outstanding issues their side had shown great patience in talks. Had repeatedly exerted tremendous efforts for making agreed announcement on renunciation force originally proposed by my side. Draft which they last put forward May 11 after stating determination both sides settle disputes Taiwan area through peaceful negotiations without resorting threat use force against each other added that two sides should within two months of issuance declaration seek ascertain practical feasible means including holding FMC between China-US. In spite fact this draft obviously took view US into account and therefore entirely acceptable my side nevertheless continued under various pretexts refuse reach agreement speedily on that draft.

4. Wang said at previous meetings well as last meeting my side repeatedly made allegation their proposed draft ambiguous and that their side approached this question from standpoint making declaration for sake declaration. My side even turned facts upside down asserting their side threatening US in Taiwan area. It simply because US occupying China's territory Taiwan by force which created tension Taiwan area. My side still continued it activities Taiwan area aggravating existing tension and threatening security his country. Hence, their side firmly held any announcement renouncing force must be capable leading relaxation and

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and elimination that tension rather than perpetuating status quo US occupation Taiwan. This position their side so clear as to preclude ambiguity.

5. Wang said on other hand aim US these talks always been attempt secure announcement solely advantageous US so as to enable US maintain present state occupation Taiwan while continuing interference his country's liberation Taiwan. Failing obtain such announcement US would then continue drag out talks indefinitely in order obtain same object of freezing status quo Taiwan area.

6. Wang would like frankly point out their side could not agree to make announcement which in favor one side alone nor could their side allow talks be used as tool by one party to achieve unilateral aims. Their side maintained any joint declaration must be advantageous both sides. In same way continuance talks possible only under condition it advantageous both sides.

7. Wang said with reference statement I made this morning, if US truly desirous reaching agreement on proposed announcement renouncing force and willing move this direction he would hope I able seriously consider their May 11 draft and put forth concrete opinion about it.

GOWEN

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COMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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9:31 p.m.

Action Assigned to ———
Action Taken ———

Info
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FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

SS
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NO: 22. July 10, 5 p.m. (SECTION THREE OF FOUR)

Date of Action ———

Action Office Symbol ———

Name of Officer ———

Direction to DC/R ———

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FROM JOHNSON.

8. I replied I completely unable follow his statement this morning that draft I put forward April 19 solely advantageous my side. As had said this morning though we agreed it would be to mutual advantage both our countries peacefully resolve disputes.

9. I said Wang put forward his December 1 draft presumably with thought it at least acceptable his own side. To say now that my April 19 draft which incorporated all his draft of December 1 solely advantageous my side something I not able follow. April 19 draft simply stated very clearly unequivocally we not going war over disputes including those Taiwan area. It also fully incorporated last paragraph his December 1 draft. In other words it clear unequivocal statement of renunciation force I had always maintained and still did that this was first task before us. As said this morning only alternative I saw was to say we were going war settle disputes or we might do so unless desires met within certain period time.

10. I said certainly if purpose my government not to seek peaceful settlement or, as he termed it, intent drag out talks I would never have made proposal last October nor would I have gone to lengths I had in incorporating his draft in our proposals. I had every hope and expectation based on previous discussions that he would find April 19 draft acceptable. Never thought he would discard degree agreement that draft indicated had been reached and, by introducing other elements in his May 11 draft, really accomplish purpose of dragging out talks and preventing agreement.

11. I said April 19 draft could not be interpreted by any reasonable person as in any way sacrificing Wang's position. I was still disappointed he persisted in seeing purposes and difficulties that simply not there. Still hopeful he would

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CORRECTED PAGE 2 AND 3

-2- 22, July 10, 5 p.m. (SECTION THREE OF FOUR) from Geneva

SS
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he would find that draft acceptable and if he did not that he would put forward reasonable suggestions to meet both points view. Could not so consider his May 11 draft.

12. Wang replied in talking about peaceful settlement disputes, fact their side participated these talks had precisely shown desire for such settlement. However this purpose could not be fulfilled by mere lip service, or mere profession of desire while in actual deeds we continued pursuing other purposes. Since we began discussions on renunciation force they had so far not detected any sign of correspondence between professed desire of US for peaceful settlement and our actual deeds. Accordingly although US continued speak about peaceful settlement disputes renunciation force this remained mere lip service and was hard to believe.

13. Wang said with desire to push forward talks and reach agreement on announcement their side had since beginning talks this question proposed three drafts--October 27, December 1, May 11. Every time he put forward draft it was in hope we able reach agreement on it. However none these drafts been accepted. Therefore when I said we already had agreement in certain respects, it not correct. Although each his drafts took into consideration point view my side and capable reading agreement I persisted in turning down these drafts and prevented US from reaching agreement. It true my April 19 draft made some revisions in his previous draft however revisions had actually caused change of nature of draft and that why it not acceptable them.

14. Wang said remarks I had made this morning showed we would not be able make further progress in talks advancing talks and making announcement. He did not see any indication I would change my previous views. We had to recognize after prolonged discussion this question points view both sides been made very clear.

15. Wang said views both sides on making renunciation force

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-3- 22, July 10, 5 p.m. (SECTION THREE OF FOUR) from Geneva

declaration not likely come closer. Hence at next meeting unless I came forth with new constructive proposal, he would suggest talks should then take up other subject under second item, that is question of trade embargo.

GOWEN

CWD:PVB/7

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Control: 5272
Rec'd: JULY 10, 1956
Date of Action
Action: 2:22 PM Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 22, JULY 10, 5 PM (SECTION FOUR OF FOUR)

16. I REPLIED WHAT HE WAS SAYING, THEN, IN OTHER WORDS WAS HIS SIDE REJECTED UNCONDITIONAL CLEAR-CUT STATEMENT RENOUNCING FORCE.

17. I SAID WANG HAD SAID MY APRIL 19 CHANGED NATURE HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT. HE HIMSELF HAD SAID WHEN WE DISCUSSING HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT THAT IT COVERED DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS ELSEWHERE. IF IT DID NOT, HAD NO MEANING WHATSOEVER. MY APRIL 19 DRAFT SIMPLY MADE THIS CLEAR, AS WELL AS TAKING INTO FULL ACCOUNT HIS VIEWS WITH REGARD LOCATION CLAUSE ON SELF-DEFENSE. IF HE CONSIDERED IT CHANGED NATURE HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT THAT SIMPLY MEANT HIS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT NEVER WAS RENUNCIATION FORCE AND NEVER INTENDED TO BE.

18. I SAID MY GOVERNMENT STILL SOUGHT SUCH RENUNCUATION FORCE AND FIRST STEP. I WAS DISCOURAGED AT CONTINUED EVASION BY HIS GOVERNMENT ON ONE PRETEXT OR ANOTHER OF MAKING SUCH RENUNCIATION FORCE. NEVERTHELESS I STILL HOPEFUL IT WOULD ADOPT THIS GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT AND THUS AS I SAID AT LAST MEETING OPEN ROAD FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION DIFFERENCES. IF IT PERSISTED IN REFUSING DO SO AND PERSISTED IN MAINTAINING ITS THREAT INITIATE USE FOCE TAIWAN AREA; IT HAD BE OPTIMISTIC OVER PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES. NEITHER MY GOVERNMENT NOR ANY OTHER SELF-RESPECTING GOVERNMENT COULD NEGOTIATE UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS. I HOPED HE COULD RECONSIDER THIS PRIOR NEXT MEETING. BELIEVED ISSUES TOO IMPORTANT FOR TWO OF US DESPAIR OF REACHING UNDERSTANDING.

19. WANG AGREED WITH THESIS THAT ONCE WE BEGIN DISCUSSING CERTAIN PROBLEM WE SHOULD TRY SETTLE PROBLEM. ON QUESTION OF MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT, DURING PAST TEN MONTHS THEIR SIDE

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MADE REPEATED EFFORT AND FACT THAT NO AGREEMENT BEEN REACHED NOT (REPEAT NOT) THEIR RESPONSIBILITY.

20. WANG SAID IF US ACTUALLY DESIRED AND NOT (REPEAT NOT) MERELY GIVING LIP SERVICE TO RENUNCIATION FORCE IN SETTLEMENT DISPUTES SHOULD DO SO BY ACTUAL ACTIONS. HE HAD ALWAYS HOPED WE WOULD PUT FORTH NEW CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS BASED ON SPIRIT MUTUAL ADVANTAGE BOTH SIDES. IF WE TALK ABOUT REFUSING MAKE ANNOUNCEMENT, IT US WHICH REFUSED JOINING IN MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT ADVANTAGE BOTH SIDES.

21. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTHING MORE ON THIS QUESTION THIS MORNING. HE PROPSOED WE MEET NEXT JULY 24.

22. I INDICATED I HAD NOT (REPEAT NOT) AGREED TO ENDING MEETING ALTHOUGH HAD NOTHING MORE ON SUBJECT RENUNCIATION FORCE THIS MORNING. I SIMPLY WANTED SAY I PLEASED NOTE FATHERS PHILLIPS CLIFFORD AFTER COMPLETING PRISON SENTENCES IN FULL HAD BEEN PERMITTED LEAVE AND ARRIVED HONG KONG JULY 7.

23. I SAID DISAPPOINTED NOT HIS AUTHORITIES APPARENTLY STILL ATTEMPTING INTERFERE AND PREVENT INDIAN EMBASSY FROM CARRING OUT FUNCTIONS WITH RESPECT CHINESE PRISONERS US WHICH I HAD OUTLINED AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS. FOUND THIS DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND IF HE STILL INTERESTED IN RETURN THESE PEOPLE.

24. WANG COULD NOT (REPEAT NOT) ACCEPT MY STATEMENT THEIR SIDE INTERFERING WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IN CARRYING OUT FUNCTIONS. IF INDIAN EMBASSY HAD DIFFICULTY CARRYING OUT FUNCTIONS IN US SO SIMPLY BECAUSE US GOVERNMENT FAILED COOPERATE EFFECTIVELY IN CARRYING OUT ITS FUNCTIONS.

25. WANG SAID HE WAS NOT (REPEAT NOT) GOING TO SAY ANYTHING MORE ON THIS THIS MORNING AND SUGGESTED THAT THE NEXT MEETING BE HELD TUESDAY JULY 24. I INDICATED IT WAS AGREEABLE TO MEETING THAT WEEK BUT WOULD PREFER THURSDAY JULY 26 AS TUESDAY WOULD BE INCONVENIENT. WANG AGREED.

GOWEN

DT

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 23, JULY 10, 6 PM

Control: 5431
Rec'd: JULY 10, 1956
10:29 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

1. COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

DO NOT BELIEVE WANG'S "SUGGESTION" WE TURN TO TRADE EMBARGO PRESAGES ANY EARLY BREAK BUT IS RATHER RENEWED ATTEMPT BRING PRESSURE ON US. ALSO, THEIR THOUGHT MAY WELL BE THAT IN ABSENCE ANY SUCCESS THIS WILL DEMONSTRATE LACK ANY ADVANTAGE TO THEM FROM TALKS AND THUS PREPARE GROUND IF THEY EVENTUALLY DECIDE CARRY OUT BREAK. THEY MAY ALSO ESTIMATE THAT NOW IS PROPITIOUS TIME FOCUS PUBLIC ATTENTION ON TRADE AND WILL IN TALKS HERE ATTEMPT LAY BASIS FOR PUBLIC POSITION WHICH WILL ACCELERATE PRESENT TRENDS OTHER COUNTRIES LOWER RESTRICTIONS ON TRADE WITH THEM AND WEAKEN INTERNATIONAL POSITION US THIS QUESTION. IN VIEW OF CURRENT DEARTH OF PUBLIC INTEREST IN RENUNCIATION TOPIC, CHICOMS MAY ALSO FEEL FURTHER CONCENTRATION ON THIS WOULD BE LESS PRODUCTIVE OF EMBARASSMENT TO US AND GRC THAN SHIFTING FOCUS TO TRADE, WITH ATTENDANT POSSIBILITY OF EXPLOITING US SUPPORT OF GRC "PIRACY" THIS WAS HINTED AT IN CHOU'S NPC SPEECH.

2. AT NEXT MEETING HE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY QUERY AS TO WHETHER I HAVE ANY "NEW CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSAL" WITH RESPECT RENUNCIATION AND IN ABSENCE ANY NEW DRAFT MY PART RENEW "SUGGESTION" MOVE TO TRADE EMBARGO. SUGGEST MY BEST TACTIC AT THAT POINT WOULD BE REFER MY NOVEMBER 3 STATEMENT (PARA 75 MYTEL 1056), COPY OF WHICH WAS GIVEN HIM, ON INTERRELATION TWO ITEMS BUT IN ACCORDANCE THAT STATEMENT EXPRESS WILLINGNESS LISTEN TO WHAT HE HAS TO SAY. I WOULD AVOID ANY DIRECT REPLY AT THAT MEETING AND RESTATE POSITION

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ON RENUNCIATION AS APPROPRIATE ASKING THEY RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION THAT REGARD.

3. REFERENCE JUNE 29 LETTER FROM PURDUE TO DEPARTMENT NOTE TSENG KUANG CHIH'S NAME WAS INCLUDED LIST WANG GAVE ME FEBRUARY 9 OR TWO MONTHS BEFORE HE PLACED UNDER OBSERVATION. MUST EXPECT WANG WILL EVENTUALLY LEARN OF THIS CASE FROM RETURNING STUDENTS OR OTHER MEANS. IF AUTHORITIES DETERMINE TSENG NOT COMPETENT MAKE DECISION ON RETURN SUGGEST DESIRABILITY INDIANS BEING INFORMED FACTS.

DT

GOWEN

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FROM: Geneva - CORRECTED COPY

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 25, July 11, 11 a.m.

FROM JOHNSON

At 53rd meeting Ambassador Wang introduced new adviser, Wang Ning (Matthews 7037,4724) who takes place of Wang Pao Liu.

GOWEN

AB:PLH

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OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Copy routed to
Mr Robertson
Mr Phleger

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OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

SECRET

July 11, 1956.

Letter No. 40

Dear Walter:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 6 which I received on the 9th. Also thanks for the telegram with regard to MacKensen and the Indians having asked to give the prisoner letter to the Chinese. As you will have seen I had no reaction from Wang on this probably not having had time to have reached him. I expect I will get some reaction at the next meeting. I would very much hope that by the next meeting there may be some news with regard to the Chinese prisoners so that we will know where that is going. Also, is it not about time that O'Neil ask to see the Americans?

I have not much to add to what I have said in my comments telegram. There is one point thought that I would like to mention. It is whether I now, but more particularly in the future, if there is a break, play the note that they have by their December 1 draft to a large extent renounced force, or whether I play the note of implicit threat in their position. This is more important in regard to our public position than the position that I take in the meetings but the two are, of course, closely related. I could, for example at yesterday's meeting, have taken the position that a virtual refusal to further discuss renunciation of force carried with it the implication of intent to attack in the Taiwan area. However, I refrained from doing so and also

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

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deliberately refrained from saying anything with regard to their position of threatening peace in the Far East as I felt that the latter might carry with it the implication of a threat on our part. From the standpoint of both the talks here and our public position, it seems to me that it would be wise to soft-pedal threat aspects so as not in these talks or publicly to bring build-up any crisis atmosphere even if they were to be broken off, but rather to emphasize the degree to which they have, particularly in their December 1 draft, accepted the principle of renunciation of force, leaving it to them to deny it.

I am driving back to Prague, arriving there tomorrow night. Because of engagements I had already made and cannot be broken, I will be remaining there until the next meeting. Therefore, If you have anything to send me, you can send it there. I will probably come down on Tuesday, July 24.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : CA - Mr. McConaughy

DATE: July 18, 1956

FROM : DRF - Peter W. Colm

THRU: CA - Douglas N. Forman

SUBJECT: Comments on Peking Radio regarding the Geneva talks.

The following comments were reported on Peking Radio regarding the Geneva talks, in connection with the Anniversary of the Geneva Summit Conference. Quoting from various newspapers, Radio Peking stated:

> "No further gains were made at their (Johnson-Wang) talks in Geneva, because the United States lacks sincerity and tries to continue intensified tension in the Taiwan area".

> "The paper describes Ambassador Johnson's obstinate persistence and unreasonable principles at the Sino-American Ambassadorial talks as 'amazing'. This is also a reflection of the U.S. dilemma. It dares not break off the talks outright, nor does it dare to reach agreement".

FE:CA:DNForman:Bs
7-18-56

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1956 JUL 19 PM 7 11

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FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for July 26 meeting.

1. We believe ~~that~~ it is important at the coming meeting to protest the prolonged failure of ~~the~~ Communists to implement the agreed announcement on return of Americans. Point out agreement made more than 10 months ago, return was to be expeditious, and that 90 days had even been discussed as a limit of time. Point out our full compliance in letter and spirit with announcement, and our recent action in arranging for deportation of Chinese in prison, although they not covered by announcement. Point out that this U.S. decision made in light ~~of~~ Communist repeated claims that they included so that there could be no possible basis for Communist continued refusal to release U.S. prisoners. Point out difficulty in making arrangements for exercise by prisoners of choice of repatriation and for participation by Indian Embassy; incomprehensible failure of Indian Embassy to cooperate due to request by Communist that it do not do so. Point out difficulty of making progress toward further agreements when those already made are not lived up to.

2. You should also point out inability ~~to~~ understand failure of Communists to agree to meaningful renunciation of force, particularly when U.S. had

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6N.93/7-1956

Drafted by: 7/19/56
L:HPhleger:CA:WPMcConaughy:emm

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

S - The Secretary - approved in draft

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accepted Communist formulation of December 1 with only slight additions to make clear its meaning.

3. With respect to topic of trade controls, we must maintain our fundamental position that there can be no fruitful discussion of this item under the overhanging threat of use of force; that there must be a meaningful agreed announcement by parties renouncing force before trade embargoes can be usefully discussed. However it is hoped that without prejudicing in any way this position, you can lead Wang to disclose just what he has in mind as to the item of trade embargo and what changes the Communists propose in ~~the~~ existing situation.

4. You may wish ~~to~~ point out that unrealistic to think any country would help to strengthen economically another which threatens to use force if its demands are not met, by trading with it, ~~and~~/where goods received in that trade could be used to support use of force. All this should lead back to discussion of necessity for meaningful renunciation of force in order ~~to~~ permit progress in talks.

5. FYI Indian Embassy has not replied ~~to~~ our letter of June 27 requesting reconsideration ~~of~~ its adverse decision on visits to prisoners. Embassy has intimated we may get reply from Communists at Geneva before it receives reply from New Delhi. As it is clear Indians will be guided by Chinese Communist wishes in this matter we are not sanguine of reversal of decision. However will allow few more days for Indian reply before we arrange for visits to prisoners by American officials, probably with Red Cross observers.

6. FYI we are asking British Chargé ~~in~~ Peiping to renew his request for permission ~~to~~ visit all American prisoners. In view invitation we have extended

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to Indians, he is in favorable position ~~to~~ press Chinese Communists insistently on this issue.

7. One more Chinese criminal, Moy Lum, No. 11 on list, has been released from prison. Total of 3 released since survey made. You may inform Wang if you consider it desirable do so.

8. FYI Chinese Ambassador at our request has agreed ~~to~~ instruct Chinese Consuls in this country to defer their visits to Chinese prisoners until we have had opportunity ~~to~~ present alternatives to prisoners. END FYI.

DULLES

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☐ Reviewer _____ Date 9/9/ F2

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SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 51

Dear Alex:

1. We were glad to get your letter No. 40 of July 11. Messrs. Robertson and Phleger have read it. It would not seem necessary to decide finally at this stage how we will eventually construe the Chinese Communist position on renunciation of force -- whether we would publicly stress its threatening aspects or its ostensible partial acceptance of the concept of renunciation of force. We shall be giving some thought to this on a contingency basis although our assessment is that an early break-off is unlikely.

2. We have been quite forehanded with your guidance telegram, No. 60 of July 19th, which went off last night. I believe it is the first time we have dispatched your guidance a full week before the meeting. The reason is that the Secretary is leaving today for Panama and Judge Phleger for a week in San Francisco.

3. You will see that we are taking a strong line in refusing to discuss trade controls in the absence of a renunciation of force. It is substantially the position you took last November, and the position you recommended in your comments on the last meeting. We debated for some time whether we should also state that discussion of trade or any other practical matter would additionally be contingent on full Chinese Communist compliance with the

agreed

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

agreed announcement. We somewhat reluctantly decided not to put this in, for tactical reasons. At the same time you will understand that this second condition, although not to be expressed by you at this time, still stands. If they should agree to renounce force, we would then point out that they would have to make good on their commitment of September 10 before we could go on to any other practical matter at issue.

4. Enclosed is a translation of a circular letter to Chinese students in this country, mailed from mainland China. We got this through [redacted] Intelligence sources.

5. We have heard of one additional Chinese student who has gone insane. His name is ... from the University of Minnesota. He has been in the mental ward of the University of Minnesota Hospital since February. The doctors think his condition is attributable to letters he has received from his family in China. He received letters through the open mail from his family xx which praised the Communist regime and urged him to return. Later he received smuggled letters which told him the former letters had been written under pressure and that he should disregard them. Although ...is an aeroengineer, apparently he was never on the list of technically trained Chinese who were temporarily restrained from leaving the U. S. Apparently he is not the ....

We received this report from the FBI. We have heard nothing from the Minnesota authorities or from ..himself. We intend to take no action unless we receive something from those quarters.

6. We are enclosing the latest tabulation of information on Americans in prison in Communist China. While you may have all this information it is more accessible in this tabular form.

7. We have

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7. We have just heard from ... that her husband, ... has apparently been pretty extensively influenced by the Chinese Communist brainwashing efforts. He has been taken on a tour of a number of Chinese cities. He wrote his wife a long letter containing all sorts of panegyrics on the Chinese Communist accomplishments. She mailed us typed excerpts but apparently left out important parts, possibly because she is embarrassed at the evidence that he has broken to some extent under Communist pressure. We are trying to get a complete copy of the letter. We will let you have what is available in any event.

8. We still have no reply from the Indian Embassy to our appeal for a reconsideration. The Indian Embassy gave us the amazing information the other day that we would probably get the reply from the Chinese Communists at Geneva before the Indian Embassy here had anything. That does not sound encouraging, but we are allowing a few more days before we make plans to proceed independently with the prisoner interviews. From this Indian reply you should probably expect a new attack by Wang at the next meeting on our prisoner initiative.

9. The British are about to jump entirely off the reservation on trade controls. They are exporting 151 "land rovers" (jeeps) to Communist China in defiance of the multilateral control and consultation procedure. We fear they will follow up with a number of tractors. Other countries of course will feel that they are no longer inhibited. The wholesystem is in jeopardy and we still have no firm position here on how we will deal with the crisis. The Communist Chinese are probably aware of the trend and it may make Wang less insistent on the trade issue, at Geneva.

10. We

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10. We have heard from FE/P that the NBC wants to have a filmed TV interview with you on the first anniversary of the beginning of the talks August 1. We have heard nothing from you on this and it may be a ~~gobbled~~ garbled report. In any event we have/~~xx~~ told FE/P that we think an interview along the anticipated lines would be a mistake and should be discouraged. We do not want to play up your success in keeping the talks going at this time. Judge Phleger in particular feels it would be a serious mistake.

11. SCA feels that it would be a good idea for Ambassador Lodge to make a speech on the question of the 450 servicemen. The State Department is coming in for a lot of unwarranted criticism from many Americans who are writing in. A speech might help to clear the atmosphere and FE is not opposed, assuming of course the content is right.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Translation of circular letter to Chinese Students dated May 29, 1956.
2. Copy of Tabulation of Information on Americans in Prison in Communist China
3. House Resolution of July 18.
4. Washington News Editorial of July 12 - "It's Just Ransom Talk".
5. Chinese Communist Comments on Geneva Talks, Carried on Radio Peiping.

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:wwa

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 683

INDICATE ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

727

For DC/T use only

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 70

Origin

Info

FOR JOHNSON

Chinese convict LU Ping yeou No. 25 on list released from prison July 20. Four released 30 remain.

Hoover Acting
(WPMcC)

HOOVER

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DC/T
Rmk 55
Rm ✓
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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:bp 7/23/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

611.93/7-2356
CS/T
Confidential File

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Classification

GOING
GRAM 684

Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLEGE
☒ CHARGE TO

SECRET
Classification

1956 JUL 23 PM 6

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 72

RPT Amconsul HONG KONG (BY POUCH)
RPT Amembassy LONDON (BY POUCH) WBB
RPT Amembassy TAIPEI (BY POUCH)

Origin

Info

Deptel 60

British Embassy July 20 transmitted to British Charge O'Neill Peiping our request that he renew immediately and insistently to Chinese Communist authorities request that he be allowed to visit all American prisoners.

Hoover
ACTING
HOOVER

Central Files

611.93/7-2356

CS/T

SC/E
Anal 55
Rec
Cat

Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:emm 7/23/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

JUL 23 1956

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Geneva Book

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31-39
Action
FE
Info
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SS
SP

Control: 15208
Rec'd: JULY 26, 1956 1/6
2:08 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 71, JULY 26, 2 PM

Action Assigned to CA/D
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

THREE-HOUR FIVE MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING MOSTLY ON RENUNCIATION. WHILE WANG RENEWED HIS PROPOSAL MOVE TO TRADE AND MADE FEW GENERAL REMARKS THEREON, HE DIDN'T PRESS HARD AND DISCUSSION REVOLVED AROUND RENUNCIATION ALONG FAMILIAR LINES. THIS PHASE MEETING CLOSED ON INCONCLUSIVE NOTE WITH WANG STATING PROGRESS DEPENDED ON US PUTTING FORWAVD CONSTRUCTIVE OPINION AND MY CHARACTERIZING OBSTACLE AS LACK WILLINGNESS PRC GIVE UP THREAT USE FORCE TAIWAN AREA.

AFTER I MADE OPENING STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION CHANG MADE FAIRLY EXTENSIVE REPLY ENDING WITH PROPOSAL MOVE TO "DISCUSSION CONCRETE MEASURES LIFTING TRADE EMBARGO." I REPLIED THERETO WITH RENEWAL DISCUSSION ON RENUNCIATION BUT WEAVING IN POINTS PARA 3 AND 4 DEPTEL 60. WHILE WANG MADE FEW GENERAL REMARKS ON LACK JUSTIFICATION FOR EMBARGO WHICH "OUTSTANDING ISSUE WHICH HINDERS NORMAL DEVELOPMENT RELATIONS" PERMITTED HIMSELF TO BE LED BACK INTO DISCUSSION RENUNCIATION AND REMAINDER PHASE THIS MEETING KEPT THAT SUBJECT.

I MADE LONG STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTATION COVERING POINTS CONTAINED PARA ONE DEPTEL 60 TYING IT BACK TO HIS PREVIOUS STATEMENTS ON NECESSITY TALKS BE ADVANTAGEOUS BOTH SIDES AND CHARACTERIZING RESULTS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS ONE-SIDED DISADVANTAGE TO US. WANG REPLIED ALONG USUAL LINES, ONLY THING NEW BEING REFERENT TO "RECENT MOVE BY US TRY TO SEND CHINESE IN US IN PRISON TO TAIWAN" BUT WITHOUT DIRECTLY

611.93/7-2656

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REFERRING TO LETTER TO PRISONERS.

I PROPOSED NEXT MEETING TUESDAY AUGUST 2 WANG COUNTERED WITH SUGGESTIONS THURSDAY AUGUST 9 TO WHICH I AGREED.

DEPARTING PRAGUE FRIDAY MORNING.

JOHNSON

RNS

Note: Advance copy to Mr. Waddell (FE) 7/26/56, 3:15 p.m. LWH.

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

(686)

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 15689
Rec'd: JULY 27, 1956
6:45 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 75, JULY 26, 11 P.M. (SECTION 1 OF 7)

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

1. AFTER WANG REFUSED MY INVITATION TO OPEN OPENED THE MEETING WITH PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. AT OUR LAST MEETING AND SEVERAL PREVIOUS MEETINGS YOU HAVE BEEN MAKING REFERENCE TO WHAT YOU TERM ATTEMPT OF US IN DISCUSSING QUESTION ARRIVING AT AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE TO TAKE PREJUDICED VIEWPOINT AND OBTAIN ONE-SIDED ADVANTAGE. FRANKLY, WHEN I PROPOSED LAST OCTOBER THAT TWO US ISSUE DECLARATION ANNOUNCING USE FORCE, I DID SO BECAUSE OF CONVICTION MY GOVERNMENT IT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO US IF WE COULD CREATE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES WITHOUT RESORTING FORCE. I SAY THIS QUITE FRANKLY AND OPENLY, BECAUSE I FEEL THERE IS NOTHING WRONG OR SHAMEFUL IN MY HAVING MADE THIS PROPOSITION. IT IS MY RESPONSIBILITY AS REPRESENTATIVE MY COUNTRY, SEEK PROMOTE ADVANTAGE OF US. THAT DOES NOT MEAN I SEEK PROMOTE DISADVANTAGE OTHER COUNTRIES. I ASSUME YOU FEEL SAME WAY ABOUT SEEKING ADVANCE INTERESTS YOUR COUNTRY.

B. IN MAKING MY PROPOSAL LAST OCTOBER IT WAS NOT MY INTENT, OR INTENT MY GOVERNMENT, SEEK UNFAIR OR ONE-SIDED ADVANTAGE. IT WAS NOT--AND IS NOT-MY FEELING THAT MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE IN SETTLEMENT OUR DISPUTES WOULD BE ADVERSE TO REAL INTERESTS YOUR COUNTRY. IN FACT IT MY CONVICTION THIS WOULD BE GENUINLY ALSO TO ADVANTAGE YOUR COUNTRY AS WELL. IT MY BELIEF THAT RESORT OF FORCE OVER ANY OUR DISPUTES WOULD IN LONG RUN INJURE REAL INTERESTS YOUR COUNTRY AS WELL AS MINE. I AM WELL AWARE OF POSITION YOUR COUNTRY WITH RESPECT OUR

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DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. I AM ALSO WELL AWARE OF RELUCTANCE ON PART YOUR COUNTRY'S AUTHORITIES ABANDON WHAT THEY CONSIDER "RIGHT" USE FORCE IF THEY CHOOSE DO SO. IT IS NOT MY PURPOSE TO ENTER INTO PHILOSOPHICAL ARGUMENT OVER ABSTRACT QUESTION WHETHER SUCH "RIGHT" CAN EXIST NOR TO ARGUE CONCEPT RIGHTS CONSISTENCY WITH WHAT HAS BECOME A GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE MODERN INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT. IT BEEN MY HOPE YOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD COME TO REALIZATION THAT JUST AS PRACTICAL MATTER OF ITS OWN SELF-INTEREST, INTEREST OF ITS PEOPLE, AND INTEREST OF REST OF WORLD, IT OUGHT TO ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF RENUNCIATION FORCE.

C. I CONTINUE HOPE YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL EVENTUALLY ACCEPT THIS PRINCIPLE. MATTER BOILS DOWN TO THIS: DOES YOUR GOVERNMENT STILL CONSIDER IT IS ENTITLED TO USE FORCE IN RESPECT OUR DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA? DOES IT STILL REJECT UNQUALIFIED RENUNCIATION USE FORCE?

D. TO STATE QUESTION IN TERMS CONCRETE CONTENT OUR DISCUSSIONS OVER LAST HALF YEAR, WAS DECEMBER 1 DRAFT YOUR SIDE REALLY INTENDED AS GENERAL STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLE FULLY ACCEPTED BY YOUR SIDE? IF SO, HOW CAN YOUR GOVERNMENT INSIST ON WITHHOLDING APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLE FROM VERY AREA WHERE NEED FOR IT IS GREATEST? OR HOW CAN YOUR GOVERNMENT HAGGLE AND BARGAIN OVER ITS APPLICATION TO THAT AREA, ESTABLISHING PRECONDITIONS AND SETTING TIME LIMITS?

E. IF YOUR GOVERNMENTS PRINCIPLE WHICH APPEARS BE STATED ON DRAFT DECEMBER 1, HOW CAN IT OBJECT TO CLARIFICATION THIS STATEMENT ON PRINCIPLE? SURELY IT OBVIOUS MY COUNTRY COULD NOT ACCEPT DECLARATION WHICH PREJUDICED ITS RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE. SURELY YOUR OWN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT WANT PREJUDICE ITS OWN RIGHT THIS REGARD. WHAT POSSIBLE OBJECTION CAN THERE BE TO MAKING THIS CLEAR IN DECLARATION ITSELF.

F. I WISH TO RECORD MY MOST EARNEST HOPE YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL ACCEPT PRINCIPLE OF RENUNCIATION FORCE WITHOUT QUALIFICATION, AND IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR TWO US, ON BASIS OF AREA OF AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED, TO GO ON TO ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION

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CLEARLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY EMBODYING THAT PRINCIPLE.

2. WANG, SPEAKING FROM PREPARED STATEMENT, SAID WOULD SOON BE ONE YEAR SINCE BEGAN TALKS. MOST URGENT, IMPORTANT TASK TALK HIS ACHIEVEMENT RELAXATION AND ELIMINATIONS TENSION TAIWAN AREA, WHEREBY FUNDAMENTAL ADJUSTMENT ABNORMAL RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN CHINA AND U.S. MIGHT BE BROUGHT ABOUT AND CAUSE PEACE IN FAR EAST AND WORLD MAY BE BENEFITED. IT IN THIS SPIRIT THEIR SIDE BEEN CONDUCTING NEGOTIATIONS WITH OUR SIDE ON MAKING RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION.

GOWEN

GSB:

Note: Mr. Waddell (FE) notified. 10 a.m. 7/27/56. MG

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CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 15442
Rec'd: JULY 27, 1956
8:52 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 75, JULY 26, 11 AM (SECTION TWO OF SEVEN)

3. CONTINUING FROM NOTES TAKEN DURING MY STATEMENT WANG SAID AT OUTSET THESE DISCUSSIONS THEIR SIDE HOPED WE BE ABLE RESOLVE QUESTION RELAXING AND ELIMINATING TENSION TAIWAN AREA BY PEACEFUL MEANS. HOWEVER, SUCH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT MUST BE IN CONFORMITY GENERALLY ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND ALSO IN CONFORMITY FUNDAMENTAL INTERESTS OF SOVEREIGN STATES. CENTRAL ISSUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WICH REQUIRES RESOLUTION IS THAT OF TAIWAN AREA DISPUTE. TAIWAN IS TERRITORY OF CHINA. CHINESE PEOPLE CAN IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES RENOUNCE RIGHT SOVEREIGNTY OVER TAIWAN. TAIWAN WITHIN FRAMEWORK CHINESE TERRITORY THEREFORE CHINESE PEOPLE NEVER PERMIT ANY FOREIGN COUNTRY INTERFERE IN THIS QUESTION. EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OVER TAIWAN BY CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS EXACTLY IN CONFORMITY WITH GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT.

4. WANG SAID I HAD STATED IN DISCUSSING QUESTION DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA, US WOULD NOT PREJUDICE RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE THAT AREA. HE COULD ONLY SAY THESE REMARKS AGGRESSIVE. THIS US POSITION PRECISELY WHAT THEIR SIDE CONSISTENTLY, FIRMLY REJECTED IN TALKS. IF ONE COUNTRY TRIED IMPOSE RIGHT SELF-DEFENSE ON TERRITORY OTHER COUNTRY, COULD THIS BE CALLED OBSERVANCE GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT? HIS GOVERNMENT ALWAYS RESPECTED RIGHTS INTERESTS EVERY OTHER COUNTRY, IN RETURN REQUESTED ALL OTHER COUNTRIES RESPECT THEIR SOVERIGNTY RIGHTS AS WELL.

5. WANG SAID I HAD STATED THIS MORNING IT MY RESPONSIBILITY ADVANCE INTEEST US, HOWEVER, IN DOING SO US MUST NOT VIOLATE, INFRINGE ON RIGHTS HIS COUNTRY. CHINESE PEOPLE FIRMLY OPPOSE CONDUCT TALKS WHICH WHILE PROMOTING US INTERST PREJUDICED INTERESTS HIS COUNTRY. DISCUSSION ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES CAN NEVER AND MUST

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NOT BE CONDUCTED IN MANNER WHEREBY US ADVANCING OWN INTERESTS AT EXPENSE INTEREST OF HIS COUNTRY.

6. RETURNING TO PREPARED STATEMENT WANG SAID I HAD AGAIN MADE REPEATED REFERENCE TO MAKING DECLARATION RENOUNCE FORCE. HE WOULD SAY IT PRECISELY BECAUSE DESIRE HIS SIDE ISSUE FAIR, JUST, EQUAL DECLARATION WITH US ON RENUNCIATION FORCE THAT IN DISCUSSIONS HIS SIDE REPEATEDLY MADE GREAT EFFORTS AND MORE THAN ONCE OFFERED DRAFTS MEETING VIEWS BOTH SIDES, PARTICULARLY ONE PROPOSED MAY 11. NO REASON WHY BOTH SIDES COULD NOT ENTIRELY REACH AGREEMENT THAT DRAFT. HOWEVER, MY SIDE AT OUTSET DISCUSSIONS UNVEILED INTENT SECURING DECLARATION OF UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE US, ENABLING US MAINTAIN STATUS QUO SEIZURE TAIWAN AND CONTINUE INTERVENTION CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS BY PREVENTING CHINESE PEOPLE FROM LIBERATING OWN TERRITORY TAIWAN. ALL DRAFTS PRESENTED BY US BEEN IMBUED WITH THIS INTENT. HIS SIDE ABSOLUTELY REJECTS SUCH ATTEMPTS. HE COULD ONLY REGRET INTRANSIGENCE OUR SIDE OVER ITS UN-JUSTIFIED POSITION.

7. WANG SAID WE NOW HAD TO ADMIT SO FAR FAILED REACH AGREEMENT QUESTION MAKING RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION INSTEAD HAD MET OBSTACLE. AS HE SAID AT LAST MEETING HE WELCOMED ANY MOVE ON PART PUTTING FORTH CONSTRUCTIVE OPINIONS TO ADVANCE TALKS THIS REGARD. OTHERWISE, WE SHOULD CHANGE SUBJECT OUR DISCUSSION. AS NOTED IN MY REMARKS THIS MORNING I MERELY PLAYED OVER OLD TUNE AND FAILED PUT FORWARD ANY NEW CONSTRUCTIVE OPINIONS. HE REQUESTED THIS WAS CASE.

8. WANG SAID THEY HAD MADE CLEAR IN TALKS THAT HOLDING FMC BETWEEN CHINA AND US ABSOLUTELY INDISPENSABLE TO SOLVE QUESTION RELAXATION AND ELIMINATION TENSION TAIWAN AREA. NONETHELESS, TWO OF US AS AMBASSADORS OF RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES SHOULD BE ABLE GO AHEAD TACKLE SETTLE CERTAIN OUTSTANDING MATTERS WHICH HINDER IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. HE RECALLED THAT WHEN HIS SIDE SEPT 14 LAST YEAR PROPOSED SUBJECT EMBARGO UNDER ITEM TWO, US INDICATED READINESS DISCUSS SUBJECT IN TALKS, THUS AGREED INCLUDE THIS SUBJECT IN OUR AGENDA. HE THEREFORE PROPOSED WE NOW START DISCUSSING CONCRETE MEASURES FOR LIFTING EMBARGO.

9. I REPLIED HE HAD SPOKEN OF OBSTACLES MET IN REACHING

AGREEMENT ON QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION. HE HAD ALSO REFERRED TO SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA BEING MOST URGENT AND IMPORTANT QUESTION CONFRONTING US. I THOUGH WE SHOULD BE CLEAR AS TO EXACT NATURE OBSTACLE NOW CONFRONTING US. WHILE HE CONTINUED SPEAK OF RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION, HE HAD CONTINUED AVOID AGREEMENT ON STATEMENT WHICH WOULD IN FACT CONSTITUTE SUCH DECLARATION. PROPOSITION I HAD PUT FORWARD HERE VERY SIMPLE. I HAD REPEATED IT MANY TIMES. IT WAS SIMPLY THAT WHILE WE DISAGREE ABOUT MANY THINGS AND PARTICULARLY ABOUT ORIGIN, NATURE, POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA WE SIMPLY SAY FIRST WE NOT GOING GO WAR ABOUT THOSE THINGS. OBSTACLE WE FACED AND CONTINUED FACE WAS UNWILLINGNESS HIS GOVERNMENT SAY THIS IN CLEAR UNEQUIVOCAL LANGUAGE. WHILE HE CONTINUED SPEAK OF RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION AND WE HAD DISCUSSED VARIOUS DRAFTS EMBODYING THAT PRINCIPLE IT WAS CLEAR FROM OUR DISCUSSION HERE, PUBLIC STATEMENT MADE BY HIS GOVERNMENT AND DRAFTS HE PUT FORWARD THAT WHILE HE DESIRED ON ONE HAND GIVE APPEARANCE HAVING ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE, ON OTHER HAND HE ATTEMPTED RETAIN FREEDOM USE FORCE. HE HAD IN PARTICULAR ATTEMPTED RETAIN FOR HIS SIDE FREEDOM USE FORCE WITH REGARD DISPUTE WHICH WE BOTH AGREED MOST URGENT AND IMPORTANT FACING US. TO CHARACTERIZE ANY SUCH DECLARATION AS RENUNCIATION FORCE WOULD BE FRAUD UPON WORLD AND COULD ONLY RESULT INCREASED MISUNDERSTANDING AND INCREASED TENSION BETWEEN US. THIS WAS OBSTACLE WHICH CONTINUED CONFRONT US. NO PLAYING WITH WORDS COULD RESOLVE THIS. THIS OBSTACLE COULD BE REMOVED ONLY BY DECISION HIS GOVERNMENT. I HAD OVER PAST MONTHS AND CONTINUE EARNESTLY HOPE HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD REMOVE THAT OBSTACLE. IF THAT OBSTACLE REMOVED WORDS COULD READILY BE FOUND EMBODY PRINCIPLE. I HAD IN PAST AND STILL CONTINUE FEEL THIS FIRST AND MOST URGENT TASK CONFRONTING US.

GOWEN

RNS

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48

CONFIDENTIAL

Action FE

Info RMR SS G SP C L

Control: 15688
Rec'd: JULY 27, 1956
6:45 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 75, JULY 26, 11 PM (SECTION THREE OF SEVEN)

Action Assigned
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

10. I CONTINUED FROM PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. AS I TOLD YOU AT MEETING NOVEMBER 3 AND ALSO SUBSEQUENTLY MENTIONED, I CONSIDER THERE IS AN INHERENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION FORCE AND WHAT YOU HAVE TERMED THE TRADE EMBARGO. MY VIEWS THIS REGARD HAVE NOT CHANGED. THAT IS, FROM MY STANDPOINT DISCUSSION OF WHAT YOU TERM TRADE EMBARGO CONNOT BE DIVORCED FROM CONTINUED OVERHANGING THREAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL RESORT USE FORCE IN ATTEMPT RESOLVE TO ITS SATISFACTION DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. IT UNREALISTIC TO THINK MY COUNTRY OR ANY COUNTRY SENSIBLE OF ITS OWN INTERESTS WOULD DESIRE ECONOMICALLY TO STRENGTHEN A COUNTRY WHICH THREATENS TO RESORT HOSTILITIES IF ITS DEMANDS NOT MET. THIS IS, MY COUNTRY DOES NOT CONSIDER THERE CAN BE ANY ADVANTAGE TO IT IN TRADE, WHERE GOODS RECEIVED IN THAT TRADE CAN SUPPORT USE OF FORCE AGAINST IT. THIS SHOULD BE SELF-EVIDENT. IT THUS CLEAR THERE IS AN INSEPARABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RENUNCIATION FORCE AND SUBJECT OF TRADE AND THAT FIRST HAD AN INHERENT PRIORITY OVER SECOND.

B. I THEREFORE CANNOT AND DO NOT AGREE THAT SUBJECT RENUNCIATION FORCE BE DROPPED. IT IS AND WILL CONTINUE BE FIRST AND FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION IN FUTURE OUR RELATIONS. I CONTINUE SEEK UNCONDITIONAL AND UNEQUIVOCAL AGREEMENT YOUR GOVERNMENT TO THIS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE. HOWEVER, AS I SAID ON NOVEMBER 3, IN INTEREST OF EXPEDITING OUR DISCUSSIONS, WHILE YOUR GOVERNMENT CONTINUES GIVE CONSIDERATION TO QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE, I AM ENTIRELY WILLING HEAR ANY VIEWS YOU DESIRE PUT FORWARD WITH RESPECT TO TRADE.

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11. WANG REPLIED BOTH US MADE RESPECTIVE POINTS VIEW ALREADY CLEAR ON QUESTION DECLARATION. REPEATED EFFORT HIS SIDE ON QUESTION MAKING DECLARATION COULD NOT BE DENIED OR OBSCURED. HE HAD ON THREE SUCCESSIVE OCCASIONS PROPOSED CLEAR-CUT PROPOSITIONS ON THIS QUESTION. THEY COULD NOT BE DISTORTED. THREE DRAFTS PUT FORWARD BY HIS SIDE TESTIFIED TO SINCERITY HIS GOVERNMENT THIS RESPECT AND WORLD RECOGNIZED IT AS SUC . I HAD STATED QUESTION MAKING DECLARATION IS MOST FUNDAMENTAL TASK CONFRONTING US. FACT WAS HOWEVER AS EXPERIENCE IN TALKS SHOWED, US ALWAYS REMAINED ON SAME SPOT WITHOUT MAKING PROGRESS. HE CONSIDERED THIS VERY CLEAR. AS FAR AS ENCOUNTERING DIFFICULTIES IN WAY MAKING DECLARATION, HIS SIDE ALWAYS MAKING EFFORTS OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES. WHILE US ALWAYS CREATED DIFFICULTIES WITH RESULT IMPOSSIBLE TWO SIDES ACTUALLY MAKE DECLARATION.

12. WANG CONTINUED DECLARATION WHICH THEY BEEN STRIVING MAKE WAS ONE WHICH WOULD RESOLVE UNREASONABLE SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA. RESULT SUCH DECLARATION SHOULD IN NO WAY BE MAINTENANCE OF UNREASONABLE SITUATION IN TAIWAN AREA OR FREEZING THAT SITUATION. IF THEY SHOULD AGREE MAKE DECLARATION WITH US WHICH RECOGNIZED US OCCUPATION THEIR TERRITORY TAIWAN, THEN HE WONDERED WHY SHOULD THEY BE HERE NEGOTIATING WITH US.

HE MIGHT POINT OUT THAT TO HARBOR ANY SUCH DESIRE WAS FANTASTIC AND WISHFUL THINKING. US GOVERNMENT MUST REALIZE AND BE AWARE THIS SITUATION. US GOVERNMENT MUST FACE REALITIES OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. ERA IN WHICH COUNTRY CAN SEIZE TERRITORY ANOTHER COUNTRY LONG PAST. THIS ACTION INCONSISTENT WITH MODERN CONCEPT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. FROM MY REMARKS AND STATEMENTS IT COULD BE CONCLUDED IT NOT SINCERE IN DESIRE OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES IN WAY MAKING PROGRESS. HE COULD ONLY TERM CONTINUING OF DISCUSSIONS THIS FASHION WASTE OF TIME WITHOUT CONSTRUCTIVE MEANING. THAT WAS REASON WHY HE MUST PROPOSE CHANGE SUBJECT DISCUSSIONS.

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13. WANG CONTINUED, WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE QUESTION OF EMBARGO ALSO ONE OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WHICH HINDER DEVELOPMENT OF NORMAL RELATIONS. HE CONSIDERED PROPER SETTLEMENT QUESTION EMBARGO WOULD CERTAINLY HELP IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. AS HE TOLD ME PREVIOUSLY POLICY OF EMBARGO IMPOSED ON HIS COUNTRY BY US ACTUALLY DIDN'T BRING ANY GREAT HARM TO HIS COUNTRY. HOWEVER, THEY OPPOSED THIS POLICY EMBARGO BECAUSE UNREASONABLE OF ITSELF. SIMILAR TO THAT OF MAN WHO INJURES HIS OWN TOES BY DROPPING STONE (CUTS OFF NOSE TO SPITE FACE). POLICY EMBARGO UNBALANCES NORMAL INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND HAS CAUSED OPPOSITION AND HOSTILITY FROM COUNTRIES OF WORLD. REMARKS I MADE THIS MORNING IN EFFORT JUSTIFY THAT POLICY EMBARGO COULD ONLY BE TERMED WITHOUT JUSTIFICATON. I HAD MADE CHARGES WITH REGARD CHINESE MAKING THREATS OF FORCE. HD COULD ONLY SAY THIS IS PUTTING SHOE ON WRONG FOOT. IT MERELY LAME ARGUMENT TRYING JUSTIFY US THREAT FORCE AGAINST CHINA. I COULD NEVER SUCCEED IN MAKING EMBARGO POLICY APPEAR REASONABLE.

GOWEN

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Action Assigned to

33-36 CONFIDENTIAL Action Taken

Action FE 1956 JUL 27 PM 2 29 Control: 15552

Rec'd: JULY 27, 1956

Info FROM: GENEVA Date 2:27 A.M.

RMR TO: Secretary of State Action Office Symbol

SS NO: 75, JULY 27, 11 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN) Officer

G Direction to DC/R

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14. WANG COULD NOT AGREE TO MY REMARKS ON WHAT I TERMED RELATION BETWEEN QUESTION EMBARGO AND RENUNCIATION FORCE. US EMBARGO POLICY FIRST MOST UNFRIENDLY AND HOSTILE ACT OF US AGAINST CHINA. IF THERE REALLY DESIRE IMPROVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO GREAT POWERS, THIS POLICY EMBARGO MUSTNT BE ALLOWED REMAIN. THAT POLICY NOT IN INTERESTS EITHER PEOPLE. THAT WHY HE PROPOSED WE DISCUSS THIS QUESTION. I HAD ALSO SAID WE MUSTNT ABANDON SUBJECT RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION. AS HE HAD REPEATEDLY SAID THIS IS UP TO US AND DEPENDS ON WHETHER US WILLING PUT FORWARD CONSTRUCTIVE OPINION THIS REGARD. OBSTACLE NOW IN WAY OF AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION CAN ONLY BE REMOVED BY GIVE UP ONE-SIDED AND UNILATERAL INTEREST AND ADOPTING PRINCIPLE MEETING INTERESTS BOTH SIDES.

15. I REPLIED, I HAD ALREADY THIS MORNING COVERED MY VIEW OBSTACLE WHICH CONFRONTS US WITH REGARD DECLARATION. I THOUGHT HIS LAST REMARKS THOUGH AGAIN TENTED POINT UP DIFFERENCE BETWEEN US. THAT IS, HE SPOKE OF DECLARATION WE BEEN DISCUSSING AS RESOLVING DIFFICULTIES IN DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. THAT IS RESOLVING IT ON HIS TERMS. THAT IS, HE CONTINUED FIRST TO CONFUSE QUESTION ORIGIN, NATURE, POSSIBLE RESOLUTION ON SITUATION TAIWAN AREA WITH FIRST STEP OF SIMPLY SAYING BOTH OF US DETERMINED IT WOULD NOT BE CAUSE OF WAR BETWEEN US. NO AMOUNT OF WORDS OR RATIONALIZATION COULD OBSCURE FACT HE INTENDED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER TO PRESERVE FREEDOM USE FORCE IN THAT AREA. NO SUGGESTION FOR ANY DECLARATION AND NO DRAFT I HAD EVER PROPOSED REQUIRED HIM RECOGNIZE ANYTHING IN THAT OR ANY OTHER AREA WHICH HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT WANT RECOGNIZE. US INTEREST HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THAT OF ASSURING THAT SITUATION DID NOT LEAD TO WAR. EVERY PROPOSAL I MADE SOLELY HAD PURPOSE SAYING THIS CLEARLY. THIS WAS WHAT HE REFERRED TO AS ONE-SIDED, UNILATERAL INTEREST.

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IF THAT BE CORRECT I COULD ONLY CONCLUDE HIS GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED IT TO ITS INTEREST TO MAINTAIN ABILITY THREATEN UTILITIES IN AREA. HE HAD SPOKEN OF MY POSITION HAVING REMAINED SAME SPOT WITH REGARD PRINCIPLE OF AGREEING BETWEEN US THAT OUR DIFFERENCES WOULD NOT LEAD TO HOSTILITIES AND SAYING SO CLEARLY. I STILL HOPED BY AGREEING WITH THIS PRINCIPLE HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD REMOVE THIS OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND THUS PERMIT US TO MAKE REAL MEANINGFUL DECLARATION AND OPEN WAY FOR FRUITFUL DISCUSSION OTHER SUBJECTS HE DESIRED RAISE. THIS WOULD PERMIT THESE TALKS RESULT GENUINE MUTUAL ADVANTAGE BOTH COUNTRIES. STILL HOPE THEY COULD HAVE THAT RESULT.

16. WANG AGREED THERE EXISTED DIFFERENCE OF PRINCIPLE BETWEEN TWO US ON QUESTION DECLARATION. HOWEVER DIFFERANCE WAS BETWEEN GENUINE DESIRE SETTLE OUR DISPUTES AND DESIRE CONTINUE ARMED OCCUPATION CHINESE TERRITORY, ALTHOUGH THIS BEING CAMOUFLAGED BY PROTESTATION PEACEFUL INTENTIONS. CHINESE GOVERNMENT ALWAYS EXPRESSED READINESS SETTLE DISPUTES WITH US BY PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS. HIS GOVERNMENT ALWAYS STROVE AID SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES BY WARLIKE MEANS. HOWEVER THIS DID NOT MEAN HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD ACCEPT ITS TERRITORY BEING FORCEFULLY DIVIDED AND GRABBED OR IN ANY WAY AGREE TO ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHT BEING INFRINGED. NEXT QUESTION WAS UNDER WHAT CONDITION COULD DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IN TAIWAN AREA BE SETTLED. AS THEY SAW IT, CONDITION WAS THAT NEITHER SIDE TRY ADVANCE OWN SELFISH INTEREST AT EXPENSE OTHERS. THIS CONDITION FUNDAMENTAL CONDITION WHICH ANY STATE MUST FOLLOW. THIS CONDITION THEY HAD FOLLOWED WAS TO BE FOUND IN UN CHARTER, NOTHING CONCEALED IN THIS RESPECT AND NO ONE COULD DENY ITS JUSTIFICATION. THEREFORE, IN TRYING OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES WE SHOULD FOLLOW CORRECT PRINCIPLES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INSTEAD FOLLOWING SELFISH INTERESTS ONE SIDE AT EXPENSE OTHER. THIS GOVERNMENT ALWAYS DESIRED RESPECT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF US. AT SAME TIME EXPECTED US DO SAME RESPECTING SOVEREIGN RIGHTS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY HIS COUNTRY. IF WE COULD REACH COMMMON UNDERSTANDING THIS REGARD, THEN DIFFERENCE COULD BE READILY RESOLVED. OUR TALKS COULD ONLY PROGRESS IN THIS SPIRIT.

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Action Assigned to ____
Action Taken ____
Control: 15605
Rec'd: JULY 27, 1956
2:35 A.M.
Date of Action ____
Action Office Symbol ____
Name of Officer ____
Direction to DC/R ____

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 75, JULY 26, 11 P.M. (SECTION 5 OF 7)

17. I ASKED IF HE THOUGHT IT HARMING INTERESTS HIS COUNTRY SIMPLY TO SAY CLEARLY, UNEQUIVOCALLY WE NOT GOING GO WAR OVER DISPUTES BETWEEN US INCLUDING THOSE TAIWAN AREA. HOW WOULD THAT HARM HIS COUNTRY?

18. WANG REPLIED HE HAD MADE IT CLEAR MANY TIMES AS LONG AS TAIWAN UNDER OCCUPATION FOREIGN FORCES, WHETHER THERE WERE WAR OR NOT, INTERESTS HIS COUNTRY WERE ALWAYS BEING HARMED.

19. I ASKED IF HE WAS THEREFORE MAINTAINING THREAT USE FORCE TO RESOLVE THAT SITUATION TO SATISFACTION HIS COUNTRY?

20. WANG REPLIED THIS ENTIRELY REVERSING RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF SITUATION. THIS WAY SAYING THINGS ENTIRELY UNREASONABLE. THE ACTUAL THREAT EXISTING IN TAIWAN AREA AT THIS MOMENT IN FACT CAME FROM US OCCUPATION TAIWAN BY FORCE. ONE MIGHT ASK WHETHER US WOULD CLING TO OCCUPATION CHINESE TERRITORY BY FORCE.

21. I CHARGED WANG WITH AVOIDING QUESTION. I HAD MANY TIMES GIVEN FACTS WITH REGARD SITUATION THERE. US NOT OCCUPYING TAIWAN. HOWEVER MY PURPOSE FROM BEGINNING BEEN TRY AVOID DISCUSSION AT THIS STAGE ALL RIGHTS AND WRONGS SITUATION THERE. I HAD NOT ATTEMPTED FORCE ON HIM ANY VIEWS WITH REGARD SITUATION THERE AND HAD TRIED KEEP THEM OUR DISCUSSION THIS STAGE. WHAT I HAD TRIED DO WAS SIMPLY ARRIVE AGREEMENT WITH HIM THIS STAGE THAT BOTH OF US AGREE WE DO NOT GO WAR OVER IT. THAT IS ALL. IF HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD ADOPT SAME ATTITUDE WE COULD VERY READILY REACH AGREEMENT.

22. WANG CHALLANGED MY STATEMENT US NOT OCCUPYING TAIWAN. NOBODY COULD BE DECEIVED BY THIS REMARK. IF US HAD NOT USED FORCE OCCUPY TAIWAN THEN TAIWAN WOULD LONG AGO BEEN REJOINED

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TO MOTHERLAND. ANY SUCH REMARK COULD IN NO WAY SUCCEED WHITEWASH AND DEFEND AGRESSION OF US. HE DID NOT THINK ANY ARGUMENTS OR REMARKS ALONG THIS LINE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR DISCUSSIONS.

23. I SAID IT DID NOT CONTRIBUTE TO OUR DISCUSSIONS TO CHARACTERIZE THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND GOVERNMENT OCCUPYING TAIWAN AS US OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN OR US AGRESSION. TWO OF US COULD VERY EASILY GET SELVES IN LONG ACRIMONIOUS DISCUSSION ALL THESE QUESTIONS. I HAD TRIED MY BEST THUS STAGE AVOID SUCH UNPROFITABLE DISCUSSION. I HOPED WE COULD GET BACK TO FIRST AND FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF SIMPLY SAYING WE NOT GOING GO WAR ABOUT IT. THAT WAS ALL I HAD THAT SUBJECT.

24. WANG SAID HE HAD MERELY POINTED OUT REAL FACTS SITUATION. THEY WOULD NOT PUT UP WITH INCORRECT AND ABSURD ARGUMENTS. HE HAD NOTHING MORE SAY THIS REGARD THIS MORNING.

25. I SAID HE HAD OFTEN SPOKEN HERE OF THESE TALKS AS WELL AS SPECIFIC SUBJECTS WE BEEN DISCUSSING BEING BENEFIT BOTH OUR COUNTRIES. HE HAD SPOKEN OF NECESSITY THEIR NOT BEING ONE-SIDED. I ENTIRELY AGREED WITH THAT. I WANTED POINT OUT BRIEFLY THAT AS FAR AS FIRST SUBJECT WE CAME HERE DISCUSS, RETURN CIVILIANS, RESULTS APPEAR VERY ONE-SIDED TO MY COUNTRY. AFTER WEEKS OF DISCUSSION, HE AND I ARRIVED AT AGREEMENT ON ISSUING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 2# WITH REGARD CIVILIANS. DURING THAT DISCUSSION I HAD POINTED OUT WE HAD UNILATERALLY AND WITHOUT DEMANDING CONCESSIONS ENTIRELY REMOVED ALL RESTRICTIONS WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN IMPOSED ON DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE FROM MY COUNTRY. I AGREED TO ARRANGEMENTS WHICH HE PROPOSED WITH REGARD THIRD POWER FUNCTIONS. MY GOVERNMENT HAD FULLY COMPLIED WITH BOTH LETTER AND SPIRIT OF ANNOUNCEMENT WE ISSUED AT THAT TIME. CHINESE CONTINUING DEPART FREELY MY COUNTRY AND ARRIVING HIS COUNTRY. IN MORE THAN TEN MONTHS NOW PAST SINCE ISSUANCE THAT ANNOUNCEMENT, NOT SINGLE CASE ANY OBSTRUCTION OF CHINESE WISHING DEPART FROM MY COUNTRY HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION.

26. ALTHOUGH NOT INCLUDED IN ORIGINAL DISCUSSIONS AND I DID NOT CONSIDER THEY COVERED IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, WE EVEN GONE TO EXTENT MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR ANY CHINESE IN PRISON MY COUNTRY TO LEAVE FOR HIS COUNTRY. THIS DONE IN RESPONSE TO REPRESENTATIONS THIS REGARD HE SUBSEQUENTLY MADE TO ME HERE. ITS FULL IMPLEMENTATION THUS FAR BEEN DELAYED ONLY BECAUSE INEXPLICABLE OBJECTIONS HIS GOVERNMENT TO PARTICIPATION BY INDIAN EMBASSY IN DETERMINING WHETHER AND WHICH OF THESE PRISONERS DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY. THUS RESULTS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT FROM STANDPOINT HIS COUNTRY BEEN VERY SUBSTANTIAL.

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Control: 15553

Rec'd: JULY 28, 1956 7:08 A.M.

Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 75, JULY 26, 11 P.M. (SECTION SIX OF SEVEN)

25. REGRETTED RESULTS FROM STANDPOINT MY COUNTRY HAD BEEN VERY MEAGER. WHEN BEGAN DISCUSSIONS HERE I HOPED WE BE ABLE EQUALIZE SITUATION NATIONALS OUR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES BY HIS COUNTRY TAKING ACTION TO PERMIT ALL THOSE AMERICANS WHO DESIRE RETURN TO DO SO. OUR DISCUSSIONS IN REGARD AMERICANS REVOLVED PRIMARILY AROUND THOSE IMPRISONED HIS COUNTRY. WANG AND HIS GOVERNMENT WELL AWARE OUR STRONG INTEREST IN THIS GROUP AMERICANS. IN FACT AT TIME WE ISSUED OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THESE WERE ONLY AMERICANS WE KNEW OF WHO DESIRED TO RETURN AND BEING PREVENTED DO SO. TWO OF US HAD LONG DISCUSSION ON THE SUBJECT WHEN THESE PERSONS WOULD BE ABLE LEAVE RETURN US. HE WOULD RECALL I WAS VERY INSISTENT ON SOME STATEMENT TIME SO NO MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US. HE REFUSED AGREE ANY STATEMENT OF TIME. HE TOLD ME HOWEVER THEIR CASES WOULD BE HANDLED VERY QUICKLY. IN EFFECT SAID THEY WOULD BE HANDLED MUCH MORE QUICKLY THAN IN PAST AND ISSUANCE OF ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD GREATLY EXPEDITE THEIR RELEASE. ALTHOUGH I WAS DISSATISFIED WITH LACK EXPLICITNESS HIS STATEMENTS IN ORDER NOT PROLONG DISCUSSIONS, GET AHEAD. I FINALLY AGREED TO HIS SUGGESTION USE WORD "EXPEDITIOUSLY" THIS CONNECTION. I TOLD HIM MY COUNTRY WOULD INTERPRET THAT WORD MEAN EXACTLY WHAT IT SAID. NEITHER MY COUNTRY NOR ANYONE ELSE COULD BY ANY STRETCH IMAGINATION CONSIDER THESE PEOPLE WERE BEING PERMITTED RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY. IN FACT DIFFICULT FOR ME SEE THERE HAD BEEN ANY SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN SITUATION THAT EXISTED EVEN BEFORE OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IN SPITE USE WORD "EXPEDITIOUS" IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT HIS ASSURANCES THAT RELEASE AMERICANS WOULD BE MARKEDLY EXPEDITED IN COMPARISON WITH SITUATION BEFORE ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT, I COULD SEE LITTLE OR NO CHANGE IN SITUATION.

26. I DID NOT DESIRE GET INTO COMPLICATED QUESTION NUMBERS, PROPORTION OR THAT TYPE OF THING WITH HIM, I SIMPLY WANTED

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TO POINT OUT THAT AT 6TH MEETING AUGUST 13 HE MADE STATEMENT 38 AMERICANS LEFT CHINA DURING YEAR SINCE JUNE 1954 AS RESULT REVIEW THEIR CASES. OF THOSE WHO REMAINED PRISON, AFTER TEN OF WHOSE RELEASE HE INFORMED ME SEPTEMBER 10, ONLY 8 AMERICANS HAVE BEEN RELEASED PERMITTED RETURN TO US IN APPROXIMATELY 11 MONTHS SINCE WE ISSUED THAT ANNOUNCEMENT. I NOT ONLY CONSIDERED THIS PERFORMANCE GROSSLY AT VARIANCE SPECIFIC TERMS OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BUT ALSO CONSIDERED RESULTS OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO HAVE BEEN VERY MUCH ONE-SIDED. I HAD OFTEN AS EARNESTLY AS COULD SPOKEN TO HIM OF RELATIONSHIP THIS WHOLE QUESTION TO IMPROVEMENT OUR RELATIONS. I COME HERE MOST EARNESTLY SEEKING THAT IMPROVEMENT AND I STILL SOUGHT IT. I AGAIN APPEALED TO HIM TO IMPRESS UPON HIS AUTHORITIES TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE WITH WHICH WE VIEW THIS QUESTION.

27. WANG SAID VERY DISSATISFIED WITH MY LAST STATEMENT. CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD INDEED HANDLED CASES AMERICAN LAW BREAKERS CHINA WITH MOST LENIENT POLICY. AMONG 40 SUCH AMERICAN LAWBREAKERS SERVING SENTENCES HIS COUNTRY THERE REMAIN ONLY 11 PRISONERS. THAT IS MAJORITY THESE 40 NOW RETURNED US AS RESULT LENIENT POLICY HIS GOVERNMENT. HOW COULD I SAY THIS FIGURE NOT SUBSTANTIAL OR LITTLE. PERHAPS I WAS DISSATISFIED WITH FACT THEY HAD RELEASED TOO MANY. OTHERWISE HE COULD ONLY TERM THIS DELIBERATE REVERSAL FACTS. US FAILED FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT AGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO SIDES. I HAD STATED CHINESE IN US FREE TAKE DEPARTURE. THESE MERELY EMPTY WORDS. AS MATTER FACT OF 55 PERSONS REGARDING WHOSE RETURN I HAD MADE REPRESENTATION, 53 STILL HAD NOT RETURNED. AMONG 103 PERSONS WHO DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY, 28 STILL FAILED RETURN. AS TO THESE PERSONS NOT YET RETURNED HIS COUNTRY, I COULD NOT SAY CHINESE IN US FREE DEPART. IN ADDITION, EVEN AFTER ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, US MADE REQUIREMENT CHINESE IN US MUST APPLY PERMANENT RESIDENCE US. IN ADDITION TO THAT, REQUIREMENT BY MY AUTHORITIES CHINESE IN US APPLY ENTRY PERMITS TAIWAN. ALL THESE REQUIREMENTS HE COULD ONLY SAY VERY BAD--IN VIOLATION OUR AGREEMENT.

28. WANG CONTINUED THEY HAD LEARNED RECENTLY THERE HAD BEEN MOVES BY MY AUTHORITIES TRY SEND CHINESE IN OUR PRISONS TO TAIWAN. AS SAID MANY TIMES CHINESE IN OUR PRISONS HAVE NO FREEDOM AT ALL TO STATE THEIR WILL. AND RECENT MOVES OUR AUTHORITIES SEND CHINESE IN OUR PRISONS TO TAIWAN WAS YET ANOTHER THREAT TO THESE PERSONS IN PRISON. ALSO THESE AT VARIANCE WITH AGREEMENT BETWEEN US. THESE ARE VIOLATIONS AGREEMENT. IF US REALLY HAS INTEREST AND DESIRE SETTLE QUESTION CIVILIANS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IT SHOULD HONESTLY OBSERVE AGREEMENT INSTEAD VIOLATING IT. HE ALSO ASKED ME IMPRESS UPON US GOVT THAT CHINESE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT EXTREMELY DISSATISFIED WITH ACTION US GOVT IN VIOLATION AGREEMENT.

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Office of Chinese Affairs

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Rec'd: JULY 27, 1956
12:30 AM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 75, JULY 26, 11 P. M. (SECTION 7 OF 7)

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

29. I REPLIED HE HAD SPOKEN OF MAJORITY OF AMERICANS IN THEIR PRISONS HAVING RETURNED. I SIMPLY WANTED POINT OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DIDN'T COVER SOME OR MAJORITY AMERICANS THEIR PRISONS; IT COVERED ALL OF THEM. ONLY RELEASE ALL OF THEM WOULD BE COMPLIANCE WITH OUR ANNOUNCEMENT NOT THEIR RETURN SIX MONTHS AFTER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, A YEAR OR 5 YEARS, BUT THEIR EXPEDITIOUS RETURN AS OF DATE ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT. AS FAR AS CHINESE IN US CONCERNED, EVEN SINCE BEFORE ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT NOT JUST ONE-THIRD OR ONE-HALF OR MAJORITY OF THOSE DESIRING RETURN ABLE RETURN, BUT ANY OF THEM WHO DESIRE RETURN ABLE RETURN. BEST AND INDISPUTABLE TEST WHETHER OR NOT THIS IS FACT IS THIRD POWER ARRANGEMENT ESTABLISHED TO CONFIRM IT. THUS FAR NOT A SINGLE ONE HAS ALLEGED ANY OBSTRUCTION. I PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED AND WOULD NOT TAKE TIME THIS MORNING TO DISCUSS HIS PERSISTENT REFERENCE TO WHAT HE TERMED REQUIRING PEOPLE TO OBTAIN PERMANENT RESIDENT AND TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS. HOWEVER I WOULD BE GLAD DISCUSS THAT AGAIN IN DETAIL ANY TIME IF HE DESIRED.

30. I ASKED HIM WITH REGARD HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING TO LET ME SIMPLY SAY AS FAR AS CHINESE IN PRISON CONCERNED NO ONE GOING BE SENT AGAINST HIS WILL ANY PLACE. IT WAS IN ORDER ASSURE HIM THIS WAS CASE THAT SUGGESTION MADE BY MY GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD PARTICIPATION INDIAN EMBASSY. AS FAR AS FREEDOM PERSONS IN PRISON EXPRESS WILL CONCERNED, HE CAN CERTAINLY REACH DECISION AS TO WHETHER DESIRES REMAIN PRISON, SUBJECT SAME COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE AND PAROLE PROCEDURES AS OTHER PRISONERS OR WHETHER DESIRES IMMEDIATELY LEAVE PRISON FOR ANOTHER COUNTRY. EACH MAN KNOWING OWN SITUATION CAN CERTAINLY DECIDE THIS FOR SELF. I MIGHT MENTION THAT SINCE I LAST DISCUSSED THIS WITH HIM, TWO ADDITIONAL CHINESE PRISONERS HAD BEEN RELEASED UNDER NORMAL PAROLE PROCEDURES.

31. WANG

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31. WANG HAD NO MORE COMMENTS TO MAKE ON HIS QUESTION. HIS GOVERNMENT FAILED FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT ANNOUNCEMENT IT SHOULD NOT AT SAME TIME MAKE FALSE CHARGES AGAINST OTHER. UNFOUNDED CHARGES WOULD NOT IN ANY WAY HELP RESOLVE MATTER.

32. I THOUGHT FACTS VERY CLEAR.

33. WANG FELT FACTS I HAVE IN MIND INCORRECT AND EVERYBODY AWARE OF THAT.

34. I HAD NOTHING MORE AND PROPOSED NEXT THURSDAY IF AGREEABLE TO WANG.

35. HE PROPOSED MAKING IT THURSDAY AUGUST 9 AND I AGREED.

GOWEN

JHF

1956 JUL 28 AM 7 19

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FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

687

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 41

Dear Walter:

Just a few brief notes. First thanks for your letters 50 and 51. Incidentally in your No. 50 you mentioned some excerpts from a letter of Bob McCann's, but they were not enclosed. Very sorry to hear about him, but knowing him would be very reluctant to reach any conclusions on the basis of a letter in which he may have had some particular purpose in mind. However, I entirely agree that on the basis of this and Mackensen's letter they may very well be attempting to prevail on some Americans to remain as a counter to the reluctance of Chinese to return.

Incidentally I had heard nothing here about a NBC filmed interview and, of course, would do nothing about it in any event. However, all of the correspondents here have been pushing me hard for "anniversary stories", and in reply I have been stressing that I simply do not look at it in that light, it having been just another meeting. I have, of course, seen them individually and explained there is nothing new, everything having been very thoroughly covered in the press releases. They have also pressed me hard for "private and personal" opinions on the relationship with our elections but I have strictly refused any discussion of this pointing out that there was no reason to believe that on the fundamental questions of release of American prisoners or renunciation of force there was or could be any differences of opinion among Americans. You can thus expect a spate of "birthday stories" from here which they have all been instructed to write but I wanted to let you know I have done my best to minimize them. The only thing I have done is to give AP a list of the remaining 11 taken from the Dept's. lists giving their occupation and home towns.

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Wang's performance today together with his proposal for another two week's gap to the next meeting confirms me in my belief that they intend to mark time until November. Depending on how they read our domestic political situation we must expect some new move on their part shortly before or very shortly after the election. I do not think that we should exclude the possibility that they may estimate that if the "peace" issue figures heavily in the campaign the administration would be responsive to pressures just before the election that would threaten hostilities in the offshore islands.

I certainly have no objection to a speech by Lodge on the missing servicemen issue. I presume it would be in the GA and tied to the still outstanding UN resolution.

One aspect of my guidance for today's meeting on which I would appreciate a little more background amplification is how far I can go if I think it useful in stating the converse of the proposition that there can be no fruitful discussion of trade in the absence of a renunciation of force. You will note that today I carefully kept away from this converse and will try to continue this line. However, if necessary, how it is suggested that I handle the implied converse, that is, could I hold out any hope for a "fruitful discussion" of trade in the event of a satisfactory agreement on renunciation of force, and, of course, release of the prisoners? I hope that by the next meeting we will know what is going to happen with respect to the Chinese prisoners. You will note that today I made a really "big speech" on the Americans, which I tried to make as fervent as I am capable. Incidentally it is only when we get on the subject of implementation that Wang gets really emotional. It does not stand out too clearly in the translation but it is obvious he is putting real personal feeling into this subject. I suppose that whatever personal convictions he may have on this are fed by the equivocal letters they probably receive from Chinese in the U.S. who are still sitting on the fence for personal reasons or to protect their families.

I do not yet know what I will do with this two week's gap and will have to wait until I see how things are when I get back to Prague. In absence of word to the contrary you can assume I am there. If you do not get distribution on my Prague arrival and departure telegrams you might check with EE.

Regards to all,

Sincerely, alex

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33-36
Action
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Info

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Control: 15793
Rec'd: JULY 27, 1956
Action Taken 9:37 A.M.

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Addition to

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 76, JULY 27, 1 A.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING.

DEPT WILL NOTE WANG'S PERFORMANCE TODAY SEEMED TO BE A "MARKING TIME" OPERATION, AND HE DID NOT OBJECT TO LEAVING SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO DISCUSSION RENUNCIATION AND EMBARGO IN SOMEWHAT VAGUE STATE. HOWEVER BELIEVE HIS TACTIC MAY WELL BE ATTEMPT BUILD UP FOR EVENTUAL USE PUBLIC POSITION ALONG LINES CHOU'S PEOPLES CONGRESS SPEECH, THAT IS US PURPOSE IS INDEFINITE PROLONGATION TALKS SO AS VOID DISCUSSION OF AND MAINTAIN STATUS QUO TAIWAN AREA, AND UNLESS PRC GETS SOMETHING OUT OF PROLONGATION NO POINT CONTINUING. THEREFORE WHILE MAKING OUR POINTS WITH RESPECT EMBARGO DISCUSSION ATTEMPTED AT TODAY'S MEETING AVOID GIVING HIM ANY FIRM HANDLE WHICH HE COULD GRAB AS FLAT REFUSAL EVEN DISCUSS EMBARGO.

DO NOT NOW HAVE ANY RECOMMENDATIONS WITH RESPECT NEXT MEETING OTHER THAN TO FOLLOW OUR TACTICS AT TODAY'S MEETING REITERATING POSITIONS AS APPROPRIATE. POSITION WITH RESPECT IMPLEMENTATION WILL OF COURSE BE SOMEWHAT DEPENDENT ON RESULTS O'NEIL'S EFFORTS SEE AMERICANS AND DEPELOPMENTS WITH RESPECT CHINESE PRISONERS IN US.

GOWEN

CFP

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

JUL 31 1956

TO : The Secretary

THRU : S/S

FROM : FE - Mr. Robertson

SUBJECT: Letter of Commendation from President to Ambassador Johnson

There is attached (Tab A), a memorandum from you to the President recommending that he sign the enclosed draft of a letter of commendation to Ambassador Johnson (Tab B) on the occasion of the anniversary of the Geneva talks. This letter was prepared in accordance with your oral request of July 20.

Concurrence:

L - Mr. Raymond

O -

Attachment:

1. Memorandum to the President (Tab A).
2. Letter of Commendation to Ambassador Johnson (Tab B).

Signed 8/2

611.93/7-3156

FE:CA:RNClough:bp

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Letter of Commendation for Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson

On August 1 one year will have passed since Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson began his talks with the Chinese Communist representative at Geneva. This assignment has been particularly trying not only because of the inherent difficulty of negotiating with the Chinese Communists but also because Ambassador Johnson has continued to perform his duties as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. He has displayed unusual qualities of perseverance and resourcefulness in the conduct of the talks at Geneva and I believe it would be appropriate if, on the occasion of the anniversary of those talks, you would send him a letter of commendation.

I recommend that you sign the attached letter of commendation to Ambassador Johnson.

Enclosure:

Suggested reply to Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson.

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SUGGESTED REPLY

21

Dear Mr. Johnson:

It has come to my attention that one year ago today you began the talks with the Chinese Communist representative at Geneva. I do not want this occasion to pass without commending you for the good judgment, resourcefulness and patience you have consistently displayed as the United States representative in this difficult negotiation. It is to your credit that you have been able to carry out this mission while continuing to perform your regular duties as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

Your efforts have undoubtedly accounted in large measure for the release in the last year of a number of our citizens wrongfully held by the Chinese Communists. Your efforts have also helped to preserve the peace in the troubled area of the Taiwan Strait.

You are entitled to take satisfaction in the able performance of an exacting task.

Sincerely yours,

F.U. 611.93/7-31-56

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: August 1, 1956

SUBJECT: Visits to Chinese Criminals in American Prisons

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Ellsworth Bunker, President of American Red Cross
Mr. Elsy, American Red Cross
Mr. Robertson, Assistant Secretary, FE
Mr. McConaughy, Director, CA

COPIES TO: FE (2 cc)
CA (2 cc) -1
G - Mr. Murphy -(1 cc)
L - Mr. Phleger -(1cc)
Amembassy, Taipei - 1
Amembassy, New Delhi -1
Amconsul, Hong Kong -1
SCS -(1 cc)
SCA -(1 cc)
Bureau of Prisons, Dept. of Justice - 1
Immigration and Naturalization Service - 1
Amconsul GENEVA for Johnson -1

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Mr. Robertson reviewed for Mr. Bunker in some detail the history of the negotiations with the Chinese Communists at Geneva for the return of American citizens. He pointed out the breach by the Chinese Communists of their undertaking of September 10, 1955, to take measures to enable Americans expeditiously to exercise their right to return to the U. S. He explained why the American Government had decided at the end of May to extend the provisions of the Agreed Announcement to Chinese criminals in American prisons, although such criminals had not been discussed in the negotiations leading up to the Agreed Announcement and in our view were not necessarily covered by it. Mr. Robertson then described the devious course of the Chinese Communist position on Chinese criminals in American prisons. He mentioned the abrupt Chinese Communist loss of interest in the prisoners after we announced our intention to give the Chinese criminals the option of taking advantage of the Agreed Announcement. Mr. Robertson explained that the Indian Government, as a result of the reversal of the Chinese Communist position on the prisoners, felt unable to comply with our request that its representatives visit the Chinese prisoners and ascertain their wishes as to return to Mainland China or to Taiwan.

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Mr. Robertson then explained why it would be desirable for the American Red Cross to undertake to interview the prisoners. He stated that the American Red Cross as a respected non-political organization with humanitarian objectives would be everywhere recognized as impartial and its word would be accepted. If the Red Cross interviewed the prisoners and attested to the fact that they had all been given a free choice between return to the Mainland, return to Taiwan, and remaining in prison to complete their sentence, no one could say that the prisoners had been coerced or influenced by the American Government in reaching their decision. We had already promised the prisoners that they would be visited and given an opportunity to express their choice. We were morally obligated to carry out this promise.

We hoped that the implementation of the offer to the prisoners would put moral pressure on the Chinese Communists to belatedly carry out their commitment to permit the imprisoned Americans to return to the United States.

Mr. Robertson said that the Department felt it was very much in the interest of the imprisoned Americans in Communist China that this undertaking be carried out.

Mr. Bunker expressed sympathetic appreciation of the problem and said he foresaw no difficulty in Red Cross compliance with Mr. Robertson's request. He said that he would want to consult his Board before he formally agreed. However he did not anticipate any difficulty and he thought Mr. Robertson could safely assume that the reply would be favorable. He said that the project was a humanitarian one and therefore consonant with Red Cross objectives. He considered the proposed role to be non-political and therefore not improper for the Red Cross to undertake.

Mr. Robertson showed Mr. Bunker a list of the names and addresses of the prisoners.

Mr. Bunker thought that Red Cross regional representatives in various parts of the United States could make the visits without undue difficulty.

Mr. Robertson expressed appreciation for the sympathetic reception given by Mr. Bunker to the proposal. Mr. Robertson said that the Department would confirm its request by letter on August 2, which would set forth the proposal in detail.

Mr. Bunker said he would be glad to have such a letter and would give the matter immediate attention.

A copy of the confirmatory letter to Mr. Bunker of August 2 is attached.

Enclosure:
Copy of letter to Mr. Bunker dated August 2.

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb

COPY

August 2, 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Ellsworth:

You will recall that by the terms of the Agreed Announcement issued at Geneva on September 10 by the American and Chinese Communist Ambassadors (Tab A), the Chinese Communists were committed to take measures to enable American nationals expeditiously to exercise their right to return to this country. After nearly eleven months, the Chinese Communists still hold eleven American nationals in Chinese prisons in violation of this commitment.

The Chinese Communists in the course of the Geneva talks, have offered various pretexts for violation of their pledge. Some time after the Agreed Announcement was issued, they raised for the first time the matter of Chinese prisoners who are serving terms in American penitentiaries. These Chinese criminals were not mentioned by the Chinese Communists in the course of the negotiations leading up to the Agreed Announcement. In our view the Agreed Announcement did not apply to them. However, in view of the belated attempt of the Chinese Communists to cite the imprisonment of these criminals as an excuse for their non-performance of their obligations under the Agreed Announcement, the U. S. Government decided that it would afford the Chinese criminals an opportunity to avail themselves of the provisions of the Agreed Announcement if they so desired. A comprehensive survey was made by the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the entire prison population, Federal and state, of the United States. On June 13, the prisoners were informed by a circular letter that they would be given an opportunity to make a choice between obtaining a discharge from prison for the purpose of proceeding to mainland China, or to Taiwan, and remaining in jail until the completion of their sentences. A copy of the letter to the prisoners is attached as Tab B.

The

The Honorable
Ellsworth Bunker,
President,
American Red Cross
Washington, D. C.

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The United States decision was responsive to the strong and repeated representations of the Chinese Communists. However, the Chinese Communists have now abruptly informed us at Geneva that our release offer is a device to embarrass them and is not bona fide. They allege that the prisoners have been "screened". They have requested the Indian Government, which represents the Chinese Communists in matters pertaining to the Agreed Announcement, not to interview the prisoners and to have nothing to do with our proposal.

We have told the prisoners that they will be given a free choice and that they will receive a visit in order that their choice may be ascertained. We are morally committed to implement our offer, regardless of this non-cooperation.

With the Indian Embassy unable to discharge this function as described in our Aide Memoire of May 31 (Tab C), the best choice for this responsibility appears to be the American Red Cross. The Red Cross, upon making the visits, could vouch for the fact that the prisoners were given a free choice and made their decision without coercion or influence from any official source. No one could effectively challenge the motives, the veracity or the impartiality of the American Red Cross. The certification of the Red Cross that the prisoners had been allowed to make their own decision would be generally accepted throughout the world.

Accordingly, I confirm the oral request which I made of you yesterday that the American Red Cross undertake to interview the 30 remaining Chinese prisoners (four of the original 34 have been released from prison under normal procedures in recent weeks), and ascertain their wishes. A list of these prisoners and their whereabouts is enclosed as Tab D. A copy of a letter and form of designation of choice which we propose to send to the prisoners is enclosed as Tab E. The letter would be sent before the visits of the Red Cross representatives, and the original of the form would be signed in the presence of the Red Cross representative and delivered to him.

In the undertaking of this mission you can be assured of every cooperation from this Department, the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the State prison officials, the wardens of the various penitentiaries, and the Immigration and Naturalization service. It is believed that it

would

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would be desirable to proceed without any avoidable delay, and that the particulars can best be worked out throu h consultations between your officials and Mr. Clough of the Office of Chinese Affairs. His telephone extension is 3482.

We are deeply grateful for your expressed willingness to give sympathetic consideration to this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Walter S. Robertson
Assistant Secretary

Enclosures:

Tab A - Copy of Agreed Announcement of September 10, 1955.
Tab B - Copy of Letter to Prisoners.
Tab C - Aide Memoire of May 31.
Tab D - List of Prisoners and Tabulation of Prisons Involved.
Tab E - Copy of Proposed Letter and Form to be Sent to Prisoners.

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy;emm
8/2/56

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Release
☐ Release if _____ concurs
☐ Excise as shown) Basis-1-301
☐ Deny
☐ Downgrade to _____
☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer _____ Date _____

August 3, 1956

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 52

Dear Alex:

We hope to get the interviews with the Chinese prisoners under way soon through the medium of the American Red Cross. Following the definitive Indian refusal to participate on July 25 (copy of Amb. Mehta's letter is enclosed for your files) we got to work on an alternative procedure. There was general agreement that the American Red Cross was the best organization to do the job following the Indian default.

Mr. Robertson had Ellsworth Bunker in on August 1 to put the proposition to him. Mr. Robertson reviewed the history of our decision to extend the provisions of the Agreed Announcement to the Chinese prisoners, the abrupt reversal of the Chinese Communist position on the Chinese prisoners, and the resultant Indian Embassy inability to act. He pointed out the obligation which rested on us to follow through on our initiative and outlined the reasons why he thought the Red Cross was the logical agency to conduct the interviews.

Mr. Bunker's reaction was most favorable. He showed a sympathetic understanding of the problem and foresaw no difficulties in Red Cross assumption of the role. He characterized the function as appropriate

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

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to the Red Cross in that it had a humanitarian purpose and was non-political. He said that he would want to consult his Board as a matter of procedure but he felt confident that no objections would be raised. He felt that Mr. Robertson could safely assume that official Red Cross response would be affirmative.

We confirmed our request to the Red Cross by a letter dated August 2, a copy of which is enclosed.

I hope we can get the Red Cross under way on the interviews by the week of August 13. There are quite a few details to be worked out with the Federal and State officials. Appointments will have to be made through the Wardens and we will have to look into the problem of interpreters in the cases of the prisoners who speak no English. Some of themmay speak only Cantonese or Toishan dialect.

Ralph Clough has sent Dave a massive document compiled in Defense concerning the unaccounted-for 450. It is supposed to be a compilation of all the recently discovered evidence. We are not very hopeful that it has much that is new or useful to us. But it should be gone through carefully and we believe Dave is the man for this job. We are still very hard pressed here. We will be interested in getting Dave's analysis of the document. Col. Monroe is in Korea where he is supposed to needle our people on the MAC to renewed action on the issue of the missing military personnel. We are not sanguine that anything significant will come out of the MAC on this but the further effort needs to be made.

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We have not yet had any reply from the British on our request of July 20 that O'Neill renew insistently his request to see all the American prisoners. I intend to ask Arthur de la Mare, the new Counselor of the British Embassy for Far Eastern matters, to send out a tickler on this to O'Neill today. We would like to have some news on this for you before the August 9 meeting.

We have received word from the British that the Foreign Office in Peiping informed them that Bishop Henry Pinger is to be released "tomorrow" (presumably August 4) upon expiration of his sentence. This will reduce the number of American prisoners to 10. But the last 3 to be released have been compelled to serve their full sentences. Wang cannot claim that they were released "expeditiously" or that the so-called "policy of leniency" has been applied in their cases. In our next guidance telegram we may suggest that you make an observation on this at the next meeting. Also we may suggest that you raise the matter of the violation of the Agreed Announcement in the case of Father Clifford. You will recall from Hong Kong telegram that his request for permission to write O'Neill was refused by the Chinese Communists. The British Charge still has not heard from half of the imprisoned Americans. It is highly probable that the request of others have also been denied.

An amusing footnote to the petition of the American Communist Party of the State of Connecticut to Mao Tse-tung for the release of Downey and the other imprisoned Americans, is a report we have received that the National Communist Party headquarters in the U. S. reprimanded the head of the Connecticut Party organization for his temerity in forwarding this request to Peiping.

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Apparently it was considered a breach of Party discipline.

Tell Dave we are glad to hear that he will remain in the Foreign Service Class 4 rather than going to the new Class 5. We have just heard that he is on the list of those who were recommended for promotion by the last Selection Board, and therefore will be placed in the new Class 4.

I suppose you have seen the Departmental Circular No. 185 which implements the new Foreign Service Act which the President signed July 28.

Things are a little bit disrupted with Herman Phleger in London with the Secretary, and Walter Robertson away on leave until August 20. The Judge should be back today so the ranks will not be dangerously thin.

Regards to all,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Copy of letter from Amb. Mehta dated July 25, 1956.
2. Copy of letter to Mr. Bunker dated August 2, 1956, with 2 encl.

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 692

Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

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02972733

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 124

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Guidance for August 9 meeting.

1. Belated release Bishop Pinger provides good opportunity to underscore again US view that Chinese Communists have failed to carry out commitment in Agreed Announcement to release Americans expeditiously. Nearly one year has passed since Communists made their pledge and ten Americans remain in jail. No reasonable man could describe Communist performance as expeditious.

2. Take Communists to task for refusing prisoners permission to communicate with British Chargé. This is outright violation of Agreed Announcement. Inform Wang we know Clifford was specifically refused permission to write O'Neill (Hong Kong's 108 to Department repeated Geneva 45) and we presume others also turned down since half of those still in prison have not written. Contrast this with our offer to allow Indian Embassy to visit any prisoner whether or not he has written.

3. FYI In view of recent Communist invitations to American students and journalists to visit Communist China (Deptel 123) we consider it timely to remind Communists again how strongly we feel about their continued detention

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
Telegraphic transmission classification approved by:
AUG 8 1956
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:bmm 8/6/56

Clearance:
CA - Mr. McConaughy
L - Mr. Phleger

William J. Sebald

DC/R

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detention of our citizens. You should not mention invitations in your presentation, but allow Communists to draw their own conclusions. END FYI

4. FYI We have not yet heard from O'Neill regarding request to visit American prisoners that he was instructed to make. Neither have we been informed by Red Cross whether they will undertake interviews with Chinese prisoners here. Consequently, you should defer any comment on these subjects until next meeting. END FYI

5. Press for Communist acceptance of US April 16 renunciation of force draft using same arguments as last meeting and previously. Avoid specific comment on embargo question by linking it to renunciation of force declaration in same manner as last meeting.

Dulles (WM)

DULLES

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM (693)

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☒ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

(2) 03935

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 135

Origin

Info:

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1. You will note clear implication in Department's press release (Deptel 134) that Americans would be allowed travel Communist China once all American prisoners released. Without making this implication explicit, you should exploit it in August 9 meeting so that meaning will be clear to Communists and maximum leverage will be exerted on them to release Americans.

2. FYI American Red Cross has agreed to interview Chinese prisoners in US. Communists should not be informed of this at this meeting.

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Dulles (WPMcC)

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AUG 8 1956 P.M.

Unit 55

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:emm 8/8/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger

CA - Mr. McConaughy

FE- Mr. Sebald (Cleared in substance)

WPMcC

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Name of Officer
Action to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 129, AUGUST 9, 3 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

1. TWO HOUR TWENTY MINUTE MEETING TODAY. WANG OPENED WITH STATEMENT THAT TEN MONTHS HAVE BEEN SPENT ON DISCUSSION RENUNCIATION OF FORCE SUGGESTED BY US AND IN SPITE THREE PRC DRAFTS SUBMITTED US STILL "STUBBORNLY CLINGING UNACCEPTABLE DEMANDS." WHILE I HAD INDICATED WILLINGNESS HEAR PRC VIEWS ON TRADE, MY STATEMENTS HAD INDICATED I DID NOT INTEND TO CARRY ON BUSINESSLIKE DISCUSSION AND SETTLE THIS MATTER. THIS WAS "UNFAIR AND UNEQUAL" AND HOPED THIS WAS NOT MY INTENT. THEREFORE FORMALLY PROPOSED WE AGREE DISCUSS QUESTION EMBARGO SEEK PRACTICAL SETTLEMENT.

2. IN REPLY I MADE LONG STATEMENT REITERATING RENUNCIATION AS FIRST ESSENTIAL STEP IN SEEKING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT DISPUTES, THEREFORE COULD NOT AGREE WE ABANDON EFFORTS REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT. REVIEWED HISTORY NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS STRESSING RETROGRESSION MAY 11 DRAFT PRC ATTEMPT CONFUSE WITH OTHER ISSUES AND ESTABLISH PRECONDITIONS FOR RENUNCATION. ALSO REASSERTED INSEPARABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEN RENUNCIATION AND TRADE BUT REMINDED HIM I HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED. INCLUSION SUBJECT TRADE OUR DISCUSSIONS THEREFORE WILLING TO HEAR HIS VIEWS. ALSO REITERATED INVITATION AMPLIFY ASPECTS THEY HAD IN MIND IN ACCORDANCE QUESTIONS ASKED MY NOV 3 STATEMENT AS WELL AS REITERATED STATEMENT MADE LAST MEETING THAT NO ADVANTAGE TO US IN TRADE WHERE GOODS RECEIVED CAN BE USED SUPPORT USE OF FORCE.

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3. IN REPLY HE AGREED RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARAION "IS AT THE HEART OF THE DISPUTES BETWEEN US" AS ATTESTED BY THEIR PATIENCE TEN MONTHS NEGOTIAIONS ON THIS AND THREE SUCCESSIVE DRAFTS. I STILL FAILED PUT FORWARD ANY VIEWS WHICH LIMINATE OBSTACLES TO AGREEMENT AND NO PROGRESS COULD BE MADE BY REPEATING OLD ARGUMENTS. HE THEN MADE STATEMENT WE SHOULD STRIVE STEP BY STEP TO RESOLVE DISPUTES, EMBARGO WAS AGINST INTEREST BOTH COUNTRIES, VIOLATED ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES TRADE, PREJUDICED INTERESTS OTHER COUNTRIES AND PROVOKED EXTREME DISSATISFACTION PEOPLE OTHER COUNTRIES, LIFTING WOULD BE FIRST STEP IN IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS AS WELL AS IN INTERST AMERICAN PEOPLE, ETC., ETC.. WANTED TO HEAR MY VIEWS WITH REGARD TO FIRST STEPS FOR LIFTING EMBARGO. SHOULD NOT ENTANGLE WITH OTHER SUBJECTS OR ESTABLISH PRECONDITIONS.

4. I REPLIED WITH STATEMENT CHARGING THEY SEEKING UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE FROM TALKS AS DEMONSTRATED BY THEIR POSITION WITH RESPECT RENUNCIATION AND TRADE AND THEN LED DIRECTLY INTO IMPLEMENTATION POINTING OUT CONTRAST BETWEEN ADVANTAGES RESULTING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO PRC AND US. WITH RESPECT AMERICANS IN PRISON RETROGRESSION NOT ONLY IN RATE OF RELEASE AS COMPARED WITH SITUATION PRIOR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT BUT PRC PATTERN NOW APPARENTLY REQUIRING REMAINING AMERICANS SERVE FULL TERMS AS SHOWN CASES PHILLIPS, CLIFFORD AND PINGER WHEREAS PRIOR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AT LEAST SOME AMEICANS BEING RELEASED BEFORE COMPLETION UNJUST SENTENCES. ALSO HALF REMAINING AMERICANS HAVE NOT COMMUNICATED WITH UK CHARGE EVIDENCE THEY BEING PREVENTED OBTAINED FROM PHILLIPS AND CLIFFORD. CONTRASTED OUR OFFER PERMIT INDIANS VISIT ALL PRISONERS, THEN REFERRED TO DEPT'S AUG 7 PRESS STATEMENT, GIVING HIM COPY AND PARTICULARLY CALLING ATTENTION TO LAST SENTENCE.

5. HE REPLIED REJECTING ARGUMENT ABOLISHMENT TRADE EMBARGO SOLELY IN INTEREST PRC STATING EVEN AMONG US AUTHORITIES "SOME PEOPLE RECOGNIZE NECESSITY ABOLISHING." THEY WERE CONTINUALLY RECEIVING APPLICATIONS FROM AMERICAN JOURNALITRS FOR PERMISSION VISIT CHINA AND THE HAD NOW AGREED IN ORDER CORECT FALSE STORIES AND LET THEM SEE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW AND INDUSTRIALIZED CHINA. ALSO TO REFUTE SLANDERS ABUT IRON CURTAIN OR BAMBOO CURTAIN. POINTING OUT PRC HAD

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APPROVED APPLICATIONS WITHOUT ASKING RECIPROCITY, HE WONDERED IF US WOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE GIVE RECIPROCITY. CHARGED US WAS ACTUALLY IRON CURTAIN COUNTRY AND WAS ABSURD FOR US TO ATTEMPT EXPL IT THEIR APPROVAL THESE APPLICATIONS FOR "BLACKMAIL" AND DEMANDS EXTRANEOUS PRECONDITONS. WORLD AND EVEN AMERICAN PRESS WOULD BLAME US. AS FAR AS CHINESE IN US CONCERNED MANY WHO HAD RETURNED TOLD OF EFFORTS BY INS PERSUADE THEM GO TO TAIWAN OR NOT RETURN AND WHEN INSISTED ON RETURNING SUCH UNREASONABLE TIME LIMITS IMPOSED AS PREVENT THEM BRINGING PERSONAL BELONGINGS. THIS VIOLATES SPIRIT AGRED ANNOUNCEMENT AND AT VARIANCE MY STATEMENTS FREEDOM CHINESE TO DEPART.

6. I REFUTED HIS CHARGES WITH USUAL ARGUMENTS NOT SINGLE CASE OBSTRUCTION BROUGHT ATTENTION INDIAN EMBASSY, ETC., AND POINTED OUT ONLY ACTION BY HIS GOVERNMENT COULD REMOVE IMPEDIMENTS IF THEY DESIRED AMERICANS VISIT PRC. IN VIEW THEIR RECORD WITH RESPECT AMERICANS IN CHINA MY GOVERNMENT WOULD BE DELINQUENT ITS RESPONSIBILITY PROTECTION AMERICAN CITIZENS IF IT TOOK ANY OTHER ATTITUD3

7. HE PROPOSED I AGREED NEXT MEETING TUESDAY AUG 21. DEPARTING PRAGUE FRIDAY MORNING.

GOWEN

RNS

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Control: 6569
Rec'd: AUGUST 10, 1956
2:54 AM

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Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 134, AUGUST 9, 7 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE THAT AT TODAY'S MEETING I MORE FULLY DEVELOPED AND TURNED BACK ON HIM THEME OF RELATIVE ADVANTAGE OF TALKS AND RESULTS THUS FAR. PROPOSE DEVELOP THIS FURTHER AT NEXT MEETING POINTING UP THEIR DEMANDS ON FMC AND TRADE IN EFFECT CONSTITUTE DEMAND FULL SATISFACTION ALL THEIR STATED DESIRES FROM TALKS WITH NO SATISFACTION US DESIRES. BELIEVE THIS BEST COUNTER TO WHAT STILL APPEARS BE HIS TACTIC OF BUILDING UP FOR EVENTUAL PUBLIC USE POSITION ALONG LINES CHOU'S PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SPEECH AS SET FORTH MYTEL 76. WHILE DOING THIS, HIS ATTITUDE AT TODAY'S MEETING AND PROPOSALS AT THIS AND RECENT MEETINGS ON TIMING SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS ALSO APPEARS INDICATE THEY INTEND CONTINUE "MAKING TIME" OPERATION FOR NEXT TWO MONTHS OR SO. WHILE ANY NEW MOVE THEIR PART NOT LIKELY UNTIL AFTER OUR ELECTIONS, DEPENDING ON THEIR INTERPRETATION ANY PERTINENT CAMPAIGN DEVELOPMENTS, CANNOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY SOME MOVE BY THEM SHORTLY BEFORE ELECTIONS.

IT WAS CLEAR HE IMMEDIATELY CAUGHT IMPLICATION DEPT'S AUG 7 PRESS STATEMENT AND CAN EXPECT PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN BY THEM ALONG LINES HIS REPLY.

GOWEN

CSS

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Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 6573
Rec'd: AUGUST 10, 1956
3:47 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 135, AUGUST 9, 9 PM (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED 55TH MEETING WITH PREPARED STATEMENT: SINCE OPENING SECOND ITEM WE SPENT TEN MONTHS DISCUSSING RENUNCIATION FORCE SUGGESTED BY MY SIDE THEIR SIDE ALREADY PUT FORWARD THREE REASONABLE DRAFTS FOR DECLARATION THAT REGARD. ONLY BECAUSE MY SIDE STUBBORNLY CLINGING TO DEMANDS UNACCEPTABLE THEIR SIDE THAT NO AGREEMENT REACHED. TO PREVENT THESE TALKS FROM DEVELOPING INTO MEANINGLESS STALLING SITUATION THEIR SIDE PROPOSED WE DISCUSS SUBJECT OF EMBARGO RAISED BY THEIR SIDE UNDER SECOND ITEM. AT LAST MEETING I HAD INDICATED WILLINGNESS HEAR THEIR VIEWS ON QUESTION EMBARGO BUT REMARKS I MADE THEN SEEMED SHOW MY SIDE DOESN'T INTEND CARRY ON BUSINESSLIKE DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT AND SEEK SOLUTION. IF THAT IS POSITION HE COULD ONLY REGARD IT AS UNREASONABLE. THEIR SIDE HAD JOINED IN DISCUSSING SUBJECT PROPOSED BY MY SIDE. IF MY SIDE REFUSED DISCUSS SUBJECT PROPOSED THEIR SIDE IT WOULD INDEED TURN THESE TALKS INTO UNFAIR UNEQUAL NEGOTIATION; HE HOPED THIS NOT INTENT MY SIDE.

2. WANG NOW SPECIFICALLY SUGGESTED WE FIRST REACH AGREEMENT ON FOLLOWING LINES: "IN ORDER THAT SUBJECT RAISED BY CHINESE SIDE UNDER SECOND ITEM AGENDA MAY BE HANDLED, BOTH SIDES OF THESE TALKS AGREE TO PROCEED TO SUBJECT OF EMBARGO AND SEEK PRACTICAL SETTLEMENT." HE WOULD NOW LIKE TO HEAR MY VIEWS.R

3. I REPLIED ASSUMPTION HE MADE WAS APPARENTLY THAT THERE NO LONGER ANY WAY OPEN TO US CONTINUE SEEK AGREEMENT ON QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE. WHILE TRUE THIS SUBJECT PROPOSED BY ME, IT SUBJECT WHICH FELT WE BOTH AGREED WENT TO VERY HEART OF BASIC DISPUTES BETWEEN US. IT WAS SUGGESTED BY MY SIDE

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AS FIRST ESSENTIAL STEP IN SEEKING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT THOSE DISPUTES. I COULD NOT BUT CONTINUE CONSIDER IT THIS LIGHT. I THEREFORE COULD NOT AGREE THAT WE ABANDON EFFORTS REACH AGREEMENT RENUNCIATION FORCE. IF HIS GOVT WERE TO ABANDON OBSTACLES IT HAD PLACED IN WAY OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION I WAS SATISFIED WE COULD VERY I READILY REACH AGREEMENT THEREON. IN OUR DISCUSSION UP TO MAY 11, TWO OF US HAD BEEN PROCEEDING--VERY SLOWLY, IF IS TRUE--IN WAY WHICH COULD LEAD TO AGREEMENT. HE RESPONDED TO MY PROPOSAL OF LAST OCTOBER WITH DRAFT THAT INDICATED AT LEAST PARTIAL ACCEPTANCE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES PROPOSAL WHICH I HAD MADE. THIS WAS IN SENSE STEP FORWARD, ALTHOUGH IT WAS LARGELY CANCELED OUT BY HIS ATTEMPT INTRODUCE INTO THAT DRAFT SEPARATE MATTER FOEIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE AS PRECONDITION FOR AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE.

4. I SAID WITH INTRODUCTION MY DRAFT NOV 10, WHICH EXPRESSED VERY CONCRETELY PRINCIPLE OF RENUNCIATON FORCE WITHOUT ENTANGLING IT WITH EXTRANEOUS TOPICS, OUR DISCUSSIONS HAD PROGRESSED TO NEW STAGE. THREE WEEKS LATER ON DEC 1, HE HAD SUBMITTED NEW DRAFT. WITHOUT SACRIFICING HIS VIEWS AS TO DESIRABILITY EVENTUAL MEETING FOREIGN MINISTERS, HAD IN HIS DEC 1 DRAFT AT LEAST TACITLY ACCEPTED IDEA OUR IMMEDIATE TASK, OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE, SHOULD NOT BE COMPLICATED BY INTRODUCTION EXTRANEOUS MATTERS. I HAD WELCOMED THIS DRAFT OF HIS SIDE, AND CALLED IT ADVANCE OVER PREVIOUS POSITION. IN MY SUBSEQUENT SUCCESSIVE EFFORTS CONTINUE OUR PROGRESS TOWARDS MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE, I HAD BEEN VERY CAREFUL PRESERVE, IN ENTIRETY, AREA AGREEMENT WHICH HIS DEC 1 DRAFT INDICATED HAD BEEN REACHED BETWEEN US. AS HE KNEW, MY DRAFT APRIL 19 RETAINED NOT ONLY FORM BUT ALSO EVERY SINGLE WORD OF HIS DEC 1 DRAFT.

5. I CONTINUED IN CONTRAST TO EFFORTS I MADE TO PRESERVE AREA OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN US, HIS EFFORTS SINCE MAY 11 BEEN DEVOTED ELIMINATING BASES FOR PROGRESS TOWARDS MEANINGFUL DECLARATION. HE HAD DONE THIS BY REVERTING TO POSITION OF LAST OCTOBER. HE HAD ATTEMPTED ESTABLISH FIRST ONE PRECONDITION AND THEN ANOTHER FOR ISSUANCE OF DECLARATION. I CONTINUE

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HOPE HIS GOVT WILL RECONSIDER ITS PRESENT POSITION AND CHANGE ITS ATTITUDE SO WE COULD ISSUE REALLY MEANINGFUL DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE AS FIRST AND FUNDAMENTAL STEP TO SETTLEMENT DISPUTES BETWEEN US.

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Action Taken

Action

Control: 6571

FE

Rec'd: ~~AUGUST 10, 1956~~ 3:46 AM

Info

Date of Action

RMR

Action Office Symbol

6

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: **Secretary of State**

NO: 135, AUGUST 9, 9 PM (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

6. I SAID HAD AGREED TO INCLUSION IS OUR DISCUSSION OF WHAT HE TERMED TRADE EMBARGO. I HAD NO INTENTION OF GOING BACK ON THIS AGREEMENT. MY ATTITUDE TOWARD DISCUSSION THIS NOT BASSED ON NARROW PROCEDURAL CONSIDERATION BUT RATHER ON FUNDAMENTAL SUBSTANTIVE RELATIONSHIP OF THIS MATTER TO RENUNCIATION FORCE. AS I TOLD HIM ON NOVEMBER 3 AND AGAIN AT LAST MEETING I ENTIRELY WILLING HEAR ANY VIEWS HE MIGHT DESIRE PUT FORWARD WITH RESPECT TRADE. WHEN HE DID SO I HOPED HE WOULD AMPLIFY EXACTLY WHAT ASPECTS THIS MATTER HE HAD IN MIND. LAST NOV 3 I HAD ASKED SPECIFIC QUESTIONS THIS REGARD TO WHICH HE HAD STILL MADE NO REPLIES. I DID NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD SERVE ANY USEFUL PURPOSE TO MAKE AS HE HAD IN PAST, VAGUE AND UNFOUNDED CHARGES AGAINST MY GOVT IN EXERCISING ITS UNQUESTIONED SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO CONTROL AND REGULATE TRADE IN WHATEVER MANNER IT DEEMS IN BEST INTEREST OF US. LET ME SAY AGAIN VERY BLUNTLY AS I HAD AT LAST MEETING, MY COUNTRY DID NOT CONSIDER THERE COULD BE ANY ADVANTAGE TO IT IN TRADE WHERE GOODS RECEIVED IN THAT TRADE COULD BE USED SUPPORT USE FORCE AGAINST IT. IT WOULD THUS BE OBVIOUS IF DISCUSSION TRADE MATTERS BETWEEN US TO BE FRUITFUL IT MUST BE CLEAR THAT SUCH USE WOULD NOT BE MADE OF GOODSRECEIVED IN THAT TRADE. I HAD STATED OUR POSITION ON THIS VERY BLUNTLY AND VERY FRANKLY NOT WITH INTENT OF GIVING ANY OFFENSE OR OF ENGAGING IN FRUITLESS ARGUMENT, BUT RATHER SO THAT HE WOULD CLEARLY UNDERSTAND OUR POSITION THIS REGARD AND THEREBY CONTRIBUTE TO CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS OUR DISCUSSION. I THEREFORE HOPED HE WOULD CAREFULLY CONSIDER MATTER OF BOTH RENUNCIATION AND TRADE IN THIS LIGHT.

7. WANG AGREED QUESTION ISSUANCE RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION AT HEART DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO SIDES. THEIR PATIENCE IN DISCUSSION THIS TOPIC ATTESTED BY TEN MONTHS

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IN WHICH THEY JOINED WITH US IN THIS DISCUSSION. HIS SIDE HAD US FORWARD THREE SUCCESSIVE DRAFTS FOR MAKING SUCH DECLARATION. THUS CLEAR THEIR SINCERITY IN REACHING SUCH AGREEMENT COULDN'T BE QUESTIONED. THIS MORNING I HAD STATED I DIDN'T ABANDON, OR GIVE UP SUBJECT RENUNCIATION FORCE. BUT I FAILED PUT FORWARD ANY VIEWS WHICH COULD ELIMINATE OBSTACLES IN WAY OF DISCUSSION THIS SUBJECT. HE DIDN'T THINK IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS TO REITERATE OLD ARGUMENTS WHICH HAD BEEN PUT FORWARD IN OUR DISCUSSIONS. BLAME OF FAILURE REACH AGREEMENT AFTER TEN MONTHS DISCUSSION ON RENUNCIATION FORCE COULDN'T BE PUT ON THEIR SIDE.

8. WANG ASKED IN LIGHT MY STATEMENT ON SUBJECT EMBARGO THIS MORNING, COULD HE TAKE IT HAD NO OBJECTION TO OPENING DISCUSSION ON THIS SUBJECT AND THAT I WOULD AGREE DO SO? HE RECALLED STATEMENT I MADE NOV 3 LAST YEAR ON SUBJECT EMBARGO. HE RECALLED HE HAD ALREADY MADE CLEAR REPLY TO THAT STATEMENT. HE SAID THEN QUESTION EMBARGO IS ONE OF MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN TWO SIDES. IT PURPOSE THESE TALKS TO GRADUALLY RESOLVE, STEP BY STEP ALL DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. HE HAD TOLD ME REPEATEDLY POLICY EMBARGO IN ITSELF UNREASONABLE AND HURTS BOTH SIDES, AND VIOLATES INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLE PEACEFUL TRADE. THAT WHY HIS SIDE RESOLUTELY OPPOSED POLICY EMBARGO. THEY ALWAYS MAINTAINED THIS POLICY EMBARGO SHOULD BE ABOLISHED. ABOLITION THIS POLICY EMBARGO IN ACCORDANCE INTEREST BOTH OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. ABOLITION THIS POLICY EMBARGO MUST NOT BE FORCIBLY ENTANGLED WITH ANY OTHER QUESTION OR QUALIFIED WITH PRECONDITIONS IN THIS REGARD. HE THEREFORE WOULD LIKE HEAR MY VIEWS IN REGARD FIRST STEPS FOR ABOLISHING ELIMINATING THIS EMBARGO.

9. I ASSUMED HE DID NOT QUESTION SOVEREIGN RIGHT MY GOVT CONTROL TRADE IN WHATEVER MANNER IT DEEMS BEST INTEREST MY COUNTRY. ALSO ASSUMED HE NOT QUESTIONING ABILITY MY GOVT, CTING IN ACCORDANCE LAWFUL PROCESSES, TO DETERMINE WHAT IT CONSIDERS IN BESTINTERESTS MY COUNTRY. POLICIES MY GOVT ADOPTS WITH RESPECT TRADE NOT CAPRICIOUS OR ARBITRARY BUT DETERMINED BY WHAT IT CONSIDERS BEST INTERST MY COUNTRY. HE SAID THIS QUESTION MUST NOT BE FORCIBLY ENTANGLED WITH OTHER QUESTIONS. I HAD NOT ATTEMPTED ESTABLISH ANY FORCED--BUT RATHER VERY NATURAL--RELATIONSHIP

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BETWEEN THAT AND QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE. I HAD CAREFULLY AND FRANKLY EXPLAINED AGAIN THIS MORNING INEVITABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE TWO MATTERS. I BELIEVED WHAT I SAID WAS ENTIRELY CLEAR AND WOULD NOT TAKE TIME REPEAT IT. NEVERTHELESS AS I HAD SAID AM ENTIRELY PREPARED HEAR WHATEVER VIEWS HE DESIRED PUT FORWARD ON SUBJECT. I AGAIN REPEATED THAT WHEN HE DID SO I HOPED HE WOULD BE SPECIFIC AND PARTICULARLY THAT HE WOULD CLARIFY EXACTLY WHAT RESPECTS HE HAD IN MIND. SEVERAL ASPECTS TO IT AS BROUGHT OUT IN STATEMENT I MADE NOV 3. IT NOT CLEAR YET WHICH OF THOSE VARIOUS ASPECTS IT HIS DESIRE DISCUSS.

GOWEN

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Control: 6572

Rec'd: AUGUST 10, 1956

3:47 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 135, AUGUST 9, 9 PM (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

Office Symbol

Officer

To DC/R

11. WANG REPLIED DEEMED IT NECESSARY MAKE CLEAR NO STATEMENTS HE EVER MADE CARRIED ANY INTENT INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS MY COUNTRY. IF POLICIES PURSUED BY MY GOVT HAD NO RELATION WHATSOEVER HIS COUNTRY HE'D NEVER RAISE ANY MATTER THIS REGARD. HIS UNDERSTANDING TRADE BETWEEN COUNTRIES ALWAYS NATURALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO TWO PARTIES OR AT LEAST THIS TRADE MUST NOT PREJUDICE INTERST OF ONE PARTY. HOWEVER, POLICIES PURSUED BY US GOVT DO NOT FIT IN GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES INTERNATIONAL TRADE--RATHER MY COUNTRY CARRYING ON POLICY INTERNATIONAL BLOCKADE AND EMBARGO IN ORDER PURSUE NATIONAL POLITICAL OBJECTIVE. IMPLEMENTATION THESE POLICIES HAS PREJUDICED INTERESTS OTHER COUNTRIES. IN FACT THESE POLICIES PREJUDICIAL TO EVERYBODY CONCERNED. THAT REASON WHY HE STATED THIS POLICY OF EMBARGO UNREASONABLE, SHOULD THEREFORE BE ABOLISHED. MATTER OF FACT THIS POLICY ALREADY PROVOKED EXTREME DISSATISFACTION OF PEOPLES EVERY COUNTRY. THAT MADE IT ALL MORE NECESSARY DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT. THAT WAS REASON WHY THIS SUBJECT ONE OF MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. IN RAISING THIS SUBJECT IT WAS THEIR DEMAND THAT POLICY OF EMBARGO BE LIFTED. LIFTING OF EMBARGO WOULD HELP IN IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US. LIFTING EMBARGO NOT ONLY IN INTERESTS CHINESE PEOPLE BUT ALSO IN INTEREST AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE HAD STATED HE HOPED I'D PUT FORWARD MY CONCRETE VIEWS WITH REGARD LIFTING EMBARGO BUT MY LAST STATEMENT STILL HAD NOT CONTAINED REPLY TO STATEMENT HE HAD MADE. HE CONTINUED HOPE I'D CONSIDER THIS MATTER AND IF I FOUND NOT ABLE DO SO THIS MORNING, DO SO NEXT MEETING.

12. I REPLIED HE HAD OFTEN SPOKEN OF NECESSITY THESE TALKS BEING MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES SUCH AS OURS COULD NOT BE ONE SIDED. HOWEVER SEEMED TO ME THUS FAR IN THESE TALKS RESULTS AND EFFORTS OF HIS

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DISE# HAD BEEN DIRECTED TOWARD SOLELY UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. HE HAD PRESUMABLY RAISED QUESTION OF WHAT HE TERMED "TRADE EMBARGO" BECAUSE HE CONSIDERED IT ADVANTAGEOUS HIS SIDE. I HAD EXPLAINED TO HIM REASONS US DIDNT CONSIDER IT ADVANTAGEOUS UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS. ON OTHER HAND RENUNCIATION FORCE SOMETHING THAT CLEARLY MUTUAL AND ADVANTAGEOUS TO BOTH OF US. IF THREAT OF FORCE COULD, AS I HAD SO OFTEN PROPOSED, BE REMOVED IT COULD OPEN DOOR TO FRUITFUL DISCUSSION OF OTHER SUBJECTS. TRADE POLICIES OF MY COUNTRY WERE NOT CAUSE BUT RATHER EFFECT OF THREAT FORCE THAT CONTINUES EXISTS. IF THAT THREAT COULD BE REMOVED BY UNEQUIVOCAL RENUNCIATION FORCE, IT WOULD REMOVE ONE OF CAUSES THIS POLICY. HIS GOVT HAD IT WITHIN ITS POWER REMOVE THAT CAUSE.

13. I CONTINUED AT OUTSET THESE DISCUSSIONS I POINTED OUT ANOTHER CAUSE SERIOUSLY AFFECTING OUR RELATIONS WAS DETENTION OF AMEICAN CITIZENS IN HIS COUNTRY. I POINTED OUT AT TIME THIS ALSO COULD ONLY BE REMOVED BY ACTION HIS COUNTRY. THIS ANOTHER CASE IN WHICH HIS SIDE HAD SOUGHT UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE. I'D THOUGHT LAST SEPT. WE'D AGREED UPON COURSE ACTION THAT WOULD BE OF MUTUEL ADVANTAGE. YET THINGS APPEARED BE GOING BACKWARD AS FAR AS ANY ADVANTAGE TO US CONCERNED. NOT ONLY HAD AMERICANS BEEN RELEASED FROM HIS COUNTRY AT WHAT IS APPARENTLY RATE CONSIDERABLY SLOWER THAN EVEN BEFORE WE ENTERED INTO AGREEMENT BUT ANY POLICY OF WHAT HE HAD TERMED LENIENCY APPEARED EVEN BEEN DROPPED. PATTARN NOW APPARENTLY BEING ESTABLISHED PERSONS IN PRISON BEING REQUIRED SERVE FULL SENTENCE. I NOTED THAT OF LAST THREE PERSONS RELEASED FROM PRISON, ALL HAD SERVED FULL TERM SENTENCES. I HAD ALSO BEEN DISTURBED NOTE THAT IN SPITE HIS STATEMENTS HERE AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS HIS GOVT, ONE HALF OF PERSONS IN PRISON NEVER COMMUNICATED WITH UK CHARGE. THAT THIS NOT ENTIRELY MATTER OF THEIR CHOICE CONFIRMED BY FACT FATHER CLIFFORD TOLD US HE HAD SPECIFICALLY BEEN REFUSED PERMISSION WRITE UK CHARGE OR TO SEE BRITISH CONGEN. FATHER PHILLIPS STATED HE SPECIFICALLY TOLD AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED SEPT 10 NOT APPLICABLE HIM. APART FROM ALL OTHER CONSIDERATONS THIS STANDS IN STRONG CONTRAST TO OFFER OF WHICH I HAD INFORMED HIM TO INDIAN EMBASSY TO VISIT ANY CHINESE IN PRISON IN US WHETHER HAD WRITTEN OR NOT.

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14. I CONTINUED WHOLE SITUATION IS CASE IN WHICH HIS GOVT EVEN YET HAD IN ITS POWER BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN US. MY GOVT NOTED FACT HIS AUTHORITIES INVITED CERTAIN US NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS RADIO COMENTATORS VISIT HIS COUNTRY. MY GOVT WELCOMED FREE EXCHANGE INFORMATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES IRRESPECTIVE OF WHATEVER POLITICAL OR SOCIAL DIFFERENCES MIGHT EXIST BETWEEN THEM. IMPEDIMENT TO SUCH EXCHANGES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WAS ONE WHICH HAD BEEN SET UP BY HIS COUNTRY AND COULD ONLY BE REMOVED BY THIS COUNTRY. DEPT STATE ISSUED PUBLIC STATEMENT IN THIS REGARD. IN ORDER THAT HE MIGHT HAVE EXACT TEXT, I GIVING HIM COPY. I PARTICULERLY DREW HIS ATTENTION TO LAST SENTENCE THAT STATEMENT.

GOWEN

RNS

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Control: 6609
Rec'd: AUGUST 10, 1956
4:29 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 135, AUGUST 9, 9 PM (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

DC/R

15. WANG SAID HAD ALWAYS HELD VIEW WE SHOULD BASE OUR DISCUSSION [illegible]IES BETWEEN ON BASIS PRINCIPLE MUTUAL BENEFIT. WE SHOULD NOT BASE DISCUSSION ON UNILATERAL OR ONE-SIDED BENEFIT OF ONE SIDE. PROBLEMS COULD ONLY BE READILY RESOLVED IF WE BASED OUR DISCUSSION ON FORMER PRINCIPLE. NO PROBLEM COULD BE CONSIDERED IF WE ONLY CONSIDERED ONES OWN UNILATERAL BENEFIT. WE ALL TALK ABOUT THE PRINCIPLE AND WE ALL AGREE WITH IT. HOWEVER, GREAT CONTRAST BETWEEN TWO SIDES IN PRACTICAL CARRYING OUT THIS PRINCIPLE.

16. WANG ASKED PERMISSION CITE FEW INSTANCES IN RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHINA AND US. WHAT US HAD IN FACT MAINTAINED WEST TO PURSUE ITS OWN UNILATERAL BENEFIT AT EXPENSE OTHER SIDE. IT WAS AS MATTER OF FACT US WHICH OCCUPYING TERRITORY CHINA RATHER THAN CHINA OCCUPYING TERRITORY US. IT WAS US WHICH CARRYING ON ECONOMIC EMBARGO AGAINST CHINA AND NOT CHINA WHICH CARRYING ON SUCH POLICY. IT QUITE OBVIOUS THAT WHAT US DOING TODAY WAS TO PURSUE ITS UNILATERAL BENEFIT AT EXPENSE CHINA. FACTS BEING SO HOW COULD MY GOVT STILL CLING TO POLICY OF OWN BENEFIT WHILE PREJUDICING BENEFIT THIS COUNTRY. HOW COULD SUCH POLICY ONE-SIDED BENEFIT CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVEMENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

17. WANG COULD ONLY TERM ABSURD ALL CHARGES AGAINS HIS COUNTRY WHICH WITHOUT REGARD TO ACTUAL FACTS. I SEEMED TO HIM TO HAVE SAID THEIR SIDE PROPOSED POLICY EMBARGO BE ABOLISHED SOLELY BECAUSE ABOLITION WOULD BE IN INTEREST OF CHINA ALONE. HE MUST POINT OUT SUCH CATEGORIZATION WRONG. ORIGINAL OBJECTIVE OF US IN IMPOSING SUCH POLICY EMBARGO WAS TRY CREATE DIFFICULTIES FOR CHINA. OBJECTIVE OF US WAS PURSUE OWN SELFISH INTEREST. HOWEVER THINGS HAD NOT TURNED OUT EXACTLY IN ACCORDANCE REASONING MY GOVT. REASON EITHER SIDE PROPOSED ABOLITION POLICY

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[illegible] 13, [illegible] JST 9, 9PM (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE) FROM GENEVA

[illegible] EMBARGO WAS NOT ONE WHICH COULD BE EXPLAINED BY SAYING [illegible] POLICY HAD CAUSED TREMENDOUS DIFFICULTY TO HIS GOVT. [illegible] POLICY EMBARGO HAD ACTUALLY NOT CREATED ANY GREAT AMOUNT DIFFICULTY TO HIS COUNTRY; FACT TURNS OUT TO BE NEW AND [illegible]STRIALIZED CHINA BEING BUILT UP. THIS FACT ALREADY BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE WORLD. BECAUSE POLICY EMBARGO UNREASONABLE AND VIOLATES INTERST ALL PEOPLES OF WORLD INCLUDING AMERICANS THAT THEY PROPOSE ITS ABOLITION. FACT THAT EVEN AMONG US AUTHORITIES THERE ALSO SOME PEOPLE WHO RECOGNIZED [illegible] ABOLISHING TRADE EMBARGO PROVED THAT THIS POLICY DAMAGING TO INTERST OF ALL CONCERNED. NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN U.S. DESIRE UNDERSTAND CONSTRUCTION OF NEW AND INDUSTRIALIZED CHINA. THESE PEOPLE DELIBERATELY CREATING FALSE STORIES THIS REGARD. HOW VERY GOOD OPPORTUNITY AFFORDED TO AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS AND NEWSMEN TO REPORT ON THIS REGARD PERSONALLY.

18. WANG CHARGED US HAD CONSITENTLY MADE PROPAGANDA SAYING HIS [illegible] FROM CURTAIN COUNTRY OR WHAT WE HAVE TERMED BAMBOO CURTAIN COUNTRY--AND THAT HIS COUNTRY DIDN'T OFFER ACCESS TO PEOPLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES TO VISIT IT. THEY HAD CONTINUALLY BEEN RECEIVING MANY REQUESTS FROM AMERICAN NEWSPAPER MEN TO COME CHINA REPORT NEWS. GENERAL PRINCIPLE TO DEAL WITH THIS MATTER NOW BEING ADOPTED BY MOST COUNTRIES THAT VISITING BY NEWSPAPERMEN BE RECIPROCAL. THIS PRINCIPLE WHICH SHOULD BE FOLLOWED IS THAT AT SAME TIME AMERICAN NEWSPAPERMEN BEING PERMITTED BY CHINA, CHINESE NEWSPAPERMEN SHOULD ALSO BE ADMITTED TO US. MIGHT ASK IF US SUCH A FREE COUNTRY AS WE [illegible] IT, WOULD IT HAVE BEEN ABLE ADMIT CHINESE NEWSPAPERMEN. [illegible] GOVERNMENT HAD NOT ASKED SUCH QUESTION. HIS GOVT HAD [illegible] BY NEWSPAPERMEN TO VISIT HIS COUNTRY. MIGHT SAY [illegible] APPLY IMMEDIATE STEP HIS GOVT. WOULD OFFER OPPORTUNITY FOR CORRESPONDENTS OF THOSE AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS [illegible] HAD DELIBERATELY SLANDERED HIS COUNTRY TO BE ABLE VISIT HIS COUNTRY THEMSELVES. THIS VISIT WOULD ALSO [illegible] TO PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN [illegible] TWO COUNTRIES.

19. WANG SAID NOW THAT HIS GOVT ACCEPTED REQUEST VARIOUS [illegible] AND CORRESPONDENTS TO VISIT HIS COUNTRY, ANY ATTEMPT [illegible] QUESTION THESE NEWSMEN OR TO RAISE ABSOLUTELY

UNREASONABLE DEMAND IN THIS REGARD HE COULD ONLY CONSIDER IMPROPER. THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO DELIBERATE OBSTRUCTION ON PART MY GOVT AGAINST THOSE AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS TO MAKE PERSONAL TOUR HIS COUNTRY AND HAVE FACTS. THIS WOULD AMOUNT TO DELIBERATE ATTEMPT ON PART US GOVT TO CONTINUE REFUSE FACE FACTS ON CHINA. ALL THIS WOULD MAKE US BY ITS OWN VOLITION WHAT IT ALWAYS CALLS AN IRON CURTAIN COUNTRY. THIS WOULD SHOW US GOVT DELIBERATELY CRATING FUTHER OBSTRUCTIONS RATHER THAN REMOVING EXISTING OBSTRUCTIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US. ACTION TAKEN BY US GOVT THAT REGARD WOULD INEVITABTY INVITE CONDEMNATION OF ALL PEOPLE INCLUDING AMERICAN PRESS. INTERNATIONAL OPINION WOULD HAVE ITS PROPER SAY ON MERITS THIS MATTER---AS TO WHICH SIDE MERITS ON. ANY ATTEMPT TRY SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY WHEN CHINESE GOVT ACCEPTING REQUEST AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS VISIT CHINA FOR BLACKMAIL OR TO DEMAND ANY EXTRANEOUS PRECONDTION, HE COULD ONLY TERM EXTREMELY ABSURD.

GOWEN

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Control: 6573
Rec'd: AUGUST 10, 1956
2:58 AM, Central

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 135, AUGUST 9, 9 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

20. WANG CONTINUED FAR AS QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS CONCERNED, THEY ALSO SEE THAT WHAT US GOVT SAID GROSSLY AT VARIANCE WITH WHAT ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT. I NOT YET GIVEN ANY ACCOUNTING THOSE PEOPLE WHOSE NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME IN COURSE DISCUSSION. NUMBER CHINESE WHO RECENTLY RETURNED FROM US HAVE TOLD OF VARIOUS OBSTRUCTIONS RELATED TO THEIR RETURN OFFERED BY US GOVT. MANY THESE PEOPLE WHO RETURNED HAD EXPRESSED DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY BUT IN AND S MY COUNTRY MADE REPEATED ATTEMPTS FORCE OR INDUCE THEM GO TAIWAN. IN AND S OBJECTED TO THEIR RETURN ON GROUNDS CHINA WHAT WE CALL COMMUNIST COUNTRY. SOME OF THEM GIVEN UNREASONABLE TIME LIMIT TO DEPARTURE SO COULDNOT BRING ALONG PERSONAL POSSESSIONS--EVEN CLOTHING. ALL THOSE ACTIONS OF MY COUNTRY VIOLATE SPIRIT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS PICTURE GROSSLY AT VARIANCE EITHR WHAT US SAID REGARD SO-CALLED FREE DEPARTURE CHINESE FROM MY COUNTRY.

21. I REPLIED FACT REMAINED INSPITE THESE VAGUE CHARGES CHINESE, EVEN IN ACCORDANCE HIS OWN STATEMENT, STEADILY RETURNING HIS COUNTRY WHENEVER DESIRE DO SO. FACT REMAINED IF ANY THEM FELT WERE BEING OBSTRUCTEDD COULD COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. FACT REMAINED INDIAN EMBASSY HANDNOT CALLED OUR ALTENTION SINGLE CASE SUCH OBSTRUCTION. FACT REMAINED FROM VERY OUTSET TALKS I MADE IT CLEAR OUR INTEREST WAS IN OBTAINING RELEASE ALL AMERICANS DETAINED HIS COUNTRY. I THOUGHT, MY PEOPLE THOUGHT, MY GOVT THOUGHT, THIS HAD BEEN AGREED TO BY HIS AUTHORITIES IN OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT 10. FACT REMAINED IN SPITE AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AMERICANS STILL BEING DETAINED IN HIS COUNTRY, AND OF THOSE WHO REMAINED, THEIR SITUATION APPEARED TO BE EVEN MORE UNFAVORABLE THAN PRIOR ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCMENT; WHEREAS EVEN BEFORE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SOME OF THEM BEING RELEASED PRIOR TO FULL TERM SENTENCES THAT HAD UNJUSTLY BEEN SERVED UPON THEM, NOW APPEARS BE PATTERN NAME THOSE THAT REMAIN SERVE FULL SENTENCE.

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22. I HAVE FOUND IT DIFFICULT SEE WHAT ADVANTAGE THERE HAS BEEN TO MY COUNTRY IN ISSUANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IN VIEW THIS SITUATION AND TREATMENT ACCORDED THESE AMERICANS WHO ALREADY IN HIS COUNTRY IT CERTAINLY CANNOT BE EXPECTED MY GOVT WOULD APPROVE MORE AMERICANS PLACING THEMSELVES WITHIN JURISDICTION HIS AUTHORITIES. THIS JUST PLAIN COMMON SENSE, AND MY GOVT WOULD BE DELINQUENT OF ITS RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD ITS CITIZENS IF IT TOOK ANY OTHER ATTITUDE. IF HE DESIRED HAVE AMERICANS VISIT HIS COUNTRY IT ENTIRELY WITHIN POWER HIS AUTHORITIES REMOVE THIS PRESENT IMPEDIMENT TO THEIR DOING SO; I EARNESTLY HOPED THEY DO SO.

23. WANG SAID HIS EXPLANATION AND REPLY REGARDING QUESTION CIVILIANS, ESPECIALLY REGARDING CHINESE CIVILIANS IN US, MIGHT APPEAR SATISFACTORY TO HIM. HE CONSIDERED MY CHARGE CAME FROM HIS COUNTRY REGARDING AMEICAN CIVILIANS IN CHINA UNREASONABLE. THEY DID NOT ACCORD WETH FACT. HE THEREFORE COULD NOT ACCEPT THEM. WITH REGARD QUESTION AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS AND REQUEST GO CHINA, FACT WAS US GOVT DID NOT WANT THEM GO-IS PREVENTING THEM FROM DOING SO. HE COULD ONLY SAY THIS AGAINST PLAIN COMMON SENSE AND ENTIRELY POLICY DIRECTED TO DUPING PEOPLE. SUCH POLICY WOULD NOT BRING ANY GOOD TO US GOVT.

24. ON BY INDICATING I HAD NOTHING FURHTER, WANG SUGGESTED NEXT MEETING TUESDAY AUG 21. I AGREED.

GOWEN

USM

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~~4 PM~~
~~RNC~~

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____

August 9, 1956.

Copy routed to USR
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PERSONAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. ~~41~~ 42

Dear Walter:

Thanks very much for getting the Department's August 7 press statement to me before the meeting. It was an excellent statement, saying the right things in the right way and I was able to make good use of it. However, I don't think we should believe that it will in fact accelerate the release of the remaining prisoners. The Chinese Communists full well knew we would take this position before they approved the applications and they did so first as a propaganda gesture in an attempt to put us on the spot, and secondly in the belief that our position will be undermined by some of the correspondents going regardless of what we say. It is going to be very hard for them to go in face of the Department's statement, but I fear this may not deter some of them. Also they hope to set up controversy between the Department and the news agencies so that it will not be an issue between ourselves and the Chinese, but between the Department and the news agencies. It is a very clever move on their part and I am surprised they haven't done so before now. You will note that in discussing it today I carefully avoided saying anything about our "forbidding" correspondents to go or making any flat statements that none would go. I very much had in mind our discussion with Hermann before I came over here on the whole legal position in this regard. I suppose if they do go and get away with it we will be faced with the problem of some of the relatives of prisoners wanting to go.

I haven't much to add to my comment telegram. The whole thing has become so abstract and the same things have been said so often that I find it difficult to keep my grip on it or think of any new way of saying it.

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

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Lot 72 D 415

Strange we have not heard anything from O'Neill. Hope we have something from him as well as the interviews with the Chinese prisoners before next meeting. However, with regard to the latter even if some want to go I do not think it would be wise to say anything to Wang or the Indians until they have actually left. If we do and any of them change their minds or there are other slip-ups it would have been better to have said nothing.

Thanks for your letter of August 3. Dave is going over the material on the missing POWs. Incidentally you should know that between meetings he is working the Economic Section here and getting some good experience in ECE sub-committee meetings, etc.. Vreeland, who the consulate has made available for reporting the meetings is an excellent man and the whole arrangement is now working out very well.

Incidentally could you have someone send us two copies of the recent Yale University publication on "Chinese Language Reform" on which there was an article in the August 5 New York Times. We can make use of one of them and I have in mind using the other to give Wang if and when a suitable opportunity develops.

Regards to all,

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. The Geneva contingent send their regards to you Doug, Ralph, John & Pete for the supplement to the entertainment allowance and it will be used as per instructions. A full report will be submitted.

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August 13, 1956

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☐ Reviewer _____ Date

SECRET

Official Informal

Letter No. 53

Dear Alex;

There has been quite a stir throughout the past week over the issue of the proposed visits of American correspondents to Communist China. Peiping timed their decision to authorize visas for the newsmen pretty shrewdly. The knowledge that entry would be granted by the Chinese Communists was just enough of a catalyst to set the pot to boiling very vigorously. As long as there was some doubt whether the newsmen could actually obtain entry into Communist China, the issue was more or less academic and pressure was accordingly moderate. Now it has increased to a point where it can be contained only with great difficulty.

Linc White in his first round with the newsmen after word was received that visas were obtainable, put the emphasis almost completely on non-recognition as the reason for the non-validation of passports. This came under considerable fire since its vulnerability was pretty obvious in the existing situation. Very influential publishing figures including Sulzberger of the New York Times intervened quite actively in favor of the granting of authorization for the visits. They got in touch with the White House as well as with the Department.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

SECRET

The Secretary felt that we would have to rely on the issue of the imprisoned Americans as the reason for holding the line. This was something tangible that everybody could understand. It is difficult to refute. Of course it has the drawback that it overlooks the other cogent reasons which exist or might exist for continuing the policy after the possible release of the 10 Americans. Also it does not give us a complete basis for excluding visits to North Korea and North Vietnam, which are included in the passport ban. However it is the basis which has been selected to stand on. If all the Americans are released and if there is no new element in the situation, presumably we would have to authorize visits. And it is doubtful if we could discriminate in favor of newsmen as a class and against others with strong practical reasons for visiting Mainland China.

The press reaction, except for David Lawrence's column has been quite critical of the Department's policy. I am enclosing a large batch of clippings assembled by John Lindbeck. These need not be returned.

As you were informed in the Department's 135, the American Red Cross has agreed to undertake the visits to the Chinese convicts to ascertain their wishes. The Red Cross showed no hesitation in undertaking the task and is going about it in a business-like manner. We decided not to send a Departmental officer along with them. It would have meant the loss to CA of Ralph Clough for two weeks or both Ralph and Joe Haroski for one week and a considerable slice out of FE's travel funds. If we had thought that it would improve our position, we wouldn't have hesitated to make the sacrifice.

SECRET

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SECRET

However, we do not think that sending a Departmental officer along would have the slightest effect on the attitude of either the Chinese Communists or the Indians, except perhaps to strengthen the Chinese Communist argument that we were arranging to release a selected fraction of the large number of Chinese in prison for propaganda purposes. As far as the public in general is concerned, we are satisfied that the Red Cross visits will be adequate proof that each individual was given an impartial hearing and a free choice.

A Red Cross representative came in on August 10 to work out the details. They have named two of their senior men to do the job, one taking the prisons in the West and the other those in the East. They will come to Washington on the 15th to be briefed and will begin their visits on Monday, August 20. We estimate that they will be able to complete the job within that week. Enclosed is the letter we propose sending to the prisoners advising them of the impending Red Cross visits.

If all goes as planned, we should know by the meeting following that of August 21 how many convicts wish to go to Mainland China, go to Taiwan or stay where they are. We should appreciate your thoughts on how to get the great/est advantage from the operation from that point on. We are tentatively thinking of having any who wished to go to Mainland China write to the Indian Embassy. This would bring the Indians back into the act; they could hardly refuse to assume responsibility when an individual prisoner had written to them. We would expect also to shift the cost of deportation to the Chinese Communists, by having the convict request financial assistance

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for his return.

We may wish to make the whole story public at some point. It does not seem likely that public pressure of this sort would cause the Chinese Communists to shift the position they have so firmly taken - apparently in order not to be compelled to let all the Americans go immediately. However, we have a good case and if we place it before the world before the Chiness Communists do, it will put them on the defensive and demonstrate to any reasonable person why the United States has reason to be distrustful of Chinese Communist promises. Please give us your views.

Your letter No. 41 of July 26 came August 7. Thanks for it and for the news and for the comments it contained. We had already sent out your guidance for the August 9 meeting when your letter arrived. Before the next meeting, we will consider the question of what you might be able to imply regarding the trade discussions in the event of a satisfactory agreement on renunciation of force and the release of the prisoners.

Certainly nothing new is in prospect on the horizon as grist for your mill in the next few meetings. It looks as if it will be the same old wine and it will be difficult to put it in any new bottles.

I am sorry that we still don't have the complete text of the letter from Bob McCann. Even the excerpt which I mentioned has been missplaced temporarily. We hope to have it for the next pouch.

You may be interested in the language used by "Observer" in the People's Daily on August 8 commenting on the Egyptian crisis. In supporting the Egyptian position, "Observer" says: "The time has long passed when

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SECRET

when one could settle questions by the threat of force or armed intervention." Further on he declares: "No problem can be solved by the threat of force or armed intervention". Of course in the Egyptian crisis as in the case of Taiwan the Chinese Communists hold that the threat of force is entirely from the outside and that there is no such threat from themselves with respect to Taiwan or from the Egyptians with respect to the Suez Canal.

Congratulations from us all on the well merited commendation from the President, a copy of which has come to us. This is indeed a signal and well deserved honor. I will see to it that a copy of the letter goes to your personnel file.

Tuesday is an awkward day for your meeting from the Washington standpoint. We will need to get your guidance off Thursday or Friday. However it should be easy to shape it up since nothing new is contemplated. The Secretary leaves on Wednesday for the Suez Conference and Mr. Robertson is due back from leave next Monday the 20th.

Regards and all the best from everyone here.

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Newspaper clippings
2. Draft of proposed letter to Chinese prisoners.

OUTGOING TELEGRAM (699)

Department of State

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738

1956 AUG 17 PM 2 56

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FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for August 21 meeting.

1. Maintain position that you willing listen to Wang's views on embargo but that it is unrealistic expect discuss fruitfully this collateral problem until principle renunciation of force has been accepted. So long as Chinese Communists threaten to settle disputes by force threatened party cannot be expected contribute directly or indirectly through trade to build-up of that force. Urge Communists give further consideration US April 16 revision of Wang draft as acceptable formula for mutually advantageous renunciation of force in Taiwan area.

2. Reiterate US dissatisfaction with continued detention ten Americans. Do not volunteer further reference to US refusal of passports to journalists desiring visit Communist China, as overemphasis probably self-defeating. However, if Wang mentions subject, possibly citing US editorials in support his view, reaffirm position taken in press release of August 7. Observe that US Government justified in withholding its approval of travel its nationals in country where American citizens are still subjected to deprivation of basic human rights. Point out that US Government has

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611.93/8-1756

RM/R Central Files

Drafted by: E:CA:RNClough/WPMcConaughy/ikb 8/17/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances: L- Mr. Phleger (in draft)

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responsibility for welfare of citizens abroad and when any are wrongfully detained by foreign government not conforming accepted international standards serious international problem created.

3. FYI American Red Cross will commence interviewing Chinese prisoners August 20. Expect know results prior your next meeting. Still no word from O'Neill on results his approach Peiping.

Hoover, ACTING (WS) HOOVER

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WPM
IRB

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Copy sent to WSR WJS

August 20, 1956

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SECRET

PERSONAL - INFORMAL

Letter No. 43

Dear Walter:

I am starting this letter to you Monday evening to deal with some of the matters raised in your letter of August 13, and will finish it after the meeting tomorrow.

First, let me say that I was startled and distressed at this week's TIME story directly quoting me on the talks, particularly on my alleged remarks concerning reduction of dangers of war in the Taiwan area. While from a domestic point of view the story is favorable, and TIME'S intentions were the best, it is not of any help to the talks. I saw the story immediately on my arrival here last night and today got hold of the correspondent to whom I talked last week. I told him first that it was my clear understanding that our conversation was, as in the past, entirely background, and secondly, I had a very clear recollection that when he had asked me concerning the effects in the Taiwan area I had refused to discuss it even for background, saying only that he could speculate on that as well as I could. When I raised this with him today he admitted, as confirmed by the PAO here, that when arrangements were made for him to see me it was understood that it was not an interview but that during the course of our conversation I had at a couple of points said "don't quote me on this" and therefore he assumed that it was alright to quote me on other points! This is pretty thin and I told him so. With regard to the

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

alleged remarks concerning Taiwan, he agrees that I did not say this in our conversation but that I had said something to that effect some five or six months ago which he had quoted to TIME at that time and that based on my statements to him that there had been no substantive change with respect to the negotiations during recent months TIME had now picked up and used the quote. This is even thinner and I have asked him to let TIME know in very definite terms that I am very perturbed over it. I am sorry that it happened as I have thus far been fairly successful in my relations with newsmen here and dislike having this mar the record.

I certainly agree that the issue of American correspondents travelling to Communist China has created a real stir. They timed this very cleverly and the results have probably exceeded their rosiest expectations. As I indicated in my telegram from Prague, I think the damages to us and their purposes are already largely accomplished and the issue of whether newsmen now go or not is now substantially secondary. I would hope we could find some way of recovering from the situation, but the only thoughts I had in this regard were contained in my telegram. I know that it must be terribly difficult to handle, particularly with the Secretary away, and you have my full sympathy. I suspect that Wang will find it difficult to resist the temptation to throw it at me tomorrow, and my present inclination is to counter by noting the virtual unanimity of the press on the importance of imprisoned Americans being released and thus try to get back to implementation. I feel this might be somewhat more profitable than confining myself to the line suggested in the guidance for tomorrow's meeting, although I will of course also use that as necessary.

With regard to the Chinese in prison, I agree that considering all the circumstances it is probably better for the Red Cross alone to see them. I am glad to know that visits are now getting underway. My thoughts with regard to handling it from thereon are as follows:

If any desire to go to Communist China I doubt the wisdom of having them write to the Indian Embassy to obtain passage money. While I am thoroughly sympathetic with the idea of the Chicoms being made to pay their way if possible, I am fearful that they would use this in every way possible to sabotage the program. I can

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think of several ways in which they could do this and their imagination is even more fertile than ours. By in effect making it dependent upon Peiping's agreement to furnish passage money, we give them an opening that we can be sure they will use to the maximum in every way to embarrass us. I therefore wonder whether it would not be worth the difference in cost to us to pay the additional expense to transport them to Hong Kong.

With respect to publicity, I think that we should make a public announcement at the time the men are embarked which would contain: (a) a few brief sentences on the belated Peiping interest in these men and their effort to use them as a justification for continuing to hold Americans (b) the Red Cross interviews (c) the action taken to permit their return, names, and any other such pertinent details. I would entirely omit any mention of our invitation to the Indians, Chinese Communist's refusal to permit the Indians to act, etc.. First this would bog down the whole press release in involved explanations, the inevitable necessity of trying to explain the Chicom's attitude, why we have gone ahead in spite of that attitude, etc., etc.. I would also think that from the standpoint of both the Indians and Taipei its omission would be best, and would suggest that before putting out the press release we call in the Indians and tell them what we are doing. I would think that it would gain only appreciation from the Indian side. If the Chinese later desire to come out with an expression of their attitude and attempt to explain it, let them do so as no rational person will be able to follow them.

I would say nothing to Wang here until the men are actually embarked. This would in all probability mean that I would not be able to say anything to him until after the press release had been issued although I see no great harm in this. On the other hand I would call in the Indians shortly before the issuance of the press release, give them the text, and if not included in the release, the names of the persons being released.

With regard to the timing of meetings, I have been proceeding on the assumption that the Department continued to desire that I suggest no interval longer than a week and leave it up to him to push it beyond that time if he desires. Therefore, I agreed to a Tuesday meeting this week rather than push it up longer to Thursday. However, I will bear in mind that you prefer a Thursday meeting, as do I.

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In thinking about the possibility of a break, it has occurred to me that we have perhaps been over-simplifying the way they may attempt to bring it about. It seems to me that he might well attempt to take the attitude that it is no use having further meetings until I have something "new and constructive" to present and when I do he will be glad to meet with me at any time I designate. In such an event I would of course refuse to accept any such condition, point up its ultimatum aspects, and making a definite proposal for the date of the next meeting strive to obtain a definite acceptance or rejection from him. However, it is possible that the situation might become somewhat confused.

August 21

Well, things livened up a bit at today's meeting and his performance confirmed my feeling they are continuing to build up their case along the lines of Chou's People's Congress speech. He placed me in a dilemma which I was able to avoid today and was able to counterattack. However, the situation is going to be much more difficult next meeting and harder for me to maintain the objectives of assuring continuation of the talks and also carrying out my other instructions with regard discussion of renunciation of force and trade. I know you will consider all this in my guidance for the next meeting. Whereas I would not expect any clean break at the next meeting it is possible that he might try a gambit along the lines of the first paragraph at the top of this page, or set the stage to pull it later on. Of course, once I have taken a flat stand against discussion of trade until renunciation of force is resolved it would be very difficult for me to recede from it and this can well start us on the road to an actual or de facto break. On the other hand I recognize the almost insuperable difficulties of giving me any basis on which I could discuss trade in a positive sense even contingent on a satisfactory renunciation of force. You will note I have carefully avoided thus far even stating the converse of my present instructions, that is trade discussions might be "fruitful" if renunciation of force was agreed upon. They could, of course, well exploit just the fact of discussion of trade even on a contingent basis. I do not know what the answers can be but hope you will give me the maximum of straws with which to build my bricks. (I have written this before writing my

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"comment telegram" just in the way of doing some "thinking out loud" with you.)

. . . . . .

All the best to all,

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. I was tremendously surprised and naturally most pleased at the President's letter which I received at Prague through EE last Friday. I have transmitted an acknowledgment through EE which I asked they show FE before sending on.

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ACTION COPY

COMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Control: 13076
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10:10 AM

Action Assigned to CNO

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Initials of Officer:

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 167, AUGUST 21, 2 PM

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

ONE HOUR FIFTY MINUTE MEETING TODAY. I OPENED WITH STATEMENT ALONG LINES PARA ONE DEPTEL 176. WANG REPLIED STATING "DID NOT DENY DECLARATION FORCE ONE OF CENTRAL ISSUES" FAILURE REACH AGREEMENT DUE US PERSISTENCE "UNREASONABLE DEMANDS" AND "DELIBERATELY CREATING OBSTACLES." MERELY SAYING SHOULD NOT ABANDON SEARCH FOR DECLARATION AND "NOT OFFERING CONCRETE CHANGES" DID NOT CONTRIBUTE PROGRESS. SHOULD NOT ENTANGLE OURSELVES ANY LONGER THIS REGARD. PLEASED NOTE THAT I WILLING LISTEN TO HIS CONCRETE OPINIONS ON TRADE AND PROPOSED DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT (TEXT BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM).

IN REPLY I REBUTTED HIS STATEMENTS ON RESPONSIBILITY LACK PROGRESS RENUNCIATION FORCE AND REITERATED INHERENT RELATIONSHIP TO SUBJECT TRADE AVOIDING ANY DIRECT COMMENT ON HIS PROPOSAL. DURING CONSIDERABLE GIVE AND TAKE HE THEN TRIED HARD TIE ME DOWN TO EITHER FLAT REFUSAL OR COMMITMENT DISCUSS HIS PROPOSAL. I AVOIDED BOTH. FROM AMOUNT CONFERRING HIS ASSISTANTS OVER MY REPLIES AND OTHER SIGNS, GAINED DEFITIE IMPRESSION HIS INTENTS WAS TO SET STAGE FOR AT LEAST PUBLIC STATEMENT IF I FLATLY REFUSED, OR IN EVEN COUNT OBTAIN COMMITMENT DISCUSS TO PROPOSE SO INFORMING PRESS.

DURING SUBSEQUENT GIVE AND TAKE I PICKED UP HIS STATEMENT THAT "REASONABLE RESOLUTION" TRADE PROBLEM "WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO RESOLUTION OTHER DISPUTES" AS OCCASION FOR REVIEWING

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QUESTIONS US HAD THUS FAR PRESENTED HERE, THAT IS, DETAINED AMERICANS, RENUNCIATION FORCE, AND MISSING UNC PERSONNEL, ASKING HIM WHETHER IMPLICATION HIS STATEMENT THESE PROBLEMS WOULD BE RESOLVED IF US AGREED WITH THEM ON TRADE MATTERS. HE AVOIDED TRAP. IN REPLY MY REVIEW CONCESSIONS WE HAD MADE IN AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO OBTAIN RESOLUTION PROBLEM DETAINED AMERICANS AND OUR DISAPPOINTMENT AT RESULTS HE REPLIED THAT IF US HAD "FAITHFULLY ABIDED BY ANNOUNCEMENT SITUATION WOULD BE MUCH MORE SATISFACTORY." I OF COURSE REJECTED THIS. IN REPLY MY REVIEW CONCESSIONS WE HAD MADE ON RENUNCIATION FORCE HE SAID IF US HAD ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE OF MUTUAL RESPECT IN MAY 11 DRAFT AGREEMENT COULD HAVE BEEN REACHED. HE REJECTED MISSING PERSONNEL AS NOT IN TERMS OF REFERENCE AGREED HIS PROPOSAL NEXT MEETING THURSDAY SEPT 6. RETURNING PRAGUE WEDNESDAY MORNING.

GOWEN

GLS

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WANG TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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6:07 PM

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Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 168, AUGUST 21, 3 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

REFERENCE MYTEL 167.

FOLLOWING TEXT DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WANG PRESENTED TODAY:

"IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT A GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION, AMABASSADOR WANG PING-NAN, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND AMBASADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AGREE TO ANNOUNCE: THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA HOLD THAT THEY SHOULD ADOPT MEASURES RESPECTIVELY ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE TO ELIMINATE THE EXISTING BARRIERS WHICH INTERFERE WITH TRADE BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES."

GOWEN

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SECRET

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Control: 13425
Rec'd: AUGUST 21, 1956
6:10 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 172, AUGUST 21, 6:00 P.M.

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION, FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

BELIEVE WANG'S TACTICS TODAY DIRECTED TOWARD FACING US WITH DILEMMA OF WHETHER TO REFUSE ANY DISCUSSION TRADE AND THEREBY BUILD UP THEIR POSITION ON CONTINUATION TALKS ALONG LINES CHOU'S PEOPLES CONGRESS SPEECH, OR TO AGREE TO DISCUSSION, WHEN ANY AGREEMENT OUR PART DISCUSS TRADE, HOWEVER TENATIVE OR CONTINGENT, WOULD BE EXPLOITED BY THEM TO ACCELERATE UNDERMINING OUR INTERNATIONAL POSITION ON TRADE CONTROLS. CAN ANTICIPATE HE WILL SHARPEN DILEMMA AND INTENSIFY ATTEMPT BRING PRESSURE THIS REGARD NEXT MEETING. IF WE TAKE POSITION FLAT REFUSAL DISCUSS ANTICIPATE THEIR ACTION WILL FIRST BE PUBLIC STATEMENT THEN ATTEMPT BRING FURTHER PRESSURE ON US BY PROPOSING RECESS UNTIL US HAS "SOME NEW AND CONCRETE PROPOSAL" WHEN THEY WILLING MEET AT US REQUEST THIS WOULD ALSO ENABLE THEM MAINTAIN POSTURE OF "REASONABLENESS" AND AVOID ONUS OF DEFINITIVE BREAK.

DEPT WILL ALSO NOTE AT TODAY'S MEETING HIS RENEWED INVITATION SUBMIT NEW DRAFT ON RENUNCIATION AND MY POINTING OUT WE HAD SUBMITTED TWO SUCCESSIVE DRAFTS. DEPT WILL ALSO NOTE I HAVE THUS FAR AVOIDED STATING CONVERSE MY PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS ON TRADE, THAT IS ANY STATEMENT TRADE DISCUSSION COULD BE "FRUITFUL" IF RENUNCIATION FORCE AGREED. WHILE RECOGNIZE DIFFICULTY AUTHORIZING ME STATE CONVERSE, IF IT IS POSSIBLE DO SO MAY ENABLE ME DEVELOP LINE THAT WOULD BE USEFUL NEXT MEETING. WILL APPRECIATE MAXIMUM GUIDANCE AND SUGGESTIONS DEPT ABLE GIVE ME MEET PROBABLE SITUATION AT NEXT MEETING.

GOWEN

EL

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MAR 2 1957
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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MING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

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Action

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FE Info
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 173, AUGUST 21, 7 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF FOUR)

Control: 13401
Rec'd: AUGUST 21, 1956
4:44 P.M.

CAD

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 56TH TODAY WITH FOLLOWING PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. FOR PAST FEW MEETINGS YOU BEEN ATTEMPTING GET ME AGREE WITH YOU ABANDON SEARCH FOR MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE AND GO ON TO DISCUSSION TOPIC YOU PROPOSED LAST SEPTEMBER, WHAT YOU CALL QUESTION OF EMBARGO. YOU BEEN TRYING DO THIS, AS YOU SAY, BECAUSE YOU CONSIDER OUR SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT ON RENUMCIATION FORCE IS IN ONE-SIDED INTEREST OF US, WHEREAS, PRESUMABLY, YOU EXPECT DISCUSSION TRADE WOULD BE TO ADVANTAGE YOUR COUNTRY.

B. I NOT WILLING ABANDON SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE. I CANNOT AGREE RENUNCIATION FORCE WOULD ONLY BENEFIT MY COUNTRY. I BELIEVE IT WOULD SERVE REAL INTERESTS NOT ONLY OUR TWO PEOPLES, BUT OF WORLD AT LARGE. NOR CAN I ACCEPT YOUR CONTENTION IT IS "ONE-SIDED" ON MY PART PERFER SEEK AGREEMENT ON BASIS YOUR DEC 1 DRAFT, AS AMPLIFIED CLARIFIED BY MY AMENDMENTS, OTHER THAN SWITICHING OVER TO NEW AND UNSATISFACTORY BASIS YOUR MAY 11 DRAFT.

C. NEVERTHELESS, I HAVE NOT REFUSED EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH YOU ON WHAT YOU TERM EMBARGO. ON CONTRARY. I HAVE CONSISTECTLY EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TAKE NOTE OF WHATEVER VIEWS YOU MAY WISH PUT FORWARD THIS REGARD, WHILE AT SAME TIME EXPRESSING OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD MATTER. SUCH ATTITUDE ON MY PART IS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH MY PSOITION OUR FIRST IMMEDIATE TASK SHOULD BE THAT OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON RE-

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NUNCIATION FORCE. IN FACT, BELIEVE ANY RATIONAL AND DISPASSIONATE CONSIDERATION OF MATTER OF TRADE WOULD ONLY REINFORCE POINT HAVE SO OFTEN MADE HERE: --THAT TRADE PROBLEM STANDS IN COLLATERAL RELATION TO PROBLEM WE DEALING WITH IN OUR DISCUSSIONS RENUNCIATON FORCE. THAT IS, SO LONG AS THREAT AND POSSIBILITY EXIST THAT GOODS RECEIVED IN TRADE WOULD BE USED SUPPORT HOSTILE ACTION AGAINST FORCES MY COUNTRY, IT NOT REALISTIC EXPECT MY COUNTRY LOOK WITH FAVOR ON SUCH TRADE.

D. ANOTHER REASON WHY I SHOULD BE GLAD HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON TOPIC TRADE IS THAT IN YOUR REMARKS SO FAR YOU GIVEN NO INDICATION WHAT ADVANTAGE YOU EXPECT OR DEMAND FROM DISCUSSION THAT TOPIC. YOU HAVE TALKED IN VAGUE GENERAL TERMS OF WHAT YOU CALL POLICY INTERNATIONAL BLOCKADE AND EMBARGO, AND DEMANDED ITS ABOLITION. I NOT AWARE ANY BLOCKADE BY MY COUNTRY. AS FOR WHAT YOU TERM "EMBARGO" YOU HAVE REPEATEDLY AVOIDED MY QUESTIONS AS TO JUST WHAT ASPECT OR ASPECTS THIS MATTER YOU HAD IN MIND. YOU HAVE DENIED YOUR COUNTRY HAS EXPERIENCED ANY DIFFICULTY AS RESULT TRADE POLICIES MY COUNTRY. YOU HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED PRINCIPLE TRADE SHOULD TAKE PLACE ONLY ON TERMS MUTUAL BENEFIT; YET THAT PRECISELY PURPOSE TRADE POLICIES MY COUNTRY. WHERE TRADE CAN OR MAY HAVE EFFECT SUPPORTING USE FORCE AGAINST ONE OF PARTIES TO EXCHANGE, HOW CAN IT BE CONSIDERED MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL?

E. SO FAR YOUR REMARKS ON SUBJECT TRADE SEEM BE UTTERLY OUT OF KEEPING WITH YOUR POSITION IN INTRODUCING TOPIC, WHEN YOU SEEMED HAVE IN MIND SOME SPECIFIC ADVANTAGE YOUR COUNTRY. YOU SAY WHAT YOU CALL POLICY EMBARGO SHOULD BE ABOLISHED, NOT FOR GOOD YOUR COUNTRY, BUT FOR GOOD OF MY COUNRY AND OTHER COUNTRIES. INASMUCH AS MEASURES WITH REGARD TRADE WITH YOUR COUNTRY WHICH ARE IN EFFECT MY COUNTRY AND OTHERS COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN EFFECTED ACCORDANCE THEIR RESPECTIVE SOVEREIGN DECISIONS AND INTERESTS, I FIND THIS POSITION YOURS HARD UNDERSTAND.

F. YOU ALSO SAY WHAT YOU SEEK IN DEMANDING ABOLITION THESE MEASURES IS GENERAL IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO

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COUNTRIES. AS HAVE OFTEN POINTED OUT YOU HERE, IN ADDITION CARYING OUT OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT 10 LAST YEAR FIRST ESSENTIAL STEP TO IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES IS AGREEMENT ON MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE. ONLY BY SO DOING CAN WE APPROACH PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OUR DIFFERENCES --WHATEVER THEIR NATURE--IN ATMOSPHERE FREE FROM OVERHANGING THREAT FORCE. YET PRACTICAL EFFECT YOUR PRESENT INSISTENCE ON PRIOR DISCUSSION TRADE IS TO DELAY AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE, THUS PUT OFF, RATHER THAN HASTEN, IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS. WOULD WELCOME ANY CONCRETE VIEWS YOU CAN PUT FORWARD THIS MORNING THAT WILL CLARIFY THESE POINTS.

GOWEN

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MING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Control: 13364
Rec'd: AUGUST 21, 1956
4:03 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 173, AUGUST 21, 7 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF FOUR)

2. SPEAKING FROM NOTES, WANG REPLIED HE DID NOT DENY DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION FORCE ONE OF CENTRAL ISSUES IN DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. AS MATTER FACT THIS PATIENT ATTITUDE THEIR SIDE WAS FULLY PROVED BY FACT THEY PUT FORWARD THREE DRAFTS FOR SUCH DECLARATION AND JOINED IN DISCUSSION THIS TOPIC FOR AS LONG AS TEN MONTHS. HOWEVER FAILURE SO FAR REACH AGREEMENT OR MAKE PROGRESS IN DISCUSSION THIS TOPIC MAKING DECLARATION RENOUNCING USE FORCE HAS BEEN DUE TO PERSISTENCE MY SIDE IN UNREASONABLE DEMANDS WE PUT FORWARD AND OUR FAILURE ALSO BEEN DUE TO FACT MY SIDE DELIBERATELY CREATED OBSTACLES IN WAY REACHING AGREEMENT THAT REGARD.

3. WANG CONTINUED IF THERE GENUINE DESIRE MAKE MEANINGFUL DECLARATION ON RENUNCIATION FORCE THERE NO REASON WHY THEIR REASONABLE PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED. IT WOULD NOT IN ANY WAY CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS IN DISCUSSION OF DECLARATION TO MERELY REPEAT DESIRE NOT TO ABANDON EFFORTS ON THIS TOPIC, WHILE AT SAME TIME THERE IS FAILURE OFFER CONCRETE CHANGES. SINCE WE HAD FOUND DIFFICULTY ON QUESTION MAKING DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE, WE SHOULD TRY NOT ENTANGLE OURSELVES ANY LONGER IN THIS RESPECT, BECAUSE THERE ARE OTHER PROBLEMS AND DISPUTES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WHICH AWAITING SOLUTON. THAT WAS WHY HE HAD BEEN INSISTING ON OUR DISCUSSION OF QUESTION OF EMBARGO.

4. WANG SAID IN DISCUSSING THIS PROBLEM OF EMBARGO THEIR SIDE ALREADY MADE CLEAR THEIR POSITION ON QUESTION. HE WAS PLEASED NOTE I HAD EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS DISCUSS THIS PROBLEM WITH HIM AND HAD BEEN WILLING HEAR CONCRETE OPINION THEIR SIDE WOULD PUT FORWARD THIS RESPECT. (TURNING TO PREPARED STATEMENT, WANG CONTINUED.) HE WOULD NOW PUT FORWARD DRAFT

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DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO BE ADOPTED BY TWO SIDES THIS MATTER. HE PROPOSED TWO SIDES ADOPT AND ANNOUNCE THIS DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AS MEANS OF SETTLING DISPUTES BETWEEN CHINA AND US ON TRADE.

5. WANG READ DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON TRADE (GENEVA'S TELEGRAM 168). HANDED ME COPIES.

6. WANG CONTINUED HE SURE IF I CAREFULLY STUDY DRAFT WILL FIND IT ENTIRELY FAIR REASONABLE ADVANTAGEOUS TO BOTH SIDES. ADOPTION AND ANNOUNCEMENT OF THIS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD NOT ONLY RESOLVE ONE OF OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES THEREBY BRINGNG ABUT GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, BUT WILL CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTE TO RELAXATION INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. GOES WITHOUT SAYING PRACTICAL PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE RESOLVED BY MERE ADOPTION THIS AGREED ANNOUCEMENT; THUS FOLLOWING ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT PARTIES EXPECTED ACTUALLY TO TAKE MEASURES ON OWN INITIATIVE TO ENSURE ITS IMPLEMENTATON.

7. I REPLIED WAS GLAD NOTE HE STILL AGREED WITH ME QUESTION MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE CENTRAL ISSUE BETWEEN US. HOWEVER, ENTIRELY UNABLE AGREE FAILURE THUS FAR REACH AGREEMENT DUE WHAT HE TERMED UNREASONABLE DEMANDS MY SIDE. I ENTIRELY UNABLE AGREE MY SIDE DELIBERATELY CREATED OBSTACLES TO OUR REACHING SUCH AGREEMENT. IN FACT SITUATION VERY MUCH OTHER WAY AROUND. I CAREFULLY TOOK HIS DRAFT OF DEC 1 WHICH SEEMED TO OFFER PROPSECT OF AGREEMENT AND MADE ONLY FEW ESSENTIAL AMENDMENTS THERETO THAT WOULD MAKE CLEAR IT WOULD COVER OUR MOST SERIOUS DISAGREEMENT AND NEITHER OF US SACRIFICING INHERENT RIGHT SELF DEFENSE. TWICE IN SUCCESSION I HAD OFFERED SUGGESTIONS IN ATTEMPT MEET HIS POINT VIEW, ENTIRELY PRESERVING LANGUAGE HIS PROPOSAL. THIS COULD HARDLY BE CHARACTERIZED AS UNREASONABLE OR DELIBERATLY CREATING OBSTACLES. HOWEVER, HIS ACTION ABANDONING EVEN THAT PORTION IN WHICH WE HAD ALREADY REACHED AGREEMENT,

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REVERTING BACK TO OLD POSITONS AND CONDITIONS, EVEN ADDING NEW CONDITIONS, HAD BEEN REAL OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT. DESPITE TIME ADMITTEDLY SPENT DISCUSSING THIS, EXTREMELY DIFFICULT ME INTERPRET THIS AS GENUINE DESIRE REACH AGREEMENT. WAY REACH AGREEMENT WAS PRESERVE AREAS AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED AND ADVANCE FROM THERE. THIS WHAT I HAD ATTEMPTED DO AND IF HIS SIDE WOULD ADOPT SAME ATTITUDE I SATISFIED AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED BETWEEN US. MY APRIL 19 DRAFT DID THIS AND IF WE COULD PROCEED FROM THAT--WHICH BASED ON HIS DEC 1 DRAFT--IT SEEMED TO ME PROGRESS COULD BE RESUMED.

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IN MING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Control: 13426
Rec'd: AUGUST 21, 1956
6:08 P.M.

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Officer ____

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 173, AUGUST 21, 7:00 P.M. (SECTION 3 OF 4)

8. I REITERATED WITH RESPECT HIS PROPOSAL THIS MORNING PRINCIPAL BARRIER IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS WAS CONTINUED THREAT HIS SIDE INITIATE USE FORCE TO RESOLVE DISPUTE IN TAIWAN AREA. ALL MY SUGGESTIONS WITH REGARD DECLARATION RENUNCIATON FORCE DIRECTED TOWARD RESOLVING THAT PROBLEM ON MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL BASIS, THUS REALLY OPENING DOOR TOWARD RESOLUTION OTHER PROBLEMS BETWEEN US. AS I POINTED OUT LAST MEETING AND AGAIN THIS MORNING, QUESTION TRADE RELATONS WAS EFFECT OF THAT SITUATION, RATHER THAN CAUSE. WOULD APPRECIATE ANY THOUGHTS HE MIGHT HAVE ON HOW THIS CAUSE MIGHT BE REMOVED.

9. WANG REPLIED FROM PROPOSAL HE MADE THIS MORNING FOR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT DESIGNED REMOVE EMBARGO, THEIR EFFORTS IN GRADUALLY IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES COULD BE NOTED. WE FACED WITH GREAT NUMBER ISSUES WHICH REQUIRE RESOLVING ONE BY ONE. AS REGARDS ALLEGATION MADE BY ME FEW MOMENTS AGO THAT CHINA THREATENED USE FORCE TAIWAN AREA, COULD ONLY CONSIDER ALLEGATION SLANDEROUS WITHOUT BASIS. ONE WHICH USED FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA NOT CHINA BUT US ITSELF. THEIR SIDE ALWAYS MAINTAINED REMOVAL EMBARGO WAS ONE OF WAYS IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. IF WE SHOULD ATTEMPT PUT TOGETHER ALL ISSUES AND ENTANGLE THEM, WE WOULD FIND WE NOT ABLE SETTLE ANY ONE THEM. THEREFORE, HE CONSIDERED IN DISCUSSING QUESTION TRADE AND EMBARGO NOBODY SHOULD IMPOSE ANY PRECONDITION. THIS MORNING HE WOULD EPPRECIATE ANY VIEWS I MIGHT HAVE WITH REGARD DRAFT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT HE JUST PUT FORWARD.

10. I SAID THOUGHT I HAD

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10. I SAID THOUGHT I HAD EXPRESSED VIEWS VERY CLEARLY. I HAD NOT AND WOULD NOT CREATE ARTIFICIAL ENTANGLEMENT OF ISSUES. I THOUGHT INHERENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QUESTIONS RENUNCIATON AND TRADE VERY CLEAR. IF TRADE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO BE OF BENEFIT MY COUNTRY, SHOULD BE CLEAR GOODS RECEIVED IN THAT TRADE WOULD NOT BE USED SUPPORT USE FORCE. THIS INEVITABLY LED US BACK TO QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE. HARD TO SEE HOW DISCUSSION OF ITEM TRADE COULD BE FRUTIFUL UNTIL QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE RESOLVED. THIS NOT ARTIFICAL BUT PERFECTLY NATURAL AND LOGICAL RELATIONSHIP. HOPED BY NEXT MEETING HE WOULD HAVE CONSIDERED MATTER FROM THIS STANDPOINT. I WOULD WELCOME ANY CONCRETE THOUGHTS HE HAD FOR ITS RESOLUTION.

11. WANG COULD NOT FEEL SATISFIED WITH MY REMARKS THIS RESPECT. DURING LONG MONTHS PASSED IN DISCUSSION PREVIOUS TOPIC RENUNCIATION FORCE US CONSITENTLY CREATED OBSTACLES PREVENTING US REACHING AGREEMENT. HOWEVER I ALSO INDICATED WILLING DISCUSS QUESTION EMBARGO AND SUGGESTED HE PUT FORWARD CONCRETE VIEWS ON QUESTION TRADE. NOW THAT HE HAD PUT FORWARD CONCRETE VIEWS AND CONCRETE PROPOSALS THIS MORNING, I AGAIN TRIED EVADE POSITIVE REPLY WHILE AT SAME TIME PUTTING FORWARD PRECONDITIONS. IN VIEW THIS SITUATION, COULD HE TAKE IT I NOT WILING DISCUSS QUESTION EMBARGO AND NOT WILING SEEK PRACTICAL SETTLEMENT THIS PROBLEM? AT SAME TIME COULD HE TAKE IT MY SIDE NOT WILLING CONSIDER REASONABLE PROPOSAL HE PUT FORWARD THIS MORNING. HE WOULD APPRECIATE CLARIFICATON BY ME TO PROBLEMS HE RAISED.

12. I DENIED EVER SAYING NOT WILLING CONSIDER ANY PROPOSAL HE PUT FORWARD. I MANY TIMES OFFERED RECEIVE HIS VIEWS ON TRADE. AT SAME TIME ALWAYS POINTED OUT INHERENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEAN THIS AND RENUNCIATON FORCE AND ASKED THAT HE AT SAME TIME RECONSIDER HIS POSITON WITH REGARD RENUNCIATION FORCE. IN THAT WAY I HAD HOPED TIME COULD BE CONSERVED AND PROGRESS RESUMED. I WOULD MAKE ANY FURTHER COMMENTS IN THIS REGARD AT OUR NEXT MEETING.

13. WANG ASKED IF I MEANT I WOULD MAKE FURTHER COMMENTS ON PROPOSAL HE MADE THIS MORNING.

14. I REPLIED

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14. I REPLIED WAS NOT GOING TO BE TIED DOWN TO WHAT I WOULD SAY NEXT MEETING OR MAKE ADVANCE COMMITMENTS.

15. WANG SAID THOUGHT WE MUST REALIZE WE HAVE VERY IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITIES IN THESE TALKS. OUR RESPONSIBILITY IS SEEK BY EVERY MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL, TO BRING ABOUT IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US. WE MUST ENDEAVOR BY EVERY MEANS WITHIN OUR ABILITY TO REMOVE EXISTING OBSTACLES IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. THIS HE CONSIDERED HIGHLY IMPORTANT NECESSITY FOR BOTH OUR SIDES. IT PRECISELY BASED ON THIS APPROACH TO THESE TALKS THAT HIS SIDE ENTERED TALKS. ALL PROPOSALS HE MADE WERE MADE IN THIS SPIRIT. WE BOTH RECOGNIZED THAT EXISTING EMBARGO WAS ONE OF OBSTACLES IN RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

IF WE COULD SUCCEED IN REACHING REASONABLE SOLUTION TO THIS DISPUTE IT WOULD CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTE TO RESOLUTION OF OTHER DISPUTES. HE BELIEVED THIS APPROACH REASONABLE AND REALISTIC. HE HAD NOT TRIED REVERSE ORDER OF THINGS. IN VIEW MY WILLINGNESS CONSIDER PROPOSAL HE MADE THIS MORNING, HE HOPED AT NEXT MEETING I WOULD HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED IT AND MAKE CONCRETE REPLY.

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OMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* Action Assigned to ____

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5:42 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 173, AUGUST 21, 7 PM (SECTION 4 OF 4)

16. I REPLIED HE HAD SAID REMOVAL OF WHAT HE CALLED EMBARGO BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO RESOLUTION OF OTHER DISPUTES BETWEEN US. THERE WERE THREE PROBLEMS BETWEEN US WHICH MY SIDE HAD THUS FAR RAISED. FIRST QUESTION WAS THAT OF AMERICANS DETAINED IN HIS COUNTRY AT OPENING THESE TALKS AND TEN OF WHOM STILL DETAINED IN SPITE OF WHAT I THOUGHT WAS RESOLUTION OF THAT PROBLEM LAST SEPTEMBER. OTHER TO AS WE WELL KNOW WERE: QUESTION OF RENUNCIATION FORCE SPECIFICALLY APPLICABLE TO TAIWAN AREA; I ALSO PREVIOUSLY RAISED HERE WITH HIM QUESTION OF ACCOUNTING FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL STILL MISSING FROM KOREAN HOSTILITIES. THERE WERE QUESTIONS I HAD THUS FAR RAISED IN THESE TALKS. COULD I INTERPRET HIS REMARK, THEREFORE, TO IMPLY THAT IF QUESTION OF EMBARGO SATISFACTORILY RESOLVED FROM THIS STANDPOINT, IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO RESOLUTION OF THESE PROBLEMS I HAD RAISED.

17. WANG SAID OBLIGED POINT OUT QUESTION OF WHAT I CALLED MISSING AMERICANS WHICH I HAD JUST MENTIONED, NOT WITHIN TERMS REFERENCE THESE TALKS. AS REGARDS OTHER QUESTIONS I RAISED HE MIGHT SAY HIS SIDE ALSO NOT SATISFIED. FOR INSTANCE, ON QUESTION OF RETURNING CIVILIANS IF US HAD FAITHFULLY ABIDED BY AGREEMENT WE REACHED HERE LAST YEAR, HE SURE SITUATION WOULD BE MUCH MORE SATISFACTORY THAN NOW. SITUATION EQUALLY TRUE ON QUESTION MAKING DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE. IF MY SIDE HAD ACCEPTED HIS PROPOSAL MAKING DECLARATION WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO SOVERIEGN RIGHTS AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF PARTIES AND WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO DOMESTIC MATTERS OF PARTIES--HE SATISFIED WE ABLE MAKE PROGRESS THAT REGARD. IF MY SIDE HAD ACCEPTED THAT PRINCIPLE HE SATISFIED WE WOULD LONG AGO HAVE MADE DECLARATION. I HAD REPEATEDLY MADE ALLEGATION OF EXISTENCE THREAT FORCE BUT WHY HAD

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WHY HAD MY SIDE NOT MADE DECLARATION ON RENOUNCING FORCE ON BAISIS PRINCIPLES CONTAINED HIS PROPOSALS--THAT IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE SOVERIGN RIGHTS END TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND WITHOUT INTERFERING INTERNAL AFFAIRS OTHER SIDE. IT COULD THUS BE SEEN WHICH SIDE ALWAYS READY RESOLVE ISSUES AND WHICH SIDE NOT WILLING DO SAME. AS POINTED OUT, QUESTION EMBARGO IS OBSTACLE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. ALSO WANTED POINT OUT IF I WOULD ONLY ACCEPT PROPOSAL HE MADE THIS MORNING HE SATISFIED IT WOULD CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTE TO RESOLUTION OTHER PROBLEMS AS WELL. AGREEMENT IN THIS REGARD WOULD CERTAINLY CREATE FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE AND PROVIDE US WITH FAVORABLE BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT ISSUES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. COULD ANYONE DENY THIS IS WHAT BOTH OUR TWO PEOPLES DESIRE?

18. I SAID WHEN WE WERE DISCUSSING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT ON CIVILIANS, I COMPLETELY MET HIS POINT VIEW ON THIRD POWER ARRANGEMENTS IN US, ON REMOVING ALL BARRIERS TO RETURN CHINESE STUDENTS WHO DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY, ON FORM OF ANNOUNCEMENT HE DESIRED MAKE IN THIS REGARD, AND ON HIS DESIRE MAKE NO SPECIFIC STATEMENT OF EXACT TIME LIMITED WITHIN WHICH AMERICANS PERMITTED RETURN, WITH UNDERSTANDING THIS WOULD RESOLVE FIRST PROBLEM I HAD RAISED IN THESE TALKS, RETURN OF AMERICANS. FACT THAT US COMPLETELY ABIDED BY THIS AGREEMENT INCONTROVERTIBLY SUSTAINED BY FACT THIRD POWER ARRANGEMENT EVEN AFTER PASSAGE ALMOST YEAR, HAS NOT BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION SINGLE CASE OBSTRUCTON. YET IN SPITE THIS, IT HAS NOT RESOLVED PROBLEM OF RETURN OF AMERICANS. AS I PREVIOULY POINTED OUT WE SEEM TO BE GOING BACKWARDS IN THIS REGARD. WITH REGARD ANNOUNCEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE, I ACCEPTED IN FULL ALL LANGUAGE OF HIS DEC 1 DRAFT, MAKING ONLY MINIMAL AMENDMENTS REQUIRED TO MAKE IT REALLY MEANINGFUL WITH REGARD TO OUR MOST SERIOUS DISPUTE. WHEN HE SAID ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSAL WITH REGARD TRADE WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO SOLUTION OF OTHER PROBLEMS BETWEEN US AND PROVIDE BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT ISSUES IT CERTAINLY UNDERSTANDABLE IF I ASKED WHAT CONCRETE CONTENT SUCH A STATEMENT HAD.

19. WANG SAID WAS SURE HE HAD ALREADY CLEARLY ANSWERED IN SEVERAL REMARKS THIS MORNING, QUESTIONS I ASKED. AGREEMENT ON REMOVAL EMBARGO WOULD DEMONSTRATE TWO OF US HERE REALLY ENGAGED

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ENGAGED IN SETTLING QUESTIONS RATHER THAN STALLING AND WERE REALLY WORKING TO GET RID OF OBSTACLES RATHER THAN CREATING OBSTACLES IN OUR RELATIONS. SUCCESS IN THIS REGARD WOULD INDICATE EVEN THOUGH WE MET DIFFICULTIES ON OTHER ISSUES, YET WE HAVE SCORED PROGRESS IN THIS PRESENT PROBLEM. FOR BOTH OF US SOLVING PROBLEMS BETTER THAN NOT SOLVING.

20. I HAD NOTHING MORE. WANG ASKED IF I AGREEABLE MEETING THURSDAY SEPT 6. I WAS.

GOWEN

JJ

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Number 4 of 5 copies, Series A

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☑ Reviewed _____ Date 7/4/52

August 31, 1956

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 54

Dear Alex:

Your letter of August 20 reached us after Walter McConaughy had departed August 24 for a week's leave in Alabama. However copies have been sent to Messrs. Robertson, Phleger and Sebald. We had a brief meeting before Walter left to consider developments at the last meeting. While we recognize the problem created by Wang's efforts to push you into a corner on whether or not we will discuss trade, we consider it unlikely that the Chinese Communists will endeavor to bring about a break or a prolonged suspension of the talks over this issue. It seems more likely that they will go to the public again in an endeavor to make propaganda capital out of their proposed agreed announcement on trade. We are satisfied that we are still in a strong public position so long as Peiping still holds Americans and refuses to announce the use of force. We will meet on Sept. 4 after Walter's return to prepare your instructions for the next meeting which we hope will give you the kind of guidance you requested.

It is unfortunate that Time Magazine distorted your remarks.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
Geneva.

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However the story does not appear to have been picked up by any other news source in the United States nor have we seen it used on Communist broadcasts.

The Red Cross is still engaged in the process of interviewing prisoners. It has taken somewhat longer than they estimated but it seems to be proceeding smoothly enough. We do not know how the interviews are resulting because it was arranged for them to report only after all interviews were completed. However, we know that there is at least one prisoner who desires to go to Mainland China, as he has written us direct. However he is one who we thought had claimed American citizenship and therefore was not included on the original list. The final decision has not been made here as to whether or not we will bring the Indian Embassy in on the return of prisoners to Communist China. We will discuss your views at our next meeting.

The most important recent event in our relations with Communist China was the shooting down of a patrol plane last week. Enclosed is a copy of the Note delivered to Peiping by the British at our request and the Chinese Communist reply. On the basis of the facts we have been able to gather about the incident, there is little question but that the plane was shot down by Chinese Communist fighters. However it appears that the plane may have been off course and over Chinese Communist territory or territorial waters when attacked. Whether it was forced there by Communist fighters is unknown. The Secretary has drafted a public statement giving the facts so far as we know them and characterizing

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the attack as unprovoked and unjustified. It will also state that we will demand reparations. The finishing touches are being put on the statement in consultation with the Pentagon today and it will probably be issued before you receive this letter. We will see that you receive the text of the statement promptly.

The results of O'Neill's renewed request to visit American prisoners were as expected. We shall await a reasonable time to see what reply the Chinese Communists will make to his approach. We intend to have him keep pressing Peiping on this point emphasizing the fact that American prisoners have been prevented from communicating with him and contrasting this with our offer to permit the Indians to see Chinese prisoners here even when the latter had not communicated with the Indian Embassy.

We were glad to have Dave's letter enclosing his careful study of the new material on the missing servicemen. Col. Monroe who has just returned from a trip to Korea is coming over today to discuss the next move. A recent communication from UNCMAC gives their view that the matter should not be taken up again in UNCMAC but rather shifted to Geneva. We do not understand clearly the reasons for this and hope that Col. Monroe will be able to clarify this.

The Chinese student in the mental institution at Logansport, Indiana to whom we sent a copy of the Agreed Announcement has indicated he wishes

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to communicate with the Indian Embassy. We have told him he may do so. And we have also informed the Indian Embassy of the case and our readiness to allow him to go to Mainland China so that they could not put it to us as a case of an individual claiming obstruction and thus mar the perfedt record to date of having received no such representation.

The Chinese Communists are engaged in an all out campaign to have Americans come to Communist China. In addition to the visas approved for the news men, invitations have been issued to the U. S. National Students Association, to some of the relatives of American prisoners and we recently heard from an American missionary that he had been invited to make a trip to Communist China.

We are trying to get a hold of two copies of the Yale University publication on Chinese language reform which you requested and will send them to you as soon as we can get them.

I hope you have a fine vacation and return renewed to the frey September 7.

Sincerely,

Ralph N. Clough

Enclosures:

1. Excerpts from Letter of April 22, 1956 from Mr. McCann
2. Article by David Lawrence "On Rejecting Reds' New Lure
3. FBIS article re comment of Chinese Communist Mission visiting Jordon.
4. Copy of text of letter sent to Peiping by British Aug. 25, 1956 re shooting down of patrol plane.
5. Copy of text of telegram from British Charge in Peiping, Aug. 2[illegible] re shooting down of patrol plane.

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 706

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1956 SEP 5 PM 6 56

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248

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA FOR JOHNSON PRIORITY

Origin

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Guidance for September 7 meeting.

1. Trade Controls. You should decline ~~to~~ discuss Wang's draft agreed announcement on trade (your 168), or ~~to~~ discuss either CHINCOM multilateral trade control system or U. S. unilateral total embargo on trade with Communist China. Base your refusal to discuss on following grounds: (a) persistent Chinese Communist refusal to renounce force and continued threat ~~to~~ use force which makes it unthinkable on national security basis ~~grounds~~ for U. S. to contribute through trade to Communist China industrial and economic build up; and (b) Chinese Communist breach of Agreed Announcement of September 10 which casts serious doubt on Chinese Communist good faith in implementation of any commitment Chinese Communist representatives may enter into. In making this point you should continue ~~to~~ leave open question ~~of~~ our attitude in event prisoners are released and Chinese Communist agree to pending renunciation of force declaration. We do not wish ~~to~~ indicate whether we would or would not lower our economic guard as a result ~~of~~ Chinese Communist assent to renunciation of force principle. Although you will continue use all your resources ~~to~~ keep talks going, you should not be deterred from explicitly refusing discuss trade by any fear ~~that~~

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RMR 11.93/9-556

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WHMcConaughy/RNClough/ikb 9/5/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances

S - The Secretary (cleared in draft).
FE - Mr. Sebald

SECRET
Classification

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 5 1956
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
Department of State

CS/T 6/1.93/9-556

SECRET

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Wang may use it as a pretext for breaking off or recessing talks. Even if Chinese Communists have made firm decision ~~to~~ suspend talks unless we make concessions on trade, we do not intend to yield to pressure on trade issue.

We do not see that you are impaled on horns of any dilemma in taking this position. So long as Chinese Communists have not given us satisfaction on renunciation of force and implementation Agreed Announcement, propaganda position ~~of~~ Chinese Communists in resort to public press, would be vulnerable. We consider our public position strong and are prepared ~~to~~ defend it positively if Chinese Communists again resort to publicity. Foregoing not intended ~~to~~ prevent you from offering to listen anything further Wang may want to offer on trade question, so long as you do not participate in trade discussion with him.

2. Renunciation of Force. If it seems necessary in order provide material for discussion you may inform Wang ~~that~~ we are exploring possibility of formulating [~~acceptable~~] new revision his Dec. 1 draft. We hope ~~to~~ be able inform him at next meeting results our study. FYI, we believe our April 16 revision of Wang's draft probably best that can be done END FYI

3. Return of Nationals. Seize occasion of approaching first anniversary issuance Agreed Announcement to reiterate our protest at continued imprisonment 10 American citizens in violation long standing Chinese Communist commitment and obligation to release them expeditiously. You should take Wang to task with more than ordinary vigor in view ~~of~~ lapse of full year.

4. Give Wang text ~~of~~ our press release of August 31 characterizing Aug. 23 attack on Navy patrol plane in East China Sea as unjustified. Tell Wang ~~that~~ this tragic occurrence demonstrates anew need for genuine Chinese Communist renunciation of force. So long as present posture Chinese Communist regime

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continues, danger of attacks such as this ever present. State our conviction ~~that~~ present Chinese Communist attitude of hostility makes impossible attainment of stable and secure situation in Far East.

FYI Your talks should not become forum for discussion merits this case. It is to be used as illustration of need for renunciation of force and as demonstration of dangers of unjustifiable destruction of life and property resulting from trigger-happy attitude on Communist side. Parenthetically, markings on all US planes including this Navy Mercator, of course entirely different from markings on GRC planes and clearly distinguishable therefrom. END FYI

Dulles

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33-39
Action

FE
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RMR

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Control: 3373
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 7, 1956
10:45 AM

Action Assigned
Action Taken Noted.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 230, SEPTEMBER 7, 2 PM

Date of Action 9/10

Action Office Symbol

Initials of Officer

Action to DC/R

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

ONE HOUR FIFTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. I OPENED WITH STATEMENT ALONG LINES PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 4 DEPTEL 248, HANDING HIM COPY AUG 31 PRESS RELEASE. HE REPLIED WITH STATEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE AND TRADE REITERATING OLD POINTS AND THEN MADE FAIRLY EXTENSIVE PREPARED STATEMENT ON PLANE INCIDENT DURING WHICH HE REFUSED PICKUP AUG 31 PRESS RELEASE, AS "ONLY PRC HAS RIGHT MAKE PROTEST THIS INCIDENT" AND HANDED ME COPY SEPT 2 PRC PRESS RELEASE. IN REPLY I POINTED OUT THAT IN MY ORIGINAL STATEMENT I SAID I DID NOT INTEND ENTER INTO DISCUSSION PLANE INCIDENT HERE AND WAS GIVING HIM COPY PRESS RELEASE AS MATTER OF COURTESY IN ORDER THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD HAVE FULL AND ACCURATE TEXT. NOTED WE HAD ALREADY RECEIVED THROUGH UK COPY SEPT 2 PRC RELEASE BUT GLAD TAKE COPY HE HAD HANDED ME. THEN MADE FAIRLY EXTENSIVE STATEMENT ON TRADE AND RENUNCIATION FORCE MAKING IT MORE EXPLICITLY CLEAR THAN IN OPENING STATEMENT THAT I WAS NOT WILLING DISCUSS TRADE UNTIL THEY HAD ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE OF RENUNCIATION FORCE AND AGREEMENT REACHED ON TEXT DECLARATION. IN COURSE THIS STATEMENT EMPHASIZED OUR RECORD FLEXIBILITY ON LANGUAGE RENUNCIATION FORCE STATEMENT AND WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER AND RECONSIDER ANY LANGUAGE THAT PRESERVED ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES. HOPED HE WOULD BE IN POSITION NEXT MEETING ABANDON MAY 11 DRAFT AND SERIOUSLY NEGOTIATE WITH ME ON TEXT WHICH WOULD PRESERVE AREA OF AGREMENT SHOWN OUR APRIL 19 DRAFT. AVOIDED ANY EXPRESSED OR IMPLIED COMMITMENT WE WOULD PRESENT NEW

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D-19

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DRAFT. IN REPLY WANG ACCUSED ME MERELY REPETITION OLD POSITIONS AND STATED PRC "WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER MAKING ITS POSITION PUBLIC". WITH RESPECT TO PLANE INCIDENT PICKED-UP COPY AUGUST 31 PRESS RELEASE AS "INFORMAL DOCUMENT FOR THEIR INFORMATION ONLY." I EXPRESSED REGRET THEY INTENDED AGAIN RESORT PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA AND SAID THAT IF THEY MADE STATEMENT US WOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE TO CONSIDER MAKING REPLY.

I THEN MADE STRONG AND EXTENSIVE STATEMENT ON IMPLEMENTION IN REPLY TO WHICH HE ASKED WHETHER US WILLING TO RELEASE ALL CHINESE IN PRISON US "SO THEY COULD RETURN." I OF COURSE IMMEDIATELY REITERATED OUR POSITION ON CHINESE PRISONERS AND POINTED OUT PRC BEARS FULL RESPONSIBILITY ANY DELAY IN RETURN ANY WHO MIGHT DESIRE DO SO.

I AGREED HIS SUGGESTION NEXT MEETING THURSDAY SEPT 20. RETURNING PRAGUE TOMORROW, ARRIVING SUNDAY EVENING.

GOWEN

GLS

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(708)

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747

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Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 3457
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 7, 1956
1:01 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 231, SEPTEMBER 7, 4 P.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

ALTHOUGH WANG SAID ONLY THEY WERE "CONSIDERING" PUBLIC STATEMENT ASSUME IN ACCORDANCE PREVIOUS PATTERN THEY WILL IN FACT IUSUE ONE FROM PEIPING SOMETIME PRIOR TO NEXT MEETING. ALTHOUGH OSBORN WILL REMAIN HERE TO HANDLE ANYTHING THAT MIGHT DEVELOP, AM NOT PLANNING ANY REPLY FROM HERE AS ASSUME DEPT WILL ISSUE WHATEVER REPLY CONSIDERED DESIRABLE.

ALTHOUGH I HAVE NOW MADE ENTIRELY CLEAR NO "DISCUSSION" TRADE IN ABSENCE RENUNCIATION FORCE AND ALSO LINKED THIS TO IMPLEMENTATION SEPT 10 AGREEMENT, SHOULD ANTICIPATE THEY MAY ATTEMPT EXPLOIT MY WILLINGNESS "LISTEN" TO WHAT THEY HAVE SAID ON TRADE TO GIVE IMPRESSION TO THIRD COUNTRIES THERE HAS BEEN SOME SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION THIS SUBJECT, OR AT LEAST COMMITMENT OUR PART TO CONSIDER LOWERING TRADE CONTROLS IN EXCHANGE FOR ABANDONMENT THEIR POSITION WITH RESPECT TAIWAN. MIGHT ALSO ANTICIPATE THEIR STATEMENT WILL FOLLOW WANG'S LINE AT TODAY'S MEETING IN ATTEMPTING LIKE US RENUNCIATION FORCE PROPOSAL WITH "VIOLATION THEIR AIR-SPACE AND TERRITORIAL WATERS" BY DOWNED NAVY PATROL PLANE AND SEARCH CRAFT. IN THIS REGARD DEPT WILL NOTE WANG ANTICIPATED AND ATTEMPTED ENTER INTO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION PLANE INCIDENT WHICH I AVOIDED BY REFUSING REPLY HIS CHARGES EXCEPT BY REFERENCE DEPT'S AUG 31 STATEMENT.

DEPT WILL ALSO NOTE AT TODAY'S MEETING HE MORE CLEARLY THAN

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EVER IN PAST INVITED NEW DRAFT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE.
WHILE WE CAN REACH DECISION ON TACTICS FOR NEXT MEETING ONLY
AFTER SEEING THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENT, BELIEVE IT PROBABLY
WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR OBJECTIVE IF AT NEXT MEETING I WAS
ABLE INTRODUCE ANOTHER DRAFT ON RENCUNCIATION THAT WOULD
GIVE APPEARANCE OF SOMETHING NEW.

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709

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Control: 3834
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1:32 AM

46-41
Action
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MR
S
P

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 232, SEPTEMBER 7, 6 PM (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 57TH WITH PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. HOPE YOU HAVE RECONSIDERED REMARKS MADE AT LAST FEW MEETINGS, AND PARTICULARLY AT LAST MEETING, ON INESCAPABLE PRIORITY OF QUESTION OF AGREEMENT BY YOUR GOVT TO GENUINE RENUNCIATION FORCE.

B. AS POINTED OUT FRUITFUL DISCUSSION TRADE CANNOT BE EXPECTED UNDER CONDITIONS IN WHICH YOUR GOVT PERSISTENTLY REFUSES AGREEMENT AND ATTEMPTS EVADE CLEARLY RENOUNCING USE FORCE IN DISPUTES INVOLVING TWO COUNTRIES, AND IN FACT EVEN CONTINUES OPENLY THREATEN USE FORCE. JUST COMMON PRUDENCE DICTATES MY COUNTRY NOT CONTRIBUTE TO INCREASING ECONOMIC INDUSTRIAL POTENTIAL OF COUNTRY WHICH MAINTAINS SUCH POSTURE TOWARD MY COUNTRY.

C. TRAGIC EVENT OF NIGHT OF AUG 22-23 IN WHICH LIVES OF NUMBER MY COUNTRYMEN UNJUSTIFIABLY TAKEN AGAIN DEMONSTRATES NEED FOR YOUR GOVT GENUINELY RENOUNCE USE FORCE. SO LONG AS YOUR GOVT MAINTAINS PRESENT ATTITUDE THIS SUBJECT DANGER OF ATTACKS SUCH AS THIS WILL ALWAYS BE PRESENT. MOST SOLEMNLY MUST STATE CONVICTION THAT CONTINUATION OF THIS ATTITUDE OF HOSTILITY AND READINESS DESTROY LIVES PROPERTY OF OTHERS MAKES IMPOSSIBLE THAT ATTAINMENT OF STABLE SECURE SITUATION IN FAR EAST WHICH MY GOVT CONTINUES SEEK. CITE THIS MERELY BY WAY EXAMPLE AND NOT FOR PURPOSE OF HERE DISCUSSING UNHAPPY INCIDENT. HOWEVER IN ORDER YOUR AUTHORITIES MAY HAVE FULL ACCURATE TEXT, I AM GIVING YOU COPY JOINT STATEMENT DEPARTMENTS

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STATE AND DEFENSE OF AUGUST 31 WITH REGARD THIS INCIDENT. (POINTED COPY ON TABLE.)

D. ALSO RELATED TO THIS AS QUESTION OF GOOD FAITH IN CARRYING OUT AGREEMENTS. ALL TOO CLEAR AND CONTINUED FAILURE YOUR AUTHORITIES PERMIT RETURN DETAINED AMERICANS ACCORDANCE OUR AGREEMENT OF YEAR AGO CANNOT BUT GIVE RISE TO INCREASINGLY SERIOUS DOUBTS THIS REGARD.

E. THIS THEN IS SITUATION WHICH TWO OF US CONFRONTED. QUESTION IS WHAT WE DO RESOLVE IT. IT CLEAR IT CANNOT BE RESOLVED BY DISCUSSION SUBSIDIARY SUBJECTS, BUT ONLY BY PROGRESS ON FUNDAMENTALS, THAT IS, UNCONDITIONAL RENUNCIATION FORCE AS I HAVE PROPOSED AND BY CARRYING OUT IN FULL OUR AGREEMENT SEPT 10 LAST YEAR.

F. VERY MUCH LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU THIS MORNING ANYTHING THAT WILL ASSIST US IN MAKING PROGRESS ON THESE FUNDAMENTALS.

2. WANG REPLIED FROM PREPARED STATEMENT: TWO OF US HAD SPENT LONG TIME ON DISCUSSION ISSUANCE RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION. IN COURSE THIS DISCUSSION HIS SIDE HAD REPEATEDLY PUT FORWARD REASONABLE PROPOSALS FOR MAKING SUCH DECLARATION. FAILURE SO FAR, AFTER 11 MONTHS, TO ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT DUE TO PERSISTENT DEMAND MY SIDE TO ENCROACH UPON SOVEREIGN RIGHTS HIS COUNTRY. IF MY SIDE DESIRED MAKE PROGRESS ON THIS, THEN MUST GIVE UP UNREASONABLE DEMANDS BEFORE WE COULD SUCCEED.

3. WANG CONTINUED, WAS WITH AIM PUSHING TALKS FORWARD AND MAKING TALKS YIELD FRUITFUL PROGRESS THAT HIS SIDE PROPOSED SUBJECT REMOVAL EMBARGO. AS HE CONSISTENTLY HAD POINTED OUT EMBARGO ONE OF OBSTACLES IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES, IS UNJUSTIFIABLE IN ITSELF, SHOULD THEREFORE BE REMOVED. AGAIN, AS HE OBSERVED AT LAST MEETING, AGREEMENT BETWEEN BOTH SIDES ON REMOVAL EMBARGO WOULD CREATE FAVORABLE

ATMOSPHERE IN TALKS AND CONTRIBUTE TOWARD RESOLUTION OTHER PROBLEMS. HE MUST HOWEVER FRANKLY POINT OUT MY SIDE MUST NOT EXPECT HIS SIDE ACCEPT DEMANDS THAT ENCROACH ON SOVEREIGN RIGHTS THEIR SIDE IN EXCHANGE FOR REMOVAL EMBARGO BECAUSE THIS SIMPLY COULD NOT BE ACCEPTED.

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1:27 AM
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Action Taken Symbol 1
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

Info
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SS
G
SP
C
L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 232, SEPTEMBER 7, 6 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

4. WANG CONTINUED, AS REGARDS PLANE INCIDENT AUG 23 I HAD MENTIONED, HE MUST POINT OUT THIS INCIDENT ANOTHER CASE SERIOUS PROVOCATION BY US MILITARY AIRCRAFT AGAINST HIS COUNTRY. INCIDENT INVOLVED US MILITARY AIRCRAFT MAKING INTRUSION INTO TERRITORIAL AIR HIS COUNTRY. THIS ESTABLISHED AN INDISPUTABLE FACT WHICH US GOVT ITSELF COULD NOT BUT ACKNOWLEDGE IN STATEMENT. HOSTILE MILITARY AIRCRAFT INTRUDING INTO TERRITORIAL AIR OF SOVEREIGN STATE IS SOMETHING NO SOVEREIGN COUNTRY COULD TOLERATE AND REMAIN IDLE. INTRUDED AREA, AS KNOWN, IS COMBAT ZONE AND THEREFORE ALL CONSEQUENCES INTRUSION BY US AIRCRAFT MUST BE RESPONSIBILITY US ITSELF. FOLLOWING THIS VIOLATION TERRITORIAL AIR OF CHINA BY SAID MILITARY AIRCRAFT, US NAVAL VESSELS AND AIRCRAFT AGAIN AUG 23-24 INTRUDED IN FORCE THEIR TERRITORIAL SEA AND AIR IN PLANNED MANNER. INSTEAD ACCEPTING SERIOUS PROTEST HIS GOVT, MY GOVT HAD EVEN MADE UNREASONABLE DEMANDS ON HIS GOVT--THIS ENTIRELY UNJUSTIFIABLE.

HE MIGHT PUT QUESTION, SUPPOSE MILITARY AIRCRAFT HIS COUNTRY INTRUDED IN TERRITORIAL AIR US, WHAT DID I THINK CONSEQUENCES BE. COULD US REMAIN IDLE WITHOUT TAKING ANY ACTION AGAINST THIS AIRCRAFT? IN THIS INCIDENT HIS GOVT ALONE HAD RIGHT MAKE PROTEST--THEREFORE COULD NOT ACCEPT COPY THIS DOCUMENT I HANDED HIM THIS MORNING. INCIDENT AUG 23 ONLY ONE OF MANY INCIDENTS OF PROVOCATIVE NATURE ON PART US AGAINST TERRITORY HIS COUNTRY.

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5. WANG CONTINUED, SUCH INCIDENTS CLEARLY AT VARIANCE WITH OBJECTIVES RENUNCIATION FORCE, SUBJECT WHICH I HAD SUGGESTED. THEY CONSIDERED SUCCESS IN MAKING DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE MUST NOT REMAIN IN WORDS BUT MUST BE CARRIED OUT IN ACTION. WE NOW CONFRONTED SITUATION IN WHICH US SIDE NOT ONLY FAILED PUT FORWARD CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS FOR MAKING RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION BUT US ALSO NOT STOPPED CONTINUOUS PROVOCATIVE ACTS AGAINST HIS COUNTRY. THIS PERFORMANCE US COULD NOT CONTRIBUTE IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. IN ORDER I MIGHT CLEARLY UNDERSTAND POSITION HIS GOVT HE WOULD HEREBY GIVE ME COPY ENGLISH TRANSLATION STATEMENT MADE BY HIS MINISTRY FOREIGN AFFAIRS SEPT 2. NEXT HE WOULD APPRECIATE MY MAKING COMMENTS ON REASONABLE DRAFT HE PUT FORWARD LAST MEETING ON QUESTION REMOVAL EMBARGO.

6. I REPLIED WAS NOT SURE HE UNDERSTOOD ME REGARDING COPY STATEMENT I OFFERED HIM. WE HAD PREVIOUSLY RECEIVED THROUGH OFFICE UK CHARGE PEIPING COPY STATEMENT ISSUED HIS FOREIGN OFFICE SEPT 2. HOWEVER, WAS GLAD ACCEPT ADDITIONAL COPY HE MADE AVAILABLE THIS MORNING. STATEMENT I HAD OFFERED HIM WAS ONLY COPY PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN ISSUED. I SIMPLY MAKING IT AVAILABLE HIM FOR INFORMATION SO HE WOULD HAVE FULL AND ACCURATE TEXT. DOING THIS AS MATTER OF COURTESY. OF COURSE IF HE DID NOT DESIRE ACCEPT IT, IT WAS HIS CHOICE ENTIRELY. POINT OF VIEW US VERY CLEARLY AND CAREFULLY SET FORTH IN THAT STATEMENT. HAD NO INTENT TAKING TIME HERE RECAPITULATE WHAT ALREADY CONTAINED THAT STATEMENT. AS SAID, NOT MY PURPOSE ENTER INTO DISCUSSION HERE.

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Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 8, 1956
1:34 AM
Date of Action ____
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Name of Officer ____
Direction to DC/R ____ 1

46-41
Action
FE

Info
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SS
G
SP
C
L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 232, SEPTEMBER 7, 6 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

7. I CONTINUED, WITH REGARD PRESENT STAGE NEGOTIATION ON DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE HE STATED HE PUT FORWARD REPEATEDLY WHAT HE TERMED REASONABLE PROPOSALS THIS REGARD. COULD NOT AGREE THIS WAS CASE. AS PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT, HE HAD SINCE DEC 1 GONE BACKWARDS IN THIS RESPECT. I IN TURN HAD CONSISTENTLY ATTEMPTED PRESERVE AREA OF AGREEMENT WE HAD REACHED AND GO FORWARD. I NOT TAKEN ANY HARD FAST ATTITUDE ON EXACTLY HOW SUCH DECLARATION SHOULD BE EXPRESSED. I HAD BEEN INSISTENT ONLY ON PRINCIPLES IT SHOULD CONTAIN IF IT IS TO HAVE REAL MEANING. EVEN ACCEPTED IN HIS DRAFT DEC 1 FORM AND WORDS CONTAINED THEREIN. IN ATTEMPT FULLY MEET HIS POINT VIEW I OFFERED ON TWO SUCCESSIVE OCCASSIONAL AMENDMENTS TO THAT DRAFT DEC 1 ADDING ONLY MINIMUM NECESSARY MAKE IT REALLY MEANINGFUL. I HAD MADE NO UNREASONABLE DEMANDS ON HIS GOVT. MY SUGGESTIONS HAD BEEN FULLY RECIPROCAL AND HAD NOT REQUIRED HIS GOVT SACRIFICE OR PREJUDICE ITS VIEWS IN ANY WAY. HAD ONLY BEEN INSISTENT DECLARATION BE REALLY MEANINGFUL AND THERE BE FULL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US AS TO ITS MEANING. THAT IS, IT NOT BE EMPTY WORDS DEVOID OF REAL CONTENT AND UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US. HAVE CONSIDERED IN PAST AND WILLING RECONSIDER IN FUTURE QUESTION OF HOW PRINCIPLES CAN BE EXPRESSED IN FORM ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. I DID NOT HAVE CLOSED MIND ON SUBJECT BUT CONSIDER WAY TO MAKE PROGRESS WAS MOVE AHEAD FROM POINTS OF AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED AND NOT TRY ESTABLISH NEW CONDITIONS AND REVERT TO OLD POSITONS AS HE HAD DONE IN MAY 11 DRAFT. HAD KEPT HOPING HE WOULD APPROACH MATTER WITH SAME ATTITUDE.

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8. I SAID MY POSITION REGARD DISCUSSION TRADE AT THIS STAGE NOT BASED UPON ANY ARBITRARY ATTEMPT ESTABLISH RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THIS ITEM AND RENUNCIATION FORCE BUT ONLY ON INESCAPABLE SUBSTANTIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE TWO THINGS. MY VIEWS ON THIS FULLY SET FORTH. AS PREVIOUSLY SAID, I FULLY PREPARED LISTEN HIS VIEWS ON TRADE WHILE HE CONSIDERING QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE. ONCE HIS GOVT HAD ACCEPTED PRINCIPLE RENUNCIATION FORCE, AND AGREEMENT REACHED ON DECLARATION THAT REGARD, THEN COULD BE DISCUSSION OF ITEM REGARD TRADE HE PROPOSED. HOWEVER, DID NOT THINK USEFUL OR PRODUCTIVE FOR ME COMMENT ON PROPOSAL HE HAD MADE UNTIL THAT TIME.

9. I SAID WOULD HOPE HE WOULD BE ABLE ABANDON POSITION TAKEN MAY 11 DRAFT AND THAT PRESERVING AREA AGREEMENT SHOWN MY APRIL 19 (NOTE: 19) DRAFT WE COULD REALLY GET AHEAD ON QUESTION MAKING DECLARATION RENUNCIATION FORCE. IF HE NOT POSITION DO SO THIS MORNING, HOPED HE WOULD AT NEXT MEETING SO WE COULD SIT DOWN AND REALLY ACCOMPLISH SOMETHING THIS REGARD.

10. WANG REPLIED, HAD FULLY SET FORTH THIS MORNING POSITION HIS SIDE ON QUESTION MAKING RENUNCIATION FORCE, THAT IS, IF WE WERE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THIS, MY SIDE MUST EITHER ACCEPT THEIR PROPOSAL OR PRODUCE SOME NEW PROPOSAL ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. HOWEVER, I HAD JUST NOW MADE MERE REPETITION MY POSITION AND HE DID NOT THINK THIS RESETTING FORTH OLD POSITIONS WOULD HELP US IN THIS DISCUSSION. HE MUST POINT OUT HOWEVER IT WAS SIMPLY STALLING TACTICS MY SIDE AND INSISTENCE MY SIDE ON UNJUSTIFIABLE DEMANDS THAT CAUSED FAILURE REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS SO FAR.

11. WANG SAID IT WAS IN VIEW THIS THAT HIS SIDE PROPOSED WE DISCUSS QUESTION REMOVING EMBARGO. I HAD AGAIN SAID WILLING LISTEN VIEWS HIS SIDE ON QUESTION REMOVING EMBARGO AND WOULD BE WILLING TAKE UNDER CONSIDERATION THAT QUESTION. YET HIS SIDE ALREADY MADE CONCRETE PROPOSAL THIS REGARD AND I HAD AGAIN EVADED DEFINITE REPLY. I HAD EVEN FURTHER

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PUT FORWARD UNJUSTIFIABLE PRECONDITION TO THIS DISCUSSION. AS SAID THIS MORNING, ANY ATTEMPT MY PART MAKE HIS SIDE ACCEPT UNREASONABLE DEMANDS IN EXCHANGE FOR REMOVAL EMBARGO WILL PROVE ILLUSION AND WILL PROVE BE SOMETHING CANNOT ACCEPT AT ALL. HIS SIDE STRONGLY AND CONTINUOUSLY OPPOSED ANY SUCH ATTEMPT. ATTITUDE ADOPTED MY SIDE ON QUESTON EMBARGO COULD NOT BUT COMPEL HIS SIDE CONSIDER MAKING PUBLIC ITS POSITION ON QUESTION EMBARGO.

GOWEN

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ACTION COPY

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Control: 3898
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 8, 1956
3:14 AM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 232, SEPTEMBER 7, 6 PM (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

12. WANG SAID WITH REGARD AUG 23 PLANE INCIDENT AND STATEMENT MY GOVT I MENTIONED THIS MORNING, HE ALREADY MADE CLEAR PROTEST HIS GOVT THIS INCIDENT. SINCE I HAD EXPLAINED IT NOT MY PURPOSE DISCUSS MATTER HERE AND SINCE I STATED THIS STATEMENT ONLY INFORMAL DOCUMENT FOR INFORMATION, HE WOULD BE READY ACCEPT THIS DOCUMENT.

13. WANG PICKED DOCUMENT OFF TABLE.

14. I SAID THOUGHT WE OUGHT BE CLEAR AS TO WHAT HAD PREVENTED AGREEMENT THUS FAR ON RENUNCIATON FORCE DECLARATION. THERE WERE TWO THINGS. ONE HAS BEEN UNWILLINGNESS HIS GOVT MAKE IT CLEAR SUCH DECLARATION COVERS WHAT WE BOTH AGREE IS MOST SERIOUS DISPUTE BETWEEN US: THAT IS TAIWAN AREA. SECOND HAS BEEN HIS INSISTENCE MY GOVT ABANDON RIGHT SELF DEFENSE. WORLD READILY ABLE JUDGE WHICH THESE POSITIONS REASONABLE, WHICH UNREASONABLE. WORLD ALSO BE ABLE READILY JUDGE WHETHER REASONABLE THAT THIS FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF WHETHER THERE IS TO BE RESORT TO FORCE IN THESE DISPUTES BE RESOLVED BEFORE THERE IS DISCUSSION OF SUCH MATTERS AS TRADE. REGRETTED THIS DECISION AGAIN RESORT TO PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND PROPAGANDA WITH REGARD THESE TALKS. HOWEVER PERFECTLY WILLING IF HE DESIRED THAT OUR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS BE MADE PUBLIC. IF HIS GOVT DID MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT, OF COURSE MY GOVT MUST CONSIDER MATTER OF MAKING REPLY THERETO.

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15. I SAID THOUGHT WORLD ALSO ABLE JUDGE WHETHER OUR AGREEMENT OF ALMOST EXACTLY ONE YEAR AGO BEEN CARRIED OUT BY HIS SIDE. IMPOSSIBLE ME UNDERSTAND WHAT HIS AUTHORITIES THINK THEY GAINING BY AVOIDING CARRYING OUT THAT AGREEMENT. THAT WAS FIRST QUESTION ON TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THESE TALKS. OVER YEAR LATER STILL OUTSTANDING QUESTION. TEN AMERICANS STILL REMAINED IN PRISONS HIS COUNTRY IN SPITE OF CLEAR COMMITMENT THEY BE PERMITTED EXPEDITIOUSLY RETURN. AS I HAD POINTED OUT THEY HAD EVEN GONE BACKWARDS AS FAR AS PEOPLE AND GOVT MY COUNTRY COULD SEE. APPARENTLY POLICY NOW WAS REQUIRE PRISONERS SERVE FULL TERM THEIR SENTENCES NO MATTER HOW UNREASONABLE OR UNJUSTIFIED SENTENCE MIGHT HAVE BEEN. FROM STANDPOINT MY GOVT THERE SEEMS BE NO ADVANTAGE--IN FACT DISADVANTAGE FROM THIS AGREEMENT. I MUST MOST STRONGLY EMPHASIZE OUR DISATISFACTION, DISAPPOINTMENT THIS AGREEMENT NOT BEING CARRIED OUT AND THIS SOURCE FRICTION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES NOT BEING REMOVED AS I PROPOSED AT VERY OUTSET THESE TALKS.

16. WANG SAID COULD NOT AGREE WITH REMARKS I JUST MADE. PURPOSE THESE TALKS TRY SEEK SOLUTION OF ISSUES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. NOT PURPOSE MAKE PROPAGANDA. HE DID NOT WANT LEAVE QUESTIONS UNDER DISCUSSION FOR LONG WITHOUT ATTAINING RESULTS. HE DID NOT WANT LET WORLD BE DEPRIVED OF INFORMATION ON WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THESE TALKS. SURE PUBLIC OPINION IN POSITION JUDGE WHICH SIDE REASONABLE AND WHICH NOT.

17. WANG NOTED AS TO QUESTION CIVILIANS, THAT MOST OF PERSONS WHOSE NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME HAD NOT RETURNED AND NO AECCOUNTING BEEN MADE. MOREOVER UNREASONABLE REQUIREMENT WITH REGARD TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS, REQUIREMENT CHINESE IN US APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE NOT BEEN REMOVED. HE SURE PUBLIC OPINION ALSO ABLE MAKE FAIR JUDGMENT ON THIS MATTER. WORLD WOULD READILY AND CLEARLY SEE THAT SINCE TALKS BEGAN GREATER PART OF AMERICANS IN CHINA HAD RETURNED TO THEIR COUNTRY AS RESULT LENIENT POLICY HIS GOVT. THESE FACTS COULD NOT BE DISPUTED BY ANYONE.

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18. I REPLIED OUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10 DID NOT SAY GREATER PART AMEICANS IN HIS COUNTRY BE ABLE RETURN WITHIN YEAR AFTER ANNOUNCEMENT--ANNOUNCEMENT SAID ALL WOULD BE ABLE RETURN EXPEDITIQUSLY.

19. WANG SAID OUR AGREEMENT DID NOT SAY ALL AMERICANS IN PRISON WHO COMMITTED CRIMES WOULD BE ABLE RETURN PROMPTLY DISREGARDING CHINESE LAW.

20. I SAID IT DID NOT SAY SOME AMERICANS, IT DID NOT SAY EXCEPT THOSE IN PRISON, IT SAID ALL AMERICANS WOULD BE ABLE RETURN.

21. WANG SAID BUT THIS AGREEMENT DID NOT SPECIFY PRECISE TIME. OR WAS MY GOVT IN POSITION RELEASE ALL FORTY ODD CHINESE IN PRISONS MY COUNTRY.

22. I SAID HAD TOLD HIM PREVIOUSLY, ANY WHO DESIRED RETURN WOULD BE ABLE PROMPTLY RETURN, WHETHER IN PRISON OR NOT.

23. WANG ASKED IF WE IN POSITION RELEASE ALL THOSE PEOPLE FROM PRISON AND LET THEM DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT THEY WISH RETURN HIS COUNTRY.

GOWEN

JB

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

ACTION COPY

42

Action

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Control: 3863

Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 8, 1956

2:49 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 232, SEPTEMBER 7, 6 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

24. I SAID DID NOT GET HIS POINT. DID HE MEAN THEY SHOULD ALL BE RELEASED, WHETHER THEY WANTED RETURN OR NOT? OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT COVERED PEOPLE WHO DESIRED RETURN.

25. WANG ASKED HOW COULD PERSON IN US PRISON EXPRESS FREE WILL AS TO WHETHER HE DESIRES RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY. THAT WAS WHAT HE NOT READY BELIEVE. EVEN PEOPLE OUT OF PRISON IN US HAD ALL SORTS WORRIES AND APPREHENSION ON QUESTION RETURNING. HOW COULD ONE EXPECT PEOPLE IN PRISON DECIDE FREELY?

26. I REPLIED PERSON IN PRISON COULD CERTAINLY DECIDE WHETHER DESIRES REMAIN SERVE OUT TERM ACCORDANCE NORMAL PROCESSES JUSTICE OR WHETHER DESIRES IMMEDIATE RETURN HIS COUNTRY. THAT NOT HARD DECISION MAKE. I HAD SET FORTH PLAN TO ENABLE THEM TO ASSURE THEMSELVES PRISONERS HAD FREELY MADE DECISION. IT JUST HAD NEVER OCURRED TO ME HE COULD OR WOULD OBJECT TO PROCEDURES WE SET FORTH. THEY WENT FAR BEYOND ANYTHING WE REQUIRED DO UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. IT WAS ATTITUDE HIS GOVT THAT HAD PREVENTED INDIAN EMBASSY FROM ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH PROCEDURES WE SET FORTH. THEREFORE ANY DELAY IS SOLELY AND ABSOLUTELY RESPONSIBILITY HIS GOVT.

27. WANG REPLIED THIS SERIOUS REMARK NOT CREDIBLE. MUST TRY JUDGE MATTER ON MERITS ACTUAL FACTS INSTEAD ON BASIS IMAGINATION. US AUTHORITIES REPEATEDLY TRIED PREVENT CHINESE STUDENTS RETURN HIS COUNTRY BY TELLING THEM NOT

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RETURN TO WHAT WE CALL COMMUNIST CHINA AND BY ATTEMPTING INFLUENCE THEM PROCEED TAIWAN. IF SUCH ACTS COULD BE APPLIED PEOPLE OUT OF PRISONS ONE COULD READILY IMAGINE WHAT WOULD BE DONE TO PEOPLE IN PRISON. CHINESE IN PRISON COULD EXPRESS DESIRE RETURN OWN COUNTRY. BUT ABILITY ACTUALLY DO SO ANOTHER QUESTION. THESE PEOPLE HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT WHETHER BY EXPRESSING WILL RETURN THEIR COUNTRY IT WOULD INTENSIFY PUNISHMENT. PROBLEM IS WHETHER US WOULD CARRY OUT FAITHFULLY AGREEMENT PERMIT CHINESE IN US RETURN WITHOUT APPLYING PRESSURE OR OFFERING OBSTACLES TO THEIR DOING SO. HE NOTED THAT I HAD TAKEN NO STEP TO SUBMIT LIST ALL CHINESE IN US WHICH HE HAD REPEATEDLY REQUESTED. SUCH BEING CASE, SIDE WHICH EXTREMELY DISSATISFIED WITH OUTCOME AGREEMENT PRECISELY HIS SIDE.

28. I SAID NO OBLIGATION UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT SUBMIT ANY LIST CHINESE IN US. OBLIGATION WAS PERMIT CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRE DO SO RETURN HIS COUNTRY. LET US KEEP TO FACTS. AGENCY ESTABLISHED FOR ASSURING WHETHER OR NOT THIS CASE HAD NOT AMONG TENS OF THOUSANDS CHINESE IN US YET BROUGHT TO OUR ATTENTION ANY SINGLE CASE ALLEGED OSTRUCTION. THIS WAS FACT WHICH NO AMOUNT VAGUE STATEMENTS, VAGUE CHARGES COULD CONTROVERT. WAS ALSO FACT CHINESE STEADILY RETURNING HIS COUNTRY. I KNEW OF NINE WHO HAD DEFINITELY DONE SO SINCE I LAST MENTIONED THIS SUBJECT. THIS MADE TOTAL 190 I DEFINITELY KNEW OF SINCE LAST AUG 1.

29. WANG SAID EVEN THIS 190 DID NOT REPRESENT ALL WHO DESIRED RETURN. HE HAD GIVEN ME NAMES 50-ODD PERSONS, 52 OF WHOM HAD NOT RETURNED. I HAD STATED NO ALLEGATION BEEN MADE TO US AS TO OBSTRUCTION RETURN, BUT THIS DID NOT MEAN THERE BEEN NO DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY CHINESE. HE HAD REPEATEDLY SPOKEN ON THIS SITUATION. HE HAD NOTHING FURTHER.

30. WANG PROPOSED NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, SEPT 20 AND I AGREED.

GOWEN

SSS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1956 SEP 8 AM 10 09
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

(710)

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
SEP 18 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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SECRET

September 7, 1956.

Letter No. 44

Dear Walter:

I have little to add to my "comment" telegram today. I felt satisfied that the meeting went as well as it did and particularly appreciated the very complete and clear guidance for today's meeting. You will see that I made full use of it. I especially appreciated its explicitness in instructing me not to be deterred in refusing to discuss trade by fear they would use it as a pretext to break off or recess the talks. It gave me just the guidance I was looking for on this subject. I hope you understand that my recent emphasis on the possibility of a break or recess has not been motivated by any change in my feeling they are probably not going to make any major new move until around election time, but simply a desire to anticipate and be prepared for the worst while hoping for the best.

I felt it a little difficult to carry out the instructions with regard to giving him the copy of the press release on the plane incident and the comments with regard thereto and at the same time not letting these talks become a forum for the discussion of the merits. You will see that I tried to carry this out by weaving it in with renunciation in my opening statement rather than giving it any character of a separate item or waiting for him to initiate discussion of it. Incidentally I have been somewhat

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

surprised at their willingness to fall in with the UK channel on this. Is this not unprecedented on a matter of this kind? Incidentally I also thought the Department's August 31 statement was a real masterpiece of balance and objectivity. It was a very refreshing change from the way similar cases have sometimes been handled in the past. It was also very refreshing not to have Defense and every Lieutenant in the Navy leaking views and news, and not to have Drew Pearson announcing the plane was on a dangerous and secret mission.

As I mentioned in my comment telegram Dave is staying here to be on hand if and when they come out with their public statement rather than going up to Prague with me as we had previously planned. If there is sufficient time after their statement before the next meeting he and Helenka may drive up themselves.

Thank Ralph very much for his letter of August 31 and all its news. I had three nice days in the sun down at Santa Margarita. The first time I have really been warm this summer. I know that is not a complaint you can make in Washington.

Regards to all.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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711

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
SEP 17
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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CONFIDENTIAL

American Embassy,
Prague, Czechoslovakia,
September 12, 1955.

Dear Walter:

I have just received a telegram from Geneva saying that Senator Mansfield wants to see me in Geneva on September 20 or 21. I have replied that I will, of course, be glad to see him, suggesting the 20th in order that I can return here the morning of the 21st.

I have not followed his views recently, and have only noted in The New York Times his open telegram to the Secretary suggesting that I take up the plane incident in Geneva. However, I presume he will be satisfied the way it was handled through the U.K.

The only purpose of this letter is if there are any special cautions or advice the Department feels I should have before talking with him, I would appreciate having a telegram sent me at Geneva.

As a responsible member of the Foreign Relations Committee I assume that he is fairly well briefed on our policy and that I can talk with him quite freely.

Incidentally, during Senator Long's recent visit here he did not raise and there was no discussion whatever of my Geneva talks.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
Ambassador

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D. C.

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This document consists of 4 pages

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September 13, 1956

SECRET

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Letter No. 55

Dear Alex:

The American Red Cross gave us on September 12 their report on the interviews with the Chinese prisoners. They did a very thorough job. They carried out their instructions precisely, presenting the three choices very fairly and explaining the matter fully and impartially. We can say with confidence that no pressure of any sort was exerted on the prisoners, and that they were afforded an opportunity to make up their own minds on the basis of full and exact information, without any interference. Three prisoners elected to go to Mainland China, two to Taiwan, and nineteen preferred to remain in prison to serve out their sentences. The remainder had already been released under normal prison regulations. We are having the reports on each of the 24 cased reproduced for transmittal by pouch to you either today or Monday.

We have not yet decided whether we will bring the Indian Embassy into the picture as to the three who wish to go to Mainland China. We are leaning in that direction mainly because we want to do everything possible to influence Peiping to give O'Neill more scope in his efforts to help our imprisoned nationals. At least we want to put them as much on the defensive

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

as possible if they refuse to give O'Neill any better access. We also would like to present the Communists with the bill for the transportation of these people. Indian participation would make that possible. On the other hand Indian participation might slow up the procedure, when we are impatient to move the three out of here as fast as possible. No final decision has been made yet. But we already are working with the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Bureau of Prisons on the preliminary steps looking to the parole of the three individuals for shipment out of the country. Immigration and Naturalization Service does not care whether they are deported or leave voluntarily with Indian assistance.

The CRC is committed in writing to take any prisoners who choose Taiwan so long as the Indians are not allowed to interview the prisoners. We intend to hold them to this commitment. We had Dr. Tan in yesterday and gave him the results of the interviews. We are sending you by pouch a copy of our telegram to Taipei reporting on the interview and explaining why we prefer that the CRC not insist on visiting the prisoners. Tan did not raise the matter yesterday and we are hopeful that they will not rock the boat. We have had a good and complete survey and any interference with the prisoners at this stage by the CRC representatives could only be harmful.

Enclosed are various press releases on the U. S. Navy plane incident of August 23, including our note of protest of September 8 which the British delivered in Peiping September 11, an announcement on the reported finding by the Chinese Communists of the body of a second member of the crew,

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Jack Curtis; and U. S. Navy statement of September 13 announcing the discontinuance of search operations and the planned shipment of the two bodies recovered by the Communists from Shanghai to Japan on September 22.

We are also enclosing a report by Col. Monroe on his recent visit to the MAC concerning the accounting for the missing servicemen.

We are having a meeting this afternoon to discuss the guidance for your meeting of September 20. The main topic will be the question of whether we will propose any changes in the draft on renunciation of force.

Mr. Phleger was away on leave for a while and since his return has been pretty much tied up because of the Suez crisis. We expect him at the session this afternoon.

For your background things are looking a little better on the trade controls question. By agreeing to give a little ground on the China list, we have brought the Japanese more or less into line. We have had high level meetings with the British, French, Germans and Italians at which we have presented quite strongly our case for preserving a substantial China differential, with some concessions on our part. We are hoping that with Japanese support, combined with the pressures we are putting on these countries, we can hold the line at least for the near future. A CG meeting is contemplated for December.

Everybody here likes the way you handled the last meeting. While we naturally do not invite any resort to publicity by the Chinese Communists, we are prepared to meet it and do not fear it.

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Keep up the good work. Regards from us all to Dave, Helenka and Col. Ekvall as well as well as to you.

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

ENCLOSURES:

1. Interviews by Red Cross Representatives
2. Press Release No. 480
3. Note to British protesting shooting down of Navy plane.
4. Report from Col. Monroe
5. Letter to Mr. Youde from Mr. Clough dated September 11, 1956, & Reply
6. Letter to Cong. Lane
7. Navy Statement of Sept. 13.

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Navy Release

The Commander, U. S. 7th Fleet advises Adm. Stuart Ingersoll was directed today to discontinue the search operations for possible survivors of the Naval P4M Marcator shot down over international waters off the Chu Shan Archipelago on the night of 22-23 August. A constant search by ship and aircraft of the Seventh Fleet Patrol day and night since August 23 has exhausted a ll possibilities for rescue of any survivors. The bodies of Albert Perry Mattin, USN and Lt. Commander James Pansford, USN, were recovered by ship research group in the same area in which floating wreckage of the p lane was located. The Chinese Communists have announced the recovery of William Frederick Haskins, USN and Jack Albert Curtis, USN. They further reported that the bodies of Haskins and Curtis were delivered by them to British Consul General, Shanghai on September 12. It is expected that the bodies will be returned to United States authorities in Yokahama, Japan via the S.S. Ouwerkerk leaving Shanghai about 22 September. Next of kin of those recovered have been previously notified by the Navy Department.

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Following is excerpt relating to Taiwan from Liu Shao-chi speech September 15 Chinese Communist Party Congress:

QUOTE Furthermore in order to defend our country we must continue to strengthen our national defense, we must continue to strengthen our national defense army--the glorious Chinese people's liberation army. Our armed forces must strive to raise their fighting capacity to a higher level, guard our frontiers and coast lines vigilantly and defend our territorial integrity.

Our territory Taiwan is still under the occupation of the US imperialists. This is a most serious threat to the security of our country. The liberation of Taiwan is purely China's internal affair. We are willing to bring Taiwan back to the embrace of the motherland through the peaceful means of negotiation and avoid the use of force. If force has to be used it would only be when all possibilities for peaceful negotiation have been exhausted or when peaceful negotiations have failed. Whatever means we adopt we are convinced that we will win the ultimate victory in the just cause of liberating Taiwan. END QUOTE

Dulles (WPMcC)

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:emm 9/17/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

SEP 17 1956 P.M.

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Guidance for September 20 meeting.

1. Renunciation of force. Again show how our April 19 revision introduces minimum changes Communist December 1 draft which provided reasonable starting point for negotiation although not in itself sufficiently explicit ~~to~~ constitute acceptable formulation renunciation of force declaration. These changes were essential to demonstrate to world ~~that~~ both sides sincerely willing renounce use of force ~~in~~ Taiwan area and pursue objectives by peaceful means only. Characterize Communist May 11 draft as step backward. (FYI After thorough consideration possible reformulation our April 19 revision, we are satisfied our objectives best served by holding to present draft. We consider it strong position on which ~~to~~ defend ourselves publicly against Communist propaganda effort. We do not repeat not contemplate any revision. END FYI)

Refer to passage from Liu Shao-chi speech before 8th Party Congress September 15 regarding Communist intention ~~to~~ take Taiwan (DEPTEL 300).

Observe that apparent PRC determination ~~to~~ bring Taiwan under Communist domination by any means necessary, including use of force, would seem to

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Drafted by: FE:CA:RNGlough:WPMcConaughy:ikb:emm 9/17/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: FE - Mr. Sebald

S/S-CR

SEP 17 1956 P.M.

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indicate ~~that~~ further attempts to arrive at meaningful renunciation of force may be foredoomed to failure. Surmise that PRC high policy reflected in Liu's speech may afford explanation ~~of~~ Wang's persistent refusal to agree to effective renunciation of force formula through more than 9 months ~~of~~ fruitless discussion this subject at Geneva. Invite Wang to explain and interpret Liu statement in light ~~of~~ professed Chinese Communist willingness ~~to~~ make comprehensive renunciation of force.

(FYI While there is nothing new in Liu statement on Taiwan, we think his high position as Chairman Standing Committee National Peoples Congress and as spokesman for Central Committee of Party, and importance of 8th Party Congress before which he spoke justify this special attention. We wish speech used to draw out Wang more fully ~~as~~ ~~to~~ Chinese Communist determination ~~to~~ use force to extend their sway to Taiwan, if they cannot obtain this objective by less costly means. END FYI)

2. Trade controls. Refuse to discuss trade controls, framing your argument in same terms used last meeting.

3. U.S. Navy Plane. Subject need not be introduced this meeting. However, if Wang brings up, take same line as last meeting and continue avoid being drawn into discussion ~~of~~ merits of case. (FYI Chinese Communists have not yet replied ~~to~~ our protest. END FYI)

4. Implementation. In pressing for early release remaining Americans, emphasize futility continuing hold these persons hostage as means bringing about improvement of relations. FYI We are proceeding ~~to~~ deport promptly to China

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mainland three Chinese convicts who chose to go there. We are not bringing Indian Embassy into process, since Agreed Announcement provides for their intervention only if Chinese wishing to go to mainland encounters obstruction, as we have told them they will be allowed ~~to~~ leave and are expediting their departure. We do not propose to inform Wang, or to make public announcement regarding Chinese convicts until latter have left US, unless we are obliged to do so by Communist propaganda on subject or leak to press in US. END FYI

Dulles

DULLES

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6:05 AM

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Name of Officer

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 279, SEPTEMBER 19, 10 AM

PRIORITY

SENT PRIORITY DEPARTMENT 279; REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 21

LONDON FOR SECRETARY

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FROM JOHNSON

WANG (WHO WAS ON SAME PLANE YESTERDAY FROM PRAGUE) CALLED THIS MORNING ASKING NEXT MEETING BE POSTPONED TO SATURDAY SEPT 22. I IMPLIED THAT BECAUSE PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENTS GREATLY PREFERRED FRIDAY, SEPT 21. HE REPLIED FRIDAY "IMPOSSIBLE" FOR HIM WHEREUPON I AGREED TO SATURDAY, SEPT 22.

DO NOT KNOW WHAT THIS MAY PRESAGE BUT MANNER IN WHICH HE HAS HANDLED DEFINITELY INDICATES SIGNIFICANT MOVE BEING PLANNED BY PEIPING OF WHICH HE PROBABLY ONLY INFORMED AFTER ARRIVAL HERE YESTERDAY.

WITH REFERENCE THIRD SUB-PARAGRAPH BEGINNING "OBSERVE THAT APPARENT" PARAGRAPH ONE DEPTEL 301, PRESUME DEPT RECOGNIZES THAT THIS WILL GIVE WANG OPPORTUNITY SAY THAT ALTHOUGH OUR REASONS DIFFER WE NOW APPARENTLY AGREE HIS REPEATED CONTENTION FURTHER DISCUSSION RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION FRUITLESS. TOGETHER WITH OUR REFUSAL DISCUSS TRADE THIS COULD GIVE THEM BETTER BASIS FROM WHICH TO MOVE TOWARD RECESS OR TERMINATION TALKS IF THIS THEIR DESIRE.

GOWEN

JB

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53-51

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Control: 12137
Rec'd: September 21, 1956
7:22 p.m.

FE FROM: Geneva

...fo

RMR TO: Secretary of State

NO: 295, September 21, 6 p.m.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

Am making no press comment on CHICOM statement (my telegram 293). If Department issues reply would appreciate prompt transmittal here.

At tomorrow's meeting plan ignore CHICOM's statement unless raised by him and proceed along lines DEPTEL 301.

POPPER

MGG:RAP/8

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA NIACT 320

FOR JOHNSON

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Chinese Communist statement issued Peiping and Geneva September 21 contains nothing new. It does not alter line to be taken your September 22 presentation which should continue be guided by Deptel 301. We are considering issuing brief reply Communist statement probably on September 24 which will stress unreasonableness Communist demand we discuss relaxation trade restrictions at time when they continue threaten use force against Taiwan and fail to carry out last year's Agreed Announcement.

We recognize that tone adopted in portion of guidance referred to third paragraph your 279 is somewhat harder than heretofore. However, we do not believe Communist decision to break or not to break will be significantly affected by relatively minor alterations in phraseology used by you in discussions. We feel harder line necessary this stage of talks to emphasize our opposition to their continued insistence on right to use force to achieve their aims.

Line adopted by speakers at Chinese Communist 8th Party Congress and September 21 statement itself do not suggest Peiping moving toward break-off in talks.

Hooker
ACTING
(WPMcC)

Walter P. McConaughy

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:emm 9/21/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:
FE - Mr. Robertson (in substance)
FE - Mr. Sebald (in draft)

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SEP 21 1956 (P.M.)

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 297, SEPTEMBER 22, 11 AM

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FROM JOHNSON

TWO HOUR AND FIVE MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. I OPENED WITH STATEMENT ALONG LINES PARA ONE DEPTEL 301. WHILE RE-AFFIRMING SAME LINE ON MEANS LIBERATION TAIWAN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIR HIS REPLIES WERE LARGELY PRO FORMA. HE DID NOT RESPOND TO MY SUBSEQUENT GOADING HIM ON SUBJECT AND I OBTAINED NOTHING NEW WITH RESPECT RENUNCIATION. HE REPEATED ANY FURTHER MOVES RENUNCIATION MUST COME FROM US.

AFTER MAKING BRIEF REFERENCE TO TRADE HE INTRODUCED DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT ON "MUTUAL CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE" ATTEMPTING TAKE STRONG OFFENSIVE THROUGHOUT REMAINDER MEETING THIS SUBJECT, CITING US "OBSTRUCTION") PORGY AND BESS, PEIPING OPERA, JOURNALISTS, PEIPING WHITMAN ATTENDANCE.

I CITED THEIR TREATMENT AMERICANS INCLUDING OFFICIALS FROM TIME COMMUNIST TAKEOVER MAINLAND, FAILURE IMPLEMENT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, AND KEPT COMING BACK TO RENUNCIATION FORCE AND POLICY HOSTILITY THREAT USE FORCE AS BLOCK TO IMPROVEMENT OUR RELATIONS WHICH MUST BE REMOVED BEFORE ANY ATTEMPT MADE DEAL OTHER PROBLEMS.

NEXT MEETING OCT. 4. RETURNING PRAGUE SUNDAY MORNING.

COOPER

Note: Mr. Smith (FE) notified 1:45 p.m. 9/22/46 FMH

CRH

611.93/9-2256

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Control: 12453
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10:05 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 301, SEPTEMBER 22, 1 P.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

FOLLOWING TEXT DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT WANG PRESENTED TODAY'S MEETING:

"IN ORDER PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLES CHINA AND U.S., IN ORDER RESUME TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLES CHINA AND U.S., AMBASSADOR WANG PING-NAN, ON BEHALF GOVERNMENT PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND AMBASSADOR U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, ON BEHALF GOVERNMENT OF U.S. OF AMERICA, AGREE ANNOUNCE: PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND U.S. OF AMERICA WILL ADOPT MEASURES RESPECTIVELY ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE TO ELIMINATE EXISTING BARRIERS INTERFERING WITH FREEDOM OF MUTUAL CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN PEOPLES OF THEIR TWO COUNTRIES."

POPPER

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Control: 12532
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 22, 1956
1:29 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 302, SEPTEMBER 22, 3 P.M.

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Date of Action

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

WANG'S PROPOSAL ON WHAT HE ORALLY TERMED "HUMAN CONTACTS" AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE TODAY CONTINUES THEIR PATTERN OF ATTEMPTING TO BUILD UP PUBLIC RECORD OF "SWEET REASONABLENESS" IN TALKS BEING FRUSTRATED ALONG LINES CHOU'S PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SPEECH. CAN PRESUME THEY WILL IN DUE COURSE FOLLOW SAME PATTERN AS WITH TRADE PROPOSAL, THAT IS, MAKE PUBLIC RELEASE AFTER WE HAVE REFUSED DISCUSS. HOWEVER ANTICIPATE THEY MAY SOMEWHAT STEP UP PACE POSSIBLY MAKING RELEASE FOLLOWING NEXT MEETING IF THEY SUCCEED IN OBTAINING FROM ME WHAT THEY CONSIDER SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR-CUT REFUSAL DISCUSS.

WHILE REFUSING DISCUSS BELIEVE IT GIVES USEFUL OPPORTUNITY MORE FULLY DEVELOP THEME I STARTED AT TODAY'S MEETING ON PREVIOUS TREATMENT OF AMERICANS LEADING UP TO PRESSURE RELEASE OF THOSE STILL IMPRISONED. DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE I ALSO LINKED IT TO RENUNCIATION. WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE FOR NEXT MEETING ON DEGREE TO WHICH I SHOULD EXPRESSLY OR IMPLIEDLY LINK TRAVEL OF AMERICANS TO MAINLAND ONLY TO RELEASE THOSE IMPRISONED AS IMPLIED MY ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS AND DEPARTMENT'S AUGUST 7 PRESS RELEASE.

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Control: 12591
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 22, 1956
3:34 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 303, SEPTEMBER 22, 4 PM (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON.

1. I OPENED 58TH WITH PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. AT LAST MEETING I SAID LOOKING FORWARD TO YOUR REVERSING BACKWARD TREND IN TALKS ON CENTRAL SUBJECT RENUNCIATION FORCE EXEMPLIFIED BY YOUR MAY 11 DRAFT AND TO MOVING AHEAD FROM AREA AGREEMENT AND BROAD CONCESSION TO YOUR POINT VIEW EXEMPLIFIED MY APRIL 19 DRAFT. AS I MANY TIMES POINTED OUT THAT DRAFT ACCEPTED YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT AS REASONABLE STARTING POINT FOR NEGOTIATION AND INTRODUCED ONLY MINIMUM REVISIONS ESSENTIAL TO DEMONSTRATE TO WORLD BOTH OUR COUNTRIES SINCERELY WILLING RENOUNCE USE FORCE TAIWAN AREA AND PURSUE OBJECTIVES BY PEACEFUL MEANS ONLY.

B. ON BASIS YOUR EXPLANATIONS HERE I HAD TAKEN THIS BE INTENT YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT AND THAT YOUR CONCERN WITH RESPECT MY JANUARY 12 DRAFT AROSE FROM FEAR IT WAS INTENT U.S. TRICK YOUR GOVERNMENT INTO ABANDOINING POSITION RESPECT MERITS DISPUTE THAT AREA. IT IN ORDER REMOVE ALL POSSIBLE BASIS FOR SUCH CLAIM I SUCCESSIVELY OFFERED MY REVISION APRIL 19. HAVE CONTINUOUSLY AD CAREFULLY REVIEWED THAT DRAFT IN LIGHT YOUR STATED OBJECTIONS DURING THESE MEETINGS BUT STILL FEEL IF YOUR SIDE GENUINELY SINCERELY WILLING RENOUNCE USE FORCE IN THAT AS WELL AS OUR OTHER DIPUTES THERE CAN BE NO VALID OBJECTION THAT DRAFT.

C. IF YOUR SIDE NOT WILLING IN FACT RENOUNCE USE FORCE IT OF COURSE OBVIOUS NO FORM OF WORDS CAN BE DEVISED THAT WILL MEET YOUR OBJECTIONS AS I NOT WILLING BE PARTY TO PERPETRATING UPON WORLD FRAUD OF FORM OF WORDS THAT ATTEMPTS

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Date of Action 6
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GIVE APPEARANCE HAVING RENOUNCED FORCE WHILE IN FACT FAILING DO SO.

D. THIS CONNECTION I BEEN CONCERNED NOTE DURING LAST FEW DAYS HIGH GOVERNMENT AND PARTY OFFICIALS YOUR COUNTRY ARE REITERATING THREAT RESORT WAR IF NECESSARY TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVE OF BRINGING TAIWAN UNDER ITS DOMINATION. I PARTICULARLY NOTED EVEN SUCH AUTHORITATIVE SPOKESMAN AS LIU SHAO-CHI IN SPEECH SEPTEMBER 15, AS REPORTED BY YOUR RADIO, REITERATES INTENTION USE ANY MEANS NECESSARY, INCLUDING FORCE, TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES THIS AREA. THIS DEEPLY DISTURBING AND IF CONTINUES BE POLICY YOUR GOVERNMENT, OF COURSE CANNOT BE RECONCILED WITH PROFESSIONS OF DESIRE USE ONLY PEACEFUL MEANS SETTLE DISPUTES. I FIND THAT POLICY PARTICULARLY HARD RECONCILE WITH EXPLANATIONS OF INTENT OF YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT. HOWEVER, IT AGAIN EXPLAINS PERSISTENT REJECTION THROUGH MONTHS OF DISCUSSION HERE OF ALL FORMULAE THAT MY SIDE HAS PROPOSED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT USE OF FORCE BEING RENOUNCED. CONTINUATION OF SUCH INDEFENSIBLE POLICY WOULD OF COURSE MEAN FURTHER ATTEMPTS ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT ON MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE MAY BE FOREDOOMED FAILURE. HOWEVER, I RELUCTANT ARRIVE AT SUCH PESSIMISTIC CONCLUSION FOR PEACE OF FAR EAST AND WORLD.

E. I WELCOMED YOUR STATEMENTS HERE ON SHARING MY DESIRE ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT ON MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE AND STEPS SUCH AS YOUR DECEMBER 1 DRAFT THAT APPEARED BE IN THAT DIRECTION, HOWEVER, CANNOT RECONCILE THIS WITH STATEMENTS SUCH AS THAT OF LIU SEPTEMBER 15 THAT APPEAR ONLY REITERATION OF OLD POSITION OF THREATENING FORCE. WOULD BE GLAD HEAR ANYTHING YOU ABLE SAY THIS MORNING THAT WOULD EXPLAIN THIS APPARENT CONTRADICTION.

2. WANG REPLIED AFTER LISTENING MY STATEMENT ON QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE HE COULD FIND NOTHING NEW. WITH REGARD APRIL 19 DRAFT WHICH I HAD AGAIN REFERRED TO IN

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STATEMENT, IT ALREADY REPEATEDLY BEEN REJECTED BY THEIR SIDE. THEY COULD NOT AGREE TO UNREASONABLE DEMAND CONTAINED IN APRIL 19 DRAFT. THAT PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT AGREE TO ANY DIVISION THEIR TERRITORY BY FOREIGN STATE OR FORCES, AND COULD NOT AGREE ANY INTERVENTION BY ANY FOREIGN POWER IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HE PRESUMED THAT IF IN HIS POSITION I WOULD ALSO ADOPT SAME ATTITUDE THIS REGARD.

3. WANG SAID HE VERY SURPRISED TO HEAR MY REFERENCES TO STATEMENTS OF LEADING MEMBERS HIS GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD LIBERATION TAIWAN. AS THEY HAD CONSISTENTLY ANNOUNCED IN PAST IT ENTIRELY MATTER CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIR AS TO MEANS BY WHICH SHE LIBERATED TAIWAN. THEY WOULD NEVER ALLOW ANY OTHER PEOPLE INTERFERE AS TO BY WHAT MEANS CHINA ACHIEVED LIBERATION TAIWAN AS THEY HAD ALL ALONG MADE CLEAR IT ENTIRELY WITHIN FRAMEWORK CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AS TO WHAT MEANS SHE USED IN LIBERATING TAIWAN AND THEY HAD ALSO MADE CLEAR EXISTING TENSION IN TAIWAN AREA WAS INTERNATIONAL ISSUE BETWEEN CHINA AND AMERICA. THESE WERE TWO ENTIRELY SEPARATE MATTERS AND THERE WAS SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THEM, AS HAD CONSISTENTLY BEEN MADE CLEAR BY THEM IN PAST, AND THEREFORE CONFUSION OF TWO MATTERS NOT PERMISSIBLE.

POPPER

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2:40 PM

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Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 303, SEPTEMBER 22, 4 PM (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

4. WANG POINTED OUT AS HE HAD ALREADY IN PAST, THAT MY SIDE HAD ON ONE HAND PERSISTED IN DEMANDING AN INFRINGMENT OF HIS COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY INSOFAR AS QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE CONCERNED AND THIS BEEN CAUSE FAILURE REACH AGREEMENT. ON OTHER HAND MY SIDE HAD EVADED DISCUSSION QUESTION LIFTING EMBARGO SO NO RESULT BEEN ACHIEVED REGARD THEIR PROPOSAL ON LIFTING EMBARGO. IN SPITE THIS THEIR SIDE STILL WILLING SEEK APPROPRIATE AMELIORATION INSOFAR AS EXISTING PRACTICAL ISSUES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES CONCERNED.

5. CONTINUING FROM PREPARED STATEMENT WANG SAID, IT BELIEF HIS SIDE THAT REMOVAL NOW OF ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS HINDERING HUMAN CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO REMOVAL BARRIERS AND RELAXATION TENSIONS, AND WAS THUS FULLY IN ACCORD DESIRES TWO PEOPLE. THEY CONSIDERED THAT DESIRE AMERICAN JOURNALISTS COME TO CHINA FOR NEWS COVERAGE AND DESIRES CHINESE AND AMERICAN THEATRICAL COMPANIES WAS PRACTICAL FEASIBLE AND JUSTIFIED. HE THEREFORE PROPOSED TWO OF US MAKE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT THIS RESPECT. HIS SPECIFIC PROPOSAL WAS AS FOLLOWS (HERE HE READ TEXT DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY). HE WAS SURE TEXT MADE IT QUITE CLEAR ANNOUNCEMENT ENTIRELY REASONABLE. HE WAS READY TO LISTEN TO ANYTHING I HAD TO SAY WITH REGARD THIS PROPOSAL. HE HANDED ME TEXT.

6. I REPLIED WAS DISAPPOINTED HE HAD NOT THIS MORNING BEEN IN POSITION CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING THAT WOULD ENABLE US MOVE FORWARD ON WHAT I THOUGHT WE BOTH AGREED WAS CENTRAL ISSUE -- RENUNCIATION FORCE. USE OF SUCH WORDS AS "INTERNAL AFFAIRS", "LIBERATION" AND OTHER SUCH TEROS DID NOT CHANGE FACTS OF SITUATION TAIWAN AREA. I HAD NOT ASKED HIM ACCEPT MY INTERPRETATION THOSE FACTS BUT NEVERTHELESS THEY DID EXIST.

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7. I SAID FACTS WERE TAIWAN LAWFULLY ADMINISTERED BY GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH US AND MAJORITY COUNTRIES WORLD HAD LONG MAINTAINED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. IT ADMINISTERED BY GOVERNMENT WHICH MEMBER UN. IT ADMINISTERED BY GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH US HAD DEFENSIVE TREATY ARRANGEMENTS. A TREATY WHICH REGISTERED WITH UN. THESE WERE ALL FACTS WHICH MUST BE RECOGNIZED IN SITUATION THERE. HOWEVER, I HAD NOT ASKED HIM HERE AND WE HAD NOT ASKED HIM IN ANY OUR DRAFTS ACCEPT OUR INTERPRETATION THOSE FACTS.

8. I SAID WANG'S GOVERNMENT HAD LONG THREATENED USE FORCE TO BRING TAIWAN UNDER ITS CONTROL. HE IN EFFECT SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN SAYING AND CONTINUED SAY IF THEY COULD NOT DO THIS BY NEGOTIATIONS THEY INTENDED USE FORCE. FACT THAT COULD NOT BE OVERLOOKED WAS THAT USE FORCE TO BRING TAIWAN UNDER THEIR CONTROL WOULD INVOLVE SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL TREATY OBLI-GATIONS OF US.

9. I CONTINUED THIS WAS FACTUAL SITUATION WITH WHICH WE CONFRONTED. IN ORDER MAKE CERTAIN THIS DID NOT LEAD TO HOSTILITIES BETWEEN US I HAD MADE MY PROPOSAL LAST OCTOBER THAT BOTH OF US WITHOUT IN ANY WAY PREJUDICING VIEWS ON MERITS SITUATION SIMPLY SAY WE WOULD NOT USE FORCE. THIS HAD BEEN AND MUST REMAIN CENTRAL ISSUE. US HAD OFFERED STATE THIS PRINCIPLE IN UNCONDITIONAL AND CLEAR FORM. HIS GOVERNMENT STILL UNWILLING DO SO. UNTIL THIS RESOLVED TO DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW OTHER PROBLEMS EXISTING BETWEEN US COULD BE RESOLVED. IF THIS CENTRAL ISSUE RESOLVED, OTHER ISSUES SHOULD BE CAPABLE RESOLUTION. FROM BEGINNING THESE DISCUSSIONS ON SECOND PART OUR TERMS REFERENCE, I HAD STRIVEN TO DO UTMOST TO RESOLVE CENTRAL ISSUE. HOWEVER, IT DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW COULD BE RESOLVED AS LONG AS HIS GOVERNMENT THREATENED GO WAR ABOUT IT IF IT NOT OTHERWISE ABLE GAIN OBJECTIVES.

10. I STILL EARNESTLY HOPED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD SEE THAT ITS INTERESTS AND INTERESTS PEACE COULD ONLY BE SERVED BY CLEARLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY SAYING IT WOULD NOT GO WAR ABOUT

THIS ISSUE. FOL HIS GOVERNMENT TO STATE THIS IN NO WAY PREJUDICED ITS POSITION WITH REGARD MERITS WHOLE MATTER. I HAD NEVER SAID THAT THEY DO SO AND NOTHING I HAD SAID HERE NOR ANY DRAFT I HAD PRESENTED COULD BE SO INTERPRETED. TO ATTEMPT SO TO INTERPRET IT MISREPRESENTED SITUATION AND WAS ATTEMPT TO OBSCURE REAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR OUR NOT HAVING REACHED AGREEMENT THIS SUBJECT.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 303, SEPTEMBER 22, 4 PM (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

Date of Action ____

Action Office Symbol ____

Name of Officer ____

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11. I SAID AS PRELIMINARY COMMENT ON PROPOSAL HE HAD MADE THIS MORNING I FIRST WANTED TO NOTE DID NOT SEE HOW IT COULD BE DIVORCED FROM CONTINUED THREAT OF HOSTILITIES. US HAD CONSISTENTLY THROUGHOUT ITS HISTORY WELCOMED FREE EXCHANGE INFORMATION AND PEOPLES REGARDLESS ANY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DIFFERENCES. AT TIME HIS GOVERNMENT TOOK CONTROL MAINLAND CHINA THERE WERE HUNDREDS AMERICANS INCLUDING OFFICIALS IN THOSE AREAS. POLICIES HIS GOVERNMENT ADOPTED AT THAT TIME WITH RESPECT THOSE PERSONS RENDERED CONTINUED PRESENCE THERE INTOLERABLE. THEY WERE SUBJECTED TO INDIGNITIES, EXPELLED FROM WANG'S COUNTRY. SUBJECTED TO IMPRISONMENT, AND IN GENERAL THEIR POSITION RENDERED IMPOSSIBLE. TEN AMERICANS STILL REMAINED IN PRISON.

12. I SAID IT COULD BE SAID THESE ALL MATTERS OF PAST. IT WAS WITH HOPE THEY TRULY COULD BE MADE MATTERS OF PAST THAT MY GOVERNMENT PROPOSED AS FIRST ITEM BUSINESS BETWEEN US ITS RESOLUTION, BY PERMITTING AMERICANS WHO THERE AND WHO NOT BEEN ABLE RETURN, TO DO SO. I HAD THOUGHT AND MY GOVERNMENT HAD THOUGHT AND MY PEOPLE HAD THOUGHT THIS ISSUE, IMPEDIMENT TO EXCHANGES BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLE WAS RESOLVED OVER YEAR AGO. HERE YEAR LATER IT STILL NOT RESOLVED. I HAD POINTED OUT OVER YEAR AGO IT COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED BY WANG'S GOVERNMENT. IN INTERESTS OUR RELATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS HE HAD MADE I HOPED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD NO LONGER DELAY IN REMOVING THIS IMPEDIMENT, JUST AS I HOPED HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD NO LONGER DELAY IN UNEQUIVOCALLY RENOUNCING USE FORRCE.

13. WANG COULD ONLY REGARD MY STATEMENT ON QUESTION TAIWAN AS SHEER SOPHISTRY. NO MATTER HOW I PRESENTED THIS QUESTION COULD NOT MAKE PEOPLE OF TAIWAN INTO AMERICAN SUBJECTS NOR COULD I MAKE TAIWAN AMERICAN TERRITORY. HAD THERE

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BEEN NO AMERICAN INVASION OF TAIWAN THERE WOULD HAVE BEE NO PRESSING SITUATION IN TAIWAN. US AGGRESSION ON TAIWAN NOT ONLY VIOLATED SPIRIT UN CHARTER BUT ALSO VIOLATED SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL PLEDGES ENTERED INTO BY US WITH RESPECT TAIWAN. PRESENT ARMED OCCUPATION TAIWAN BY US WAS INDISPUTABLE FACT AND WAS ACT WHICH ALL PEOPLE OF WORLD OPPOSED. US TREATY WITH CHIANG KAI-SHEK WAS NOT WORTH SINGLE CENT. WAS UNLAWFUL, AND CHINESE PEOPLE NEVER RECOGNIZED IT. PRESENT SITUATION WAS THAT NO RESOLUTION SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTE TAIWAN AREA COULD BE ACHIEVED SOLELY ON BASIS US INTERESTS.

15. WANG SAID PRESENT OBSTACLE IN WAY OUR MAKING RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION CAUSED UNREASONABLE DEMAND WHICH US PERSISTENTLY CLUNG TO. FAILURE REACH AGREEMENT THIS RESPECT NOT THEIR RESPONSIBILITY AT ALL. EFFORTS PROMOTE PROGRESS ON THIS MUST BE FORTHCOMING FROM US AND NOT FROM THEIR SIDE. OUR DELIBERATION HERE SHOULD BE DIRECTED AT SEEKING ALL SORTS OF FORMULAE FOR IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. WE MUST STRIVE BRING ABOUT GRADUAL RESOLUTION EXISTING DISPUTES BETWEEN US AND HE THOUGHT THIS PURPOSE COULD BE SERVED BY NO OTHER ATITUDE. TO CONDITION RESOLUTION ALL OTHER QUESTIONS ON RESOLUTIION ONE PARTICULAR QUESTION MEANT THERE NO DESIRE OR INTENTION RESOLVE ISSUES AT ALL.

16. WANG SAID SINCE WE HAD NOW MET ROADBLOCK IN ONE OF MAIN ISSUES WE SHOULD WITHOUT DELAY TRY FIND OUTLET AS FAR AS OTHER ISSUES CONCERNED. IN THIS SENSE THEIR PROPOSAL ON LIFTING EMBARGO WAS STEP TOWARDS BETTERMENT RELATIONS. HE VERY MUCH REGRETTED WE HAD AS YET MADE NO PROGRESS ON THAT. IN ORDER THAT TALKS MIGHT NOT WASTE TIME MEANINGLESSLY HE HAD AGAIN THIS MORINING PUT FORWARD PROPOSAL ON MUTUAL CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN TWO CUNTRIES.

17. WANG SAID IT THEIR CONSISTENT CONVICTION THAT UNINTERRUPTED HUMAN CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PEOPLES AND TO

RELAXATION INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS. HIS GOVERNMENT NOT ONLY MAINTAINED THIS CONVICTION BUT HAD ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT POLICY ALONG THESE LINES. IN 1955 HIS COUNTRY HAD RECEIVED MORE THAN 4,000 VISITORS FROM SOME 66 COUNTRIES OF WORLD. THIS REPRESENTED INCREASE OF 60 PERCENT OVER PREVIOUS YEAR. NUMBER OF VISITORS EXPECTED TO DOUBLE THIS YEAR. MOST FOREIGN VISITORS WHO HAD COME TO THEIR COUNTRY DURING PAST YEAR HAD COME FROM COUNTRIES WHICH HAD AS YET NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH HIS GOVERNMENT. IT THEIR BELIEF THAT PRESENCE OR ABSENCE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS SHOULD NOT BE OBSTACLE TO HUMAN CONTACTS WITH PEOPLES THESE COUNTRIES. MANY PEOPLE HAD PREJUDICES AND DOUBTS BEFORE CONTACT MADE BUT AFTER SUCH CONTACTS SUCH PREJUDICES AND DOUBTS IN MOST CASES BEEN ELIMINATED OR REDUCED.

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3:31 PM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 303, SEPTEMBER 22, 4 PM (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE) Officer

Direction to DC/R

18. WANG SAID HIS PEOPLE ENTERTAINED FRIENDLY FEELINGS TOWARDS PEOPLE US. PEOPLE OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAD TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP. IT CONSISTENT POLICY HIS COUNTRY PROTECT ALL FOREIGN NATIONALS-- INCLUDING AMERICANS-RESIDING IN HIS COUNTRY WHO ABIDED BY LAWS. THERE WERE STILL NUMBER AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO DESIRED REMAIN HIS COUNTRY TO CARRY ON NORMAL LIVELIHOOD AND WORK. THEY HAD NEVER FELT ANY PREJUDICE OR MISTREATMENT ON PART OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, ANY LAW-BREAKING FOREIGN NATIONALS, NO MATTER WHAT COUNTRY THEY CAME FROM, WOULD BE DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE CHINESE LAW. THIS WAS NORMAL PRACTICE ANY SOVEREIGN STATE.

19. WANG ACKNOWLEDGED AT PRESENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHINA-US SUBJECT TO INTERUPTION AND BROKEN. NEVERTHELESS, ANY DISPUTE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD BE SETTLED PEACEFULLY. HOWEVER, SUCH DISPUTES AS EXIST BETWEEN CHINA US SHOULD NOT BE MADE PRETEXT FOR HINDERING FREE CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN TWO PEOPLES. ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE ANY ORDINARY IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. TO PUT UP ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS WAS AGAINST INTERESTS BOTH PEOPLES AND AGAINST DESIRES. TODAY IT UP TO US TO REMOVE ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS IN CONTACTS OF PEOPLE. IT US WHICH NOW ADOPTING EXTREMELY UNFRIENDLY POLICY TOWARDS CHINESE PEOPLE. THIS POLICY OF US WAS IN COMPLETE CONTRAST TO POLICY OF CHINA TOWARDS AMERICAN PEOPLE.

20. WANG SAID PRESENT SITUATION WAS THAT US OCCUPYING PORTION CHINESE TERRITORY AND NOT CHINA OCCUPYING PART US TERRITORY. PRESENT SITUATION WAS US CARRYING ON POLICY EMBARGO AGAINST CHINA AND NOT CHINA CARRYING ON POLICY EMBARGO AGAINST US. IT US WHICH PUTTING UP ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS PREVENTING MUTUAL CONTACTS AND NOT CHINESE GOVERNMENT WHICH DOING SO.

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THEY WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO REMOVEL BY US OF SUCH BARRIERS SO THAT PEOPLES OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD CONTACT EACH OTHER FREELY AND BENEFIT FROM SUCH CONTACTS BY LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER, AND THUS FINALLY PROMOTE RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

21. I JUST WANTED TO SAY IT DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE ME OR MY GOVERNMENT THAT EXPERIENCES OF HUNDREDS AMERICANS WHO HAD LIVED UNDER JURISDICTION HIS GOVERNMENT WERE BROUGHT ABOUT BY FRIENDLY FEELINGS ON PART HIS GOVERNMENT TOWARD US OR AMERICANS OR TO PERSUADE US THESE RESPECTABLE AMERICANS WHO NEVER ENCOUNTERED DIFFICULTY ELSEWHERE WERE CRIMINALS.

22. I SAID WITH REGARD RESOLVING DISPUTES BETWEEN US IT US THAT PROPOSED AS FIRST STEP WE MAKE IT CLEAR THERE WOULD BE NO HOSTILITIES BETWEEN US. IT US WHICH PROPOSED IT BE MADE UNCONDITIONALLY CLEAR THIS COVERED MOST SERIOUS DISPUTE BETWEEN US. IT HIS GOVERNMENT THAT STILL REFUSED THIS SIMPLE BASIC PROPOSITION. IT HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH STILL THREATENED USE FORCE. THESE WERE FACTS THAT COULD NOT BE OBSCURED AND WHICH READILY UNDERSTANDABLE BY ALL.

23. WANG DENIED THAT THEY HAD IN COURSE THESE NEGOTIATIONS REJECTED ANY REASONABLE PROPOSALS I HAD MADE. THEY DID NOT JUDGE PROPOSALS ON THEIR APPEARANCE BUT ON SUBSTANCE AND CONTENT. THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT PROPOSAL SUCH AS I HAD MADE THAT SEEMED SAY WHAT IS MINE IS MINE AND WHAT IS YOURS IS MINE. ANY SUCH PROPOSAL COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED BY HIS SIDE. HE HOPED MY SIDE WOULD GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION TO PROPOSAL HE HAD MADE THIS MORNING FOR REMOVING BARRIERS TO MUTUAL CONTACT AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE-AS WELL AS TO LIFTING OF EMBARGO-- AND HE LOOKED FORWARD TO ANY RESULT OF SUCH CONSIDERATION. AT TIME WHEN PEOPLES OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES WERE EXCHANGING MORE AND MORE VISITS FOR US ARBITRARILY TO SET UP ARITIFICIAL BARRIERS TO SUCH EXCHANGE SIMPLY NOT REASONABLE. THEY REGRETTED THAT UP TO NOW PEOPLES OF CHINA AND US COULD NOT HAVE NORMAL UNINTERRUPTED EXCHANGES.

POPPER

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INCOMING TELEGRAM **Department of State**

ACTION COPY

Action Assigned to ... Action Taken ...

57
Action
FE

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 12590
Rec'd: SEPTEMBER 22, 1956
3:34 PM

Info
RMR
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 303, SEPTEMBER 22, 4 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

Action Office Symbol ...
Name of Officer ...
Direction to DC/R ...

24. WANG RECALLED SOME TIME AGO COMMEMORATIVE CONFERENCE HELD IN PEKING IN HONOR AMERICAN POET WHITMAN AND THEY HAD EXTENDED INVITATION TO NUMBER OUTSTANDING REPRESENTATIVES AMERICAN LITERATURE AND ARTS BUT REGRETTABLY THESE PERSONS HAD BEEN DENIED PASSPORTS TO COME CHINA TAKE PART THAT CONFERENCE. DESPITE OPPOSITION AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AGAINST VISITS OF AMERICAN JOURNALISTS TO CHINA THERE STILL GREAT NUMBER JOURNALISTS WHO DESIRED COME THEIR COUNTRY AND WHO MAKING EVERY EFFORT BREAK THROUGH BARRIERS. WANG RECALLED THAT PEKING OPERA COMPANY HAD ALREADY SIGNED CONTRACT WITH AMERICAN THEATRICAL COMPANY FOR EXCHANGE VISITS BUT DUE US GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION CONTRACT COULD NOT BE REALIZED. DURING PERFORMANCE CHINESE ACROBATICAL TROUPE HERE IN SWITZERLAND ACROBATIC COMPANY RECEIVED INQUIRES FROM US AND REQUESTS FOR TICKETS SO THAT AMERICAN TOURISTS WHO CAME HERE MIGHT HAVE OPPORTUNITY SEEING THEIR PERFORMANCE. ALL THIS INDICATED FERVENT DESIRE AMONG PEOPLE FOR CULTURAL EXCHANGE. AS WANG KNEW WE HERE HAD SEEN PERFORMANCES PEKING OPERA AND ACROBATIC TROUPE. COULD ANY OF US GENTLEMAN SAY THESE PERFORMANCES CONTAINED MANY POLITICAL PROPAGANDA? THEY WERE SORRY THEY HAD NOT HAD OPPORTUNITY SEE AMERICAN THEATER BUT WERE SURE THEY WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING AMERICAN THEATER. THIS SHOWED THAT FEELING AND DESIRE OF TWO PEOPLE WERE SAME.

25. WANG UNDERSTOOD LT. COL. EKVALL VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN STUDIES OF CHINESE NATIONAL MINORITIES AND HAD ACTUALLY WRITTEN SOME WORKS IN THAT RESPECT. THEY WOULD WELCOME LT. COL. EKVALL SOMETIME VISITING THEIR COUNTRY SO HE COULD CONTINUE WORK AND ACHIEVE DESIRES. OR COULD THERE BE ANY HARM DONE TO US IF LT. COL. EKVALL WERE TO COME TO CHINA AND COMPLETE WORK? AS WANG HAD SAID SUCH EXCHANGES WERE IN INTEREST

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BOTH COUNTRIES AND THEY WOULD HOPE US WOULD GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION THEIR PROPOSAL THIS RESPECT.

26. I SAID IF WANG'S COUNTRY REALLY INTERESTED IN IMPROVING RELATIONS I COULD NOT TOO STRONGLY STRESS THAT IT FUNDAMENTAL IT ABANDON ITS POLICY OF HOSTILITY AND THREATS OF FORCE INVOLVING US AND AGREE OUR DIFFERENCES WOULD BE SETTLED ONLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS, AND DEMONSTRATE ITS WILLINGNESS CARRY OUT FIRST AGREEMENT WE REACHED. I AND MY GOVERNMENT CONTINUED HOPE THIS COULD COME QUICKLY.

27. WANG HOPED I WOULD BE IN POSITION GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION TO PROPOSAL THEY HAD MADE AT NEXT MEETING.

28. WANG SAID HE HAD NOTHING FURTHER AND SUGGESTED NEXT MEETING BE HELD THURSDAY, OCTOBER 4. I AGREED.

POPPER

DT

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1976 SEP 24 AM 7 51
OFFICE OF
RECORDS

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Review Again _____
☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 27 1956

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

September 22, 1956

SECRET

Letter No. 45

Dear Walter:

Well the 58th meeting is over. There is not much to add to what I have said in my telegrams. Their exchange proposal is obviously designed to produce something having more public appeal than trade. Based on the reaction to the correspondents' question they probably estimate it will even obtain considerable response in the U.S. I, therefore, look to their releasing it as quickly as they can complete the basis for doing so.

We have been speculating on what they might next try along this line. It has occurred to us that one possibility would be a proposal from them for a technical arrangement, understanding, or something else of this nature to avoid such incidents as the shooting down of the Naval patrol plane. This has many possible ramifications which would lend themselves to exploitation by them if we refused to consider it.

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

Declassified for Publication in Foreign Relations of the United States

Lot 72 D 415

Wang's tone at today's meeting was that of injured innocence, trying to make it as hard as he could for me to take a tough line. You will see that he did not even mention Chinese in the U.S.

I suppose our telegrams crossed with regard to their press release yesterday, but I was happy to see we were in entire agreement. I was under considerable pressure to say something here on it, but decided not to do so as it did not contain anything new that required immediate correction, they fairly accurately representing the fact that we had refused to discuss trade. Also, I had previously told you I was not going to put out anything here. Although I had said this on the assumption I would be in Prague when the release was made, I feared I might cross wires with the Department. I also thought it was such a dud of a statement that it would only serve to build it up if I did say anything.

However, I still feel they are building toward a major move around election time, and that a continuation of the present trend will at least result in their terminating or suspending the talks shortly after the elections as a means of attempting to bring increased pressure on us.

Thanks very much for the full information on the

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prisoner interviews contained in your letter of Sept. 13. I thoroughly agree that the Red Cross seems to have done an excellent job and I have all the material necessary to exploit and defend the results.

I suppose it will be some time until we know the results of the efforts to send reading material to the remaining prisoners but will be interested in hearing when we know.

I thoroughly agree with para 8 of Col. Monroe's interesting memorandum on his talks with the MAC. As far as practical results are concerned we cannot expect to obtain anything more here than what I have already obtained, that is, renewal of discussion in the MAC. It seems to me the most promising line of action is the suggestion that a sub-group of the MAC fully armed with every available fact on every individual undertake a straight-forward case by case appraoch to each indiyidual.

I have sent you the memo of my conversation with Senator Mansfield. As you will see nothing unusual or difficult developed.

As I feel confident there will not be any move on their part before the next meeting I am suggesting that Dave and Helenka make their trip to Prague during the interval, and they will probably do so.

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Regards to all,

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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723

Number 1 of 6 copies, Series A

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SECRET

TO : FE - Mr. Robertson

DATE: October 1, 1956

FROM : CA - Walter P. McConaughy

SUBJECT: Adverse Effects of Geneva Talks.

Reference: Your Oral Request of September 27.

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS OCT 5 - 1956 4453

Wang - Johnson talks

1. The talks create doubts throughout Asia concerning the steadfastness of American opposition to Communist China. They encourage the belief that the United States is seeking to negotiate privately a "deal" with Peiping which would leave in the lurch our Asian friends who have been following our lead on China policy. The secrecy and the long duration of the talks lend color to this suspicion. This plays into the hands of all of those throughout Asia who advocate policies of closer relationships for their countries with Communist China. (See Tab A for documentation).

2. The talks are no longer an effective means of bringing about the release of our imprisoned citizens. They may now have the opposite effect. If the Chinese Communists consider the talks of value to them (which they evidently do) they may continue to hold some Americans hostage to ensure that the talks continue. They may estimate that if all Americans were freed we would have attained our objective and immediately terminate the talks.

3. It is damaging to American prestige, particularly in Asia, for the U.S. to go on talking with a regime which is brazenly violating the only commitment they have made to us in the course of the talks. It would be more in keeping with our national dignity and would be readily understood throughout the world if we were to refuse to talk any longer with a regime which has shown its contempt for us by flouting its word. The tactical advantages we have obtained at Geneva could be preserved by the right type of break-off statement, which would emphasize that we would welcome at any time a bona fide Chinese Communist renunciation of force declaration.

4. The talks are not a conclusive factor in preventing a Chinese Communist attack on Taiwan or the offshore islands since the initiation of the Communist "smiles" campaign. The major deterrent is the presence of powerful American armed forces. The second important deterrent is the Chinese Communist desire to maintain a peaceful posture before the world. These two factors would continue to operate, even though the talks were terminated.

5. The talks are regarded with great antipathy and misgivings in Taiwan. We have made unusual efforts to reassure the GRC, without any success in allaying their apprehensions. Nothing would give a greater

boost

SECRET

FE : CA : FN Clough : WP McConaughy : emn : ikb

boost to morale on Taiwan than for the U.S. to break off the talks. As they see it, we have given the Communists a chance to undermine the whole anti-Communist position in Asia by merely releasing ten American citizens and signing an Announcement which would in fact be worthless.

6. The Chinese Communists are eager to establish a posture of desiring relations of every kind with the United States. Our policy is to deal with them only when we must. Under these circumstances, the Communists have the initiative in the talks, being in a position to make (and to publicize at the opportune moment for them) proposal after proposal of a seemingly praiseworthy character, such as those on trade and free travel and cultural exchanges which we must reject. This keeps us on the defensive and gives the Communists a great advantage.

Attachment:

Tab A.

1. Telegram from Taipei, Jan. 26, 1956.
2. Memorandum from Mr. McConaughy to Mr. Robertson, Feb. 9, 1956.
3. Letter from Drumright to Mr. McConaughy, Mar. 6, 1956.
4. Bangkok's Telegram No. 841, Sept. 24, 1956.
5. Bangkok's Telegram No. 905, Oct. 1, 1956.
6. Letter from Ambassador Rankin to Mr. McConaughy, Aug. 3, 1956.

FE:GA:RHClough:WPMcConaughy:emm:ikb

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Lot 72 D 415

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☐ Review Again _____
☐ Reviewer: _____ Date
October 1, 1956
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9/5/[illegible]

Letter No. 56

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

Dear Alex:

We agree with you that the Agreed Announcement on increased human contacts which Wang proposed last meeting is designed for early public exploitation. You handled it very well and we will probably adopt a somewhat similar approach should we be called upon to make a public statement.

We were glad that you resisted the pressure to comment at Geneva on the last Chinese Communist press release. Your comment as you say would only serve to build up their statement.

While it is impossible to be certain in these matters, we consider it unlikely that the Communists are moving toward a break off or suspension of the talks. Ever since the beginning of the year they have periodically accused us of stalling and intimated that they might break off the talks. However they are still talking. We think, given the present world situation and the Chinese Communist "peaceful" posture, that it would not be easy for Peiping to terminate the talks.

We have succeeded in setting up a procedure for sending reading material to the remaining prisoners. MATS will carry the packages free

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva

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of charge to Hong Kong where they will be forwarded by the Army Liaison Officer to Downey and Fecteau and by the Consulate to the others.

We have made preliminary inquiries about shifting Helenka to a daily contractual basis. There seems to be no insuperable obstacle to this so we are getting the paper work started today.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

CA:RNClough/ikb

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 725

INDICATE [ ] COLLECT
[X] CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

01177 759
1956 OCT 2 PM 8 39
DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 374

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for October 4 meeting:

1. In connection with Communist proposal that there be announcement on cultural exchange US position is that there can be no ~~possibility~~ such exchange while US citizens held in Communist jails and in violation Agreed Announcement. Point out how inconsistent with cultural relations is the refusal of Communists to make meaningful renunciation of force.

2. Refer to exchange of public statements on trade restrictions and read Department's September 24 statement into record.

3. If Wang should attempt open discussion on trade repeat reasons why we must decline to discuss.

4. FYI Results of last exchange of public statements confirm our view that US in strong position and should continue rest its case without any modification whatever on refusal Chinese Communists either renounce force or release Americans. Your argumentation on these points has been sound and effective. END FYI

J. Foster Dulles

Drafted by: L:HPhleger:CA:RNColbaugh:emm 10/1/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

Cleared: L - Mr. Phleger
FE - Mr. Sebald
FE - Mr. Roberts
CA - Mr. McConaughy

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726

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

760

ACTION COPY

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32-L
Action
FE

Info
RMR

Control: 2528
Rec'd: OCTOBER 4 1956
10:28 A.M.

CA1101/6

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 359, OCTOBER 4, 2 P.M.

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

TWO HOUR TEN MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. WANG OPENED WITH LONG PREPARED STATEMENT "REVIEWING GROUND" AT BEGINNING FIFTEENTH MONTH GOING OVER FAMILIAR GROUND RENEWING CHARGE US ATTEMPTING OBTAIN PRC ABANDONMENT TERRITORY AND SOVEREIGNTY AND AS RESULT US INTRANSIGENCE "TALKS HAVE BECOME DEADLOCKED," "US PURPOSEFULLY PROCRASTINATING MEETINGS." IT IS UP TO US STOP USING FORCE AND THREAT OF FORCE AGAINST PRC. CHARGE OF SEPTEMBER 24 STATEMENT PRC HOLDING AMERICANS POLITICAL HOSTAGES IS "SLANDER." PRC LIST OF 55, 52 CHINESE NOT YET RETURNED, AND OF US LIST OF 103, 26 NOT YET RETURNED. US STILL HOLDING CHINESE IN PRISON AND SHOULD "ADOPT MEASURES ON OWN INITIATIVE IN SAME MANNER AS PRC ENABLE THEM EXERCISE RIGHT TO RETURN." US USING CHARGES ON CIVILIANS AS PRETEXT TO COVER UP PROCRASTINATION IN MEETINGS. IN ORDER BREAK DEADLOCK PRC HAD MADE EMBARGO AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROPOSALS. FAILURE MAKE PROGRESS ON MAIN ISSUE RENUNCIATION SHOULD NOT STOP EFFORT MAKE PROGRESS ON MINOR ISSUES. IN VIEW PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S GENEVA PROPOSAL ON CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND CONTACTS, NO REASON FOR US REFUSE PRC PROPOSAL THIS FIELD.

I MADE LONG EXTEMPORANEOUS STATEMENT IN REPLY INCORPORATING FIRST THREE PARAS DEPTEL 374, AS I HAD PREVIOUSLY SENT HIM COPY SEPTEMBER 24 STATEMENT AND HE REFERRED TO IT IN OPENING STATEMENT, I DID NOT READ OUT FULL TEXT AS MEETING BUT WOVE IN

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WOVE IN SUBSTANTIVE LANGUAGE AT APPROPRIATE POINTS). CHARGED THEM WITH PROCRASTINATING ON RENUNCIATION POINTING OUT THAT WHENEVER AGREEMENT SEEMED NEAR THEY RETREATED TO PLEAS OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS SOVERIGNTY, ETC. MADE LONG CHARGE ON MISTREATMENT AMERICANS IN CHINA INCLUDING NUMBERS OF THOSE IMPRISONED, NUMBERS THOSE WHO DIED, ETC., LEADING UP TO CHARGE THAT PRC IS ONE WHO HAD CUT OFF CULTURAL AND HUMAN CONTACTS, AND COMING BACK TO FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE IMPLEMENTATION SEPTEMBER 10 ANNOUNCEMENT. DURING COURSE THIS STATEMENT I MADE IT ENTIRELY CLEAR NO DISCUSSION TRADE OR CULTURAL EXCHANGE UNTIL RENUNCIATION FORCE AND RELEASE OF AMERICANS ACHIEVED.

IN REPLY WANG CHARGED ME WITH TRYING TO "POISON" OUR NEGOTIATIONS AND DURING COURSE REBUTTAL REFERRED TO THREE GROUPS AMERICANS IN CHINA: THOSE WHO CONTINUE RESIDE FREELY; THOSE WHO OPPOSED CHINESE PEOPLE; AND THOSE "DROPPED FROM AIR CARRYING POISON, PISTOLS AND BOMBS." DID I EXPECT THEM TREAT LATTER AS DISTINGUISHED GUESTS? CITED LONG LIST ALLEGED US WRONGS AGAINST "CHINESE PEOPLE" BOMBINGS, OCCUPATION TERRITORY ETC., ETC., AND FOR FIRST TIME IN TALKS MENTIONED UN MEMBERSHIP, ALLEGING US PRESSURE ON OTHERS DENY PRC LEGITIMATE RIGHTS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS INCLUDING REPRESENTATION UN. PRC ATTEMPTING BY EVERY MEANS IMPROVE RELATIONS. IF US INTENDS USE TALKS POISON RELATIONS "WHAT IS GOOD OF CONTINUING SUCH TALKS." PRC EFFORTS SHOWN BY SUCCESSIVE DRAFT PROPOSALS. WITH RESPECT CULTURAL RELATIONS AMERICANS ARE PROTESTING AGAINST OWN GOVERNMENT'S DENIAL PERMISSION JOURNALISTS VISIT CHINA AND APPEARS AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS LOST CONFIDENCE IN OWN PEOPLE AS WELL AS SYSTEM. PRC MADE CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROPOSAL "IN FRIENDLY SPIRIT." FAILURE US GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION THIS PROPOSAL WOULD REQUIRE PRC CONSIDER GIVING PUBLICITY THERETO.

MEETING CLOSED WITH MY RENEWING CHARGE PRC PROCRASTINATING ON ACCEPTING SIMPLE AND FUNDAMENTAL RENUNCIATION FORCE PROPOSAL AS

PROPOSAL AS WELL AS ON CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED ON RELEASE AMERICAN. I REFUTED HIS LACK CONFIDENCE CHARGE AND WHILE REGRETTING THEIR THREAT AGAIN GO TO PUDLIC, EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE WOULD COULD JUDGE.

NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18. DEPARTING PRAGUE TOMORROW MORNING.

GOWEN

OKY

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Control: 2685
Rec'd: OCTOBER 4, 1956
2:18 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 362, OCTOBER 4, 4 PM

Action Assigned to CA/D

Action Taken

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

WANG TOOK EXPECTED LINE WHICH FITS IN WITH PREVIOUS PATTERN AND REAFFIRMS MY BELIEF THEY ARE ATTEMPTING PUT SELVES IN POSITION CARRY OUT BREAK OR INDEFINITE RECESS WITHIN NEXT FEW MEETINGS.

HIS STATEMENT ON PUBLIC RELEASE CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROPOSAL WAS SOMEWHAT MORE TENTATIVE THAN PREVIOUS SIMILAR STATEMENTS BUT NEVERTHELESS CONSIDER ODDS ARE THEY WILL MAKE RELEASE BEFORE NEXT MEETING. STATEMENT WILL PROBABLY FOLLOW LINES HIS OPENING STATMENT THIS MORNING AND CAN ESPECIALLY BE EXPECTED WILL ATTEMPT CAPITALIZE ON GENEVA SUMMIT CONFERENCE EXCHANGE PROPOSALS. IF STATEMENT ISSUED PLAN MAKE NO COMMENT HERE UNLESS IT CONTAINS NEW AND GROSS MISSTATEMENTS FACT WHICH REQUIRE IMMEDIATE CORRECTION AND I AM IN GENEVA AT TIME.

GOWEN

VMM

OCT 4 PM 4 27

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44-48

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Action
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 363, OCTOBER 4, 6 P.M. (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

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Control: 2919
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OCTOBER 4, 1956
9:57 PM
Date of Action
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Direction to DC/R

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1. WANG OPENED 59TH WITH PREPARED STATEMENT SAYING AS TALKS ENTERED FIFTEENTH MONTH WOULD NOT BE WITHOUT PURPOSE TO REVIEW GROUND CONVERED SINCE LAST AUGUST SO AS TO OBTAIN BETTER APPRECIATION POSITION WHERE WE FOUND SELVES AT MOMENT. WHEN DISCUSSIONS FIRST ITEM ENDED IN AGREEMENT AND TALKS SHIFTED TO SECOND ITEM, MY SIDE INTRODUCED RENUNCIATION FORCE SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION. IN INTERESTS MAKING PROGRESS AND WITH DESIRE REACH PRACTICAL FEASIBLE AGREEMENT THIS, THEIR SIDE SUCCESSIVELY MADE IMPORTANT EFFORTS IN FORM THREE DRAFTS, WHEREAS MY SIDE ALL ALONG BEEN HOLDING ON UNJUSTIFIABLE POSITION OF INTERFERING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND ENCROACHING ON SOVEREIGNTY OF CHINA.

2. WANG CONTINUED AFTER MY ORIGINAL PORPOSAL BEEN TURNED DOWN MY SUBSEQUENT AMENDMENTS HAD INVARIABLY RETAINED SAME ESSENCE. AS PER CHINESE SAYING, WATER IN POT MIGHT BE RENEWED BUT POT REMAINED SAME. US WAS FOND OF SAYING IT DID NOT REQUIRE THEIR SIDE ABANDON ITS POSITION, YET IN PRACTICE MY SIDE INVARIABLY DEMANDED THEY ABANDON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVEREIGNTY WHILE HOLDING ON TO OUR OWN UNREASONABLE POSITION. MY SIDE ALSO VERY FOND OF SAYING WE ACCEPTED DECEMBER 1 DRAFT WITH ONLY WHAT WE CALLED MINIMUM CHANGES, YET SO-CALLED MINIMUM CHANGES ALWAYS TURNED OUT TO BE MAXIMUM CHANGES IN SUBSTANCE OF THEIR PROPOSALS.

3. WANG SAID AS RESULT INTRANSIGENCE MY SIDE IN ITS DEMANDS INTERFERING CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS, ENCROACHING SOVEREIGNTY HIS COUNTRY, OUR TALKS HAD COME TO DEADLOCK. JUST WHERE

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JUST WHERE BLAME FOR FAILURE THUS FAR REACH AGREEMENT SHOULD LIE QUITE CLEAR. HOWEVER, MY SIDE REPEATEDLY BEEN TRYING WITHIN AND WITHOUT CONFERENCE TO DISTORT TRUE PICTURE EVENTS, IN ATTEMPT SHIRK RESPONSIBILITY. HE PARTICULARLY REFERRED TO STATEMENT ISSUED BY MY GOVERNMENT CHARGING THEIR SIDE WITH CONTINUING REFUSE RENOUNCE FORCE TAIWAN AREA. IT MIGHTIT MIGHT WELL BE ASKED, AFTER ALL, WHO WAS USING FORCE AGAINST WHOM IN TAIWAN AREA? OBVIOUSLY THERE DID NOT EXIST AT PRESENT ANY SITUATION IN WHICH CHINA FOUND USING FORCE AGAINST AMERICAN TERRITORY. IT ENTIRELY MATTER OF CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AS TO BY WHAT MEANS CHINA WOULD LIBERATE OWN SOVEREIGN TERRITORY. CRUX OF WHOLE MATTER WAS RATHER FOR US GOVERNMENT STOP INTERFERENCE CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND RENOUNCE USE FORCE IN TAIWAN AREA. COULD NOT BE ANYTHING OTHER THAN THIS.

4. WANG SAID SEPTEMBER 24 STATEMENT OF US ONCE AGAIN DISTORTED FACTS BY SLANDERING THEIR SIDE WITH CHARGE OF HOLDING AMERICANS AS POLITICAL HOSTAGES. TEN AMERICANS STILL HELD WERE PERSONS LAWFULLY SENTENCED FOR BREAKING CHINA'S LAWS. INSOFAR AS LAW-ABIDING AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY CONCERNED, THEY ALWAYS FREE CHOOSE WHETHER TO RETURN OR RESIDE CHINA SUBSEQUENT TO AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 10, WANG'S GOVERNMENT HAD TAKEN FURTHER MEASURES OF LENIENCY IN GRANTING RELEASE OF GREATER PART AMERICANS. COULD THUS BE SEEN IT HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH BEEN FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT. IN CONTRAST, MY GOVERNMENT STILL FAILED FULLY CARRY OUT AGREEMENT. US STILL FAILED GIVE THEM COMPLETE LIST CHINESE US. OF 55 PERSONS WHOSE NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME, 52 STILL NOT RETURNED, AND MY SIDE STILL FAILED ACCOUNT THEM. OF 103 PERSONS ON LIST I GAVE HIM, 26 STILL NOT RETURNED AND WE STILL FAILED GIVE ACCOUNTING THEM. US STILL HELD MANY CHINESE IN PRISON. HOWEVER THEIR SIDE NOT MAKING CHARGE WE HOLDING THEM AS POLITICAL

POLITICAL HOSTAGES. THEIR SIDE ONLY REQUESTED US ON OWN INITIATIVE ADOPT MEASURES SIMILAR TO WHAT THEY HAD DONE TO ENABLE THESE PERSONS EXERCISE RIGHT RETURN. DISTORTIONS AND SLANDER FREELY RESORTED TO BY MY SIDE ON QUESTION CIVILIANS WERE NO MORE THAN ATTEMPT TO COVER UP PROCRASTINATION OF TALKS WITHOUT INTENT OF SEEKING SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS. HOWEVER, FACTS COULD NOT BE SO EASILY COVERED UP.

5. WANG CONTINUED AS RESULT INTRANSIGENCE MY SIDE IN UNREASONABLE POSITION, TALKS HAD COME TO PROLONGED DEADLOCK. SO THAT NO POSSIBLE MEANS FOR SOLUTION OF CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES BETWEEN CHINA-AMERICA WOULD SLIP THROUGH FINGERS, THEIR SIDE HAD INTRODUCED PRACTICAL FEASIBLE PROPOSAL FROM REMOVING EMBARGO. AS WANG HAD SAID, IF WE COULD REACH AGREEMENT THIS PROBLEM IT WOULD NOT ONLY RESOLVE THAT ISSUE BUT WOULD ALSO EXERT FAVORABLE INFLUENCE ON SETTLEMENT OTHER ISSUES. THUS FAR, HOWEVER, US HAD NOT SHOWN WILLINGNESS GIVE EARNEST CONSIDERATION THIS FAIR AND REASONABLE PROPOSAL. POSITION MY SIDE ON THIS WAS UNTENABLE.

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Control: 2948

Rec'd: OCTOBER 4, 1956
10:59 PM

Date of Action

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Initials of Officer

Direction to DC/R

Action
FE

Info
RMR
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SP
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L

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 363, OCTOBER 4, 6 PM (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

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FROM JOHNSON

6. WANG SAID MY SIDE HAD ON ONE HAND CONTINUED PERSIST IN DEMAND ENCROACHING ON SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERFERRING INTERNAL AFFAIRS CHINA, SO THAT BOTH SIDES COULD NOT ARRIVE AT AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE, YET ON OTHER HAND MY SIDE HAD MADE AGREEMENT ON THIS PREREQUISITE FOR DISCUSSION OF EMBARGO. THUS MY SIDE HAD ONCE MORE BLOCKED WAY TO PROGRESS IN TALKS.

IN SPITE THIS ATTITUDE MY SIDE CONTINUED OLD IN THESE TALKS, WHICH DID NOT IN ANY WAY CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS, NEVERTHELESS, THEIR SIDE STILL, INSPIRED BY SPIRIT OF DESIRE FOR PROGRESS, MADE YET ANOTHER PROPOSAL TO PROMOTE HUMAN CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN TWO PEOPLES. FAR AS HIS COUNTRY CONCERNED IT CONSISTENT POLICY HIS GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGE AND PROMOTE FRIENDLY EXCHANGES BETWEEN PEOPLE HIS COUNTRY AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF WORLD. THAT BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN PEOPLE OF WORLD WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THEIR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND REMOVE DOUBTS.

7. WANG SAID THEY HAD NOT CHANGED THEIR POLICY BECAUSE US GOVERNMENT CONSISTENTLY CARRYING ON POLICY OF HOSTILITY AGAINST WANG'S COUNTRY. ON CONTRARY THEY CONSIDERED THERE DID EXIST LONG HISTORY FRIENDSHIP AND CONTACT BETWEEN CHINESE AND AMERICAN PEOPLES. EARLIER THEY HAD TAKEN INITIATIVE IN ADOPTING MEASURES FACILITATE AMERICAN JOURNALISTS MAKING NEWS COVERAGE IN CHINA. PROPOSAL THEY HAD MADE WOULD SERVE TO RE-ESTABLISH CONTACT, FOR WHOSE RUPTURE THEIR SIDE BORE NO RESPONSIBILITY

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RESPONSIBILITY. IT THEIR BELIEF THAT BOTH CHINESE AND AMERICAN PEOPLE CHERISHED STRONG DESIRE THIS REGARD. IT ALSO THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT DURING CONFERENCE HEADS STATE HELD HERE LAST YEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MADE PROPOSALS FOR EXCHANGE OF IDFAS AND CONTACT BETWEEN PEOPLES. IN ITS OFFICIAL STATEMENTS MY GOVERNMENT HAD ALSO ON MANY OCCASIONS DECLARED ITSELF IN SUPPORT THIS IDEA. IT COULD THEREFORE BE ASSUMED THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON SUCH MATTER, WHERE WE FOUND SUCH IDENTITY BETWEEN VIEWS TWO GOVERNMENTS.

8. WANG CONTINUED WE NOW FOUND SELVES IN FIFTEENTH MONTH OUR NEGOTIATIONS. IF WE STILL FAIL ACHIEVE SOMETHING AT THIS JUNCTURE, WE GREATLY DISAPPOINT PEOPLE OF WORLD AND OF OWN COUNTRIES. IT SEEMED TO HIM IF WE REALLY DESIRED MAKE PROGRESS IN SOLVING PROBLEMS WE SHOULD CONDUCT EARNEST NEGOTIATIONS; FOR TO INTRODUCE PREREQUISITES WOULD NOT PRODUCE ANY RESULTS. HE CONTINUED HOPE THAT THIS MORNING I WOULD BE ABLE GIVE FAVORABLE VIEWS ON PROPOSALS THEIR SIDE HAD MADE FOR LIFTING EMBARGO AND FOR CULTURAL EXCHANGE RESPECTIVELY.

9. I REPLIED HIS VIEW OF NEGOTIATION STILL APPEARS BE ALL TAKE AND NO GIVE. I REGRETTED THIS APPEARS STILL BE CASE AS HARD SEE HOW PROGRESS CAN BE ACHIEVED UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES. I AGREED IT IMPORTANT WE BE CLEAR IN MINDS WHY WE AT STAGE WE ARE AFTER FOURTEEN MONTHS DISCUSSION. THERE WERE TWO SIMPLE STRAIGHTFORWARD, REASONABLE AND MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS OBJECTIVES WHICH HAVE BEEN SOUGHT BY MY GOVERNMENT AT THIS STAGE. FIRST THESE WAS THAT OF RELEASE AMERICAN CITIZENS HELD IN HIS COUNTRY. WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY WAS IT THAT AFTER FOURTEEN MONTHS THIS OBJECTIVE STILL NOT ACHIEVED; IT CERTAINLY NOT RESPONSIBILITY MY GOVERNMENT. WHO HAD FAILED RELEASE THESE PEOPLE IN SPITE OUR CLEAR AGREEMENT ON SUBJECT. IT HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH AFTER 14 MONTHS CONTINUED HOLD THESE PEOPLE

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PEOPLE; I HAD POINTED OUT AT VERY OUTSET THESE TALKS GREAT IMPORTANCE THIS SUBJECT AS FAR AS FUTURE OUR RELATIONS CONCERNED. HE FREELY ENTERED INTO AGREEMENT WITH ME WHICH CLEARLY COVERED, AND I HAD THOUGHT DISPOSED OF, THIS QUESTION. FAILURE CARRY OUT THIS AGREEMENT COULD NOW BE EXCUSED BY RETREATING INTO PLEA THIS INVOLVED INTERNATIONAL MATTERS AND DOMESTIC AFFFAIRS. EVERY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT TO GREATER OR LESSER EXTENT INVOLVED SOVEREIGN AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS. IF AFTER ENTERING INTO SUCH AGREEMENT GOVERNMENT SHOULD PLEAD THAT IT COULD NOT PERFORM THEM BECAUSE INVOLVED SOVEREIGN AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS, INTERNATIONAL NAGREEMENT WOULD HAVE LITTLE MEANING. IN FACT INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WOULD DETERIORATE INTO CHAOS. THIS FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US HAD TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE AND POTENTIALITIES FOR FUTURE OUR RELATIONS. I HAD ENTERED INTO IT WITH MUCH HOPE AND OPTIMISM. FAILURE CARRY IT OUT HAD SORELY TRIED THAT HOPE AND OPTIMISM AS WELL AS PATIENCE. I DID NOT UNDERSTAND HOW HE COULD TERM OUR POINTING OUT CLEAR FACT OF FAILURE CARRY OUT THIS AGREEMENT AS DISTORTION AND SLANDER. PROCRASTINATION ENTIRELY PART HIS AUTHORITIES. THEY WERE ONES THAT HAVE IT IN THEIR POWER STOP THEIR PROCRASTINATION IN CARRYING OUT THIS AGREEMENT. DID NO GOOD TRY CONFUSE AND OBSCURE THIS ISSUE BY TALKING ABOUT LISTS CHINESE IN US. BOTH OF US KNEW PERFECTLY WELL UNDER TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT NO OBLIGATION ON PART US TO FURNISH ANY LIST CHINESE IN US. BOTH OF US KNEW PERFECTLY WELL SUCH LISTS HAVE NO RELATION TO ABILITY CHINESE IN US RETURN HIS COUNTRY IF DESIRE DO SO. THERE ONLY ONE QUESTION: ARE THEY ABLE RETURN IF DESIRE DO SO? BOTH OF US KNEW PERFECTLY WELL NOT BEEN SINGLE CASE ANY OBSTRUCTION TO THEIR RETURN ALLEGED THROUGH MECHANISM ESTABLISHED THAT PURPOSE.

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Control: 2811
Rec'd: OCTOBER 4, 1956
5:02 P.M.

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RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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NO: 363, OCTOBER 4, 6 PM (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

10. I CONTINUED OTHER IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE SOUGHT BY MY GOVERNMENT WAS RENUNCIATION FORCE WHICH WOULD SPECIFICALLY APPLY TO MOST SERIOUS DISPUTE BETWEEN US. THAT OBJECTIVE ALSO NOT BEEN ACHIEVED. WHENEVER APPEARED WE CLOSE TO ACHIEVING IT HIS SIDE HAD RETREATED INTO PLEAS OF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, INTERNAL AFFAIRS, SOVEREIGNTY, OTHER SUCH TERMS. USE OF SUCH TERMS DID NOT OBSCURE FACT THAT HIS GOVERNNMENT STILL REFUSED MAKE CLEAR-CUT UNQUALIFIED ENUNCIALION FORCE. HERE AGAIN PROCRASTINATION ENTIRELY ON HIS SIDE. I HAD TRIED THROUGHOUT DISCUSSSION OF THIS TO POINT OUT FIRST AND IMMEDIATE QUESTION NOT WHETHER THIS INTERNAL AFFAIR OR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIR OR ANY OTHER KIND AFFAIR OR OTHERWISE TO GET INTO MERITS OF THIS WHOLE COMPLICATED ISSUE.

11. I CONTINUED OVERWHELMINGLY MOST IMPORTANT AND FIRST ASPECT OF IT WAS WHETHER WE GOING TO PERMIT OUR DIFFERENCES--AND CERTAINLY THERE ARE DIFFERENCES--TO PLUNGE OUR TWO PEOPLES INTO CATACLYSM OF WAR. THIS TRANSCENDENTAL ISSUE AND CANNOT BE CONCEALED BY DISTORTING PROPOSALS I MADE BY MAKING THEM APPEAR SAY THINGS DID NOT SAY OR BY MAKING OTHER PROPOSALS WHICH AVOID ISSUE. HE SIMPLY COULD NOT GET AROUND FACT MY PROPOSALS BEEN SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD. WITHOUT PREJUDICING HIS POSITION IN ANY WAY--IN FACT I HAD SPECIFICALLY SAID SO IN MY PROPOSALS--WE SIMPLY MAKE IT CLEAR THAT RENUNCIATION FORCE DID SPECIFICALLY APPLY TO TAIWAN, HE SIMPLY COULD NOT GET AROUND FACT IT HIS SIDE WHICH CONTINUES THREATEN USE FORCE THAT AREA IF COULD NOT OTHERWISE ATTAIN ENDS. HE COULD NOT GET AROUND FACT IT HIS SIDE WHICH THUS FAR PROCRASTINATED AND REFUSED RENOUNCE USE THREAT FORCE THAT AREA.

12. I CONTINUED HAD HOPE HE WOULD GIVE UP INSISTANCE WE DIGRESS FROM THIS FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE TO SUBORDINATE MATTERS.

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UNTIL THIS FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE RESOLVED, HARD SEE HOW SUBORDINATE MATTERS COULD BE RESOLVED. IN TREATING PATIENT ONE DEALS WITH SOURCE AND CAUSE OF DISEASE RATHER THAN WITH SYMPTOMS. AS HAD POINTED OUT TO HIM HERE AND AS POINTED OUT IN DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT SEPTEMBER 24 TO WHICH WE REFERRED, IT HARDLY REASONABLE EXPECT US DISCUSS RELAXATION ITS TRADE RESTRICTIONS WHEN TRADE THAT WOULD RESULT FROM SUCH RELAXATION WOULD STRENGTHEN REGIME WHICH REFUSES RENOUNCE USE FORCE AGAINST US. AS THAT RELEASE ALSO POINTED OUT AND I POINTED OUT TO HIM PREVIOUSLY HERE, MY GOVERNMENT ALSO NOT PREPARED ENTER INTO SUCH DISCUSSIONS AT TIME WHEN AMERICAN CITIZENS CONTINUE BE HELD AS POLITICAL HOSTAGES DESPITE PLEDGE OF SEPTEMBER 10 LAST YEAR TO PERMIT THEM EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT RETURN. THAT RELEASE USES TERM POLITICAL HOSTAGES AND I USED TERM HERE ADVISEDLY. I DONE THIS BECAUSE HIS STATEMENTS HERE ASWELL AS PUBLIC STATEMENT HIS GOVERNMENT MADE IT ALL TOO CLEAR IT HOLDS THESE PEOPLE IN HOPE EXTRACTING FURTHER POLITICAL CONCESSSIONS FROM MY GOVERNMENT. THIS IS TYPE TRADING WHICH I HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE REFUSE ENTER INTO. I FIND IT HARD UNDERSTAND WHY HIS AUTHORITIES ALSO APPEAR NOW BELIEVE MY GOVERNMENT COULD CONSIDER ENTERING INTO ANY UNDERSTANDING WITH RESPECT CULTURAL EXCHANGES AS LONG AS THESE CIRCUMSTANCES CONTINUE. A COUNTRY DOES NOT ENTER INTO SUCH RELATIONSHIPS WHILE ITS CITIZENS CONTINUE BE UNJUSTLY IMPRISONED IN VIOLATION OF SOLEMN COMMITMENTS THAT THEY WILL BE RELEASED. ALSO WHILE I ENTIRELY AGREE CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES ARE IMPORTANT, DESIRABLE AND CAN DO MUCH REMOVE MISUNDERSTANDING, IT HARDLY CONSISTENT TO PROPOSE SUCH RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE WHILE MAINTAINING CLEAR THREAT USE ARMED FORCE AGAINST SAME PEOPLE.

13. I CONTINUED WANG HAD SPOKEN AGAIN THIS MORNING OF LONG HISTORY CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND CONTACT BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES. HE HAD ALSO SPOKEN OF STRONG DESIRE CHERISHED BY BOTH OUR PEOPLE IN THIS REGARD, CUTTING OFF THIS CONTACT WAS ENTIRELY AT INITIATIVE HIS GOVERNMENT AND HIS GOVERNMENT MUST BEAR ENTIRE RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT. BECAUSE OF STRONG

DESIRE AMERICAN PEOPLE MAINTAIN THIS CONTACT, HUNDREDS OF AMERICANS REMAINED IN TERRITORY WHICH WAS BROUGHT UNDER THEIR CONTROL. THESE WERE AMERICANS WHO HAD LONG AND DISTINGUISHED HISTORY OF HIGH-MINDED UNSELFISH CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH CHINESE PEOPLE. THEY WERE AMERICANS WHO DESIRED MAINTAIN THESE CONTACTS. THEY WERE AMERICANS WHO COULD HAVE CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES. WHAT WAS HISTORY OF THIS EFFORT, THIS INDIVIDUAL EFFORT, ON PART THESE AMERICANS? ORGANIZED DEMONSTRATIONS WERE FORMENTED AGAINST THEM; EVERYTHING POSSIBLE DONE TO FORMENT HOSTILITY OF POPULATION TOWARDS THEM. MONEY WAS EXTORTED FROM THEM. CHINESE WHO HAD ANY CONTACT WITH THEM WERE PLACED IN JEOPARDY. THEY WERE EXPELLED FROM COUNTRY. ABOVE ALL, OUT OF THIS SMALL GROUP OF PEOPLE WE KNOW OF AT LEAST 155 WHO WERE ARRESTED BY HIS AUTHORITIES. STORIES OF EFFORTS BY HIS AUTHORITIES TO EXTORT CONFESSIONS OF ALL SORTS FANTASTIC CRIMES FROM THEM HAVEN'T DONE MUCH TO ENCOURAGE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT OR PEOPLE TO ATTEMPT REESTABLISH CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN US. IT NOT DONE MUCH TO ENCOURAGE US TO KNOW THAT IN ADDITION THOSE WHO WERE BROKEN IN BODY AND MIND WHEN THEY FINALLY LEFT HIS COUNTRY, AT LEAST FIVE DIED WHILE IN PRISON OR IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING RELEASE FROM PRISON. THIS RECORD NOT PRETTY NOR PLEASANT. REGRETTED NECESSITY BRINGING IT UP HERE. HOWEVER MEMORIES OF THOSE OF US WHO ASSOCIATED WITH PROBLEM, MEMORIES OF FRIENDS AND RELATIVES THESE PEOPLE STILL VERY FRESH.

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Control: 2990
Rec'd: ~~OCTOBER 5, 1956~~ 12:55 A.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 363, OCTOBER 4, 6 P.M. (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

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Date of Action
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

14. I CONTINUED AS SAID AT LAST MEETING, HAD HOPED THIS COULD ALL BE MADE MATTER OF PAST. HAD HOPED BITTERNESS IN OUR HEARTS COULD DISAPPEAR. HAD HOPED THIS ENTIRE PROBLEM COULD BE LIQUIDATED. HAD HOPE THIS COULD BE DONE BY RELEASE THOSE THAT REMAINED IN PRISON SO WE COULD LOOK FORWARD TO FRESH START. HAD HOPED THIS WITH ALL MY HEART BOTH PERSONALLY AND OFFICIALLY. MY GOVERNMENT HAD HOPED FOR THIS SAME THING. I FOUND IT INEXPLICABLE THAT HIS AUTHORITIES NOT APPRECIATED IMPORTANCE THIS. PERHAPS I IN SOME WAY BEEN DEFICIENT IN NOT BEING ABLE SUFFICIENTLY CLEARLY EXPLAIN THIS TO HIM. IF SO I REGRETTED IT BUT ASSURED HIM IT NOT BEEN THROUGH ANY LACK TRYING. IF HIS AUTHORITIES REALLY DESIROUS IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES AND REALLY DESIROUS OBTAINING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OTHER OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS, THEY CONTINUE HAVE IT IN POWER DO SO. I ASSURED HIM MY GOVERNMENT CONTINUED HOPE THEY WILL DO SO.

15. WANG REPLIED IT WITH REGRET DISAPPOINTMENT HE LISTENED MY REMARKS THIS MORNING AS DIDN'T FIND ANYTHING CONTRIBUTE ADVANCE THESE TALKS, BUT RATHER CONTRARY. IN THESE REMARKS I HAD MADE MANY UNREASONABLE CHARGES AGAINST CHINESE PEOPLE WHICH HE COULD NOT ACCEPT. IF WE DISCUSSED PROBLEM DETERIORATION SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, WE INEVITABLLY ARRIVED AT CONCLUSION IT AMERICANS DONE MUCH WRONG TO CHINESE PEOPLE AND NOT CHINESE WHO WRONGED AMERICAN PEOPLE. IF ANYONE TO MAKE ACCUSATION WITH REGARD RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AMERICA IT EVIDENTLY CHINA WHICH IN RIGHT POSITION MAKE SUCH ACCUSATION, INSTEAD OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

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16. WANG CONTINUED FACT WAS AMERICAN AIRCRAFT AND BOMBERS THROWING BOMBS ON CHINESE TERRITORY KILLING CHINESE PEOPLE. NO ONE COULD EVER CHARGE CHINESE AIRCRAFT SENT TO AMERICAN TERRITORY CARRYING OUT SUCH INHUMAN DESTRUCTIVE MISSION. FACT WAS AMERICAN GROUND, SEA AND AIR FORCES OCCUPIED PART CHINESE TERRITORY. COULD I EVER CHARGE CHINESE FORCES EVER OCCUPIED AT ANY TIME AMERICAN TERRITORY. IT US WHICH UNREASONABLY CARRIED OUT DETENTION OF CHINESE BY PUBLIC GOVERNMENT ORDERS AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENT WHICH PERSECUTED AND IMPRISONED CHINESE IN US AND AS RESULT THIS PERSECUTION MANY VICTIMS SUFFERED MENTAL BREAKDOWN. I COULD NOT CHARGE CHINESE GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED DECREE TO DETAIN AMERICAN RESIDENT IN CHINA. IT US WHICH CARRIED OUT POLICY EMBARGO AGAINST CHINA NOT VICE VERSA. IT US WHICH TRIED BY EVERY MEANS TO DEPRIVE CHINA OF LEGITIMATE RIGHTS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, INCLUDING EFFORTS ON PART US TRY DEPRIVE CHINA OF LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATION IN UN. AND IN DOING SO US HAS PRESSURED OTHER COUNTRIES TO FOLLOW LEAD. THESE AGGRESSIVE AND UNFRIENDLY RECORDS OF US AGAINST CHINA NOT ONLY ROUSED INDIGNATION ALL SERIOUS-MINDED PEOPLE HIS COUNTRY BUT ALSO AROUSED ALL SERIOUS-MINDED PEOPLE OF WORLD TO OPPOSE SUCH POLICY.

17. WANG CONTINUED CHINA NEVER ADOPTED ANY BLANKET POLICY AGAINST AMERICAN CITIZENS IN CHINA. THERE STILL MANY AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO CONTINUE AFTER LONG YEARS RESIDENCE TO RESIDE IN HIS COUNTRY FREELY. THESE PEOPLE SO FAR HAVE NOT INDICATED ANY DESIRE RETURN US. THERE ANOTHER GROUP AMERICANS WHO OPPOSED CHINESE PEOPLE. THERE YET ANOTHER GROUP AMERICANS WHO SENT BY AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PURPOSELY AIR DROPPED INTO CHINESE TERRITORY. SUCH PEOPLE DID NOT COME TO CHINA OUT OF ANY HIGH-MINDED IDEA, BUT WENT TO CHINA WITH POISON, PISTOLS AND BOMBS. COULD ANYONE EXPECT CHINESE GOVERNMENT TREAT THESE PEOPLE AS DISTINGUISHED GUESTS. DESPITE THESE UNFRIENDLY ACTIVITIES CONSISTENTLY CARRIED OUT BY US. IN SPITE THIS RECORD, THEIR SIDE HAD BEEN PATIENTLY SITTING HERE AND HAD CONTINUED TO DESIRE NEGOTIATE WITH AMERICA.

18. WANG CONTINUED I HAD REMARKED THAT THEY ONLY WANTED TAKE NOT GIVE. THEY SIMPLY WANTED TAKE THOSE THINGS WHICH ORIGINALLY BELONGED THEM. WHAT GIFT DID WE EXPECT OF THEM?

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IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES AMERICA ALREADY OCCUPYING CHINESE TERRITORY TAIWAN. DID US EXPECT CHINA GIVE MORE TERRITORY? PRESENT DIFFICULTY IS US MERELY THOUGHT OF OWN INTEREST WITHOUT CONSIDERING INTEREST OF OTHERS. THIS CASE OF PURSUING ONLY ONES SELFISH INTEREST. IN THAT MANNER HOW COULD PROBLEMS BETWEEN US BE SOLVED. WE SITTING HERE ENGAGING IN DISCUSSION AND OUR OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE RESOLVE ISSUES. IF WE COULD NOT NOW RESOLVE BIG ISSUES, WE COULD STILL RESOLVE SMALL ISSUES. THIS WOULD STILL HELP A LOT AND IT BETTER TO SOLVE THESE SMALL ISSUES THAN NOT SOLVE ANY AT ALL. AS WE SITTING HERE IN NEGOTIATIONS WE SHOULD SEEK MEANS FOR IMPROVING RELATIONS INSTEAD POISONING THEM. IF ONE HAS INTENTION POISONING RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES INSTEAD OF TRYING SOLVE OUSTANDING ISSUES, THEN WHAT IS GOOD OF CONTINUING THESE TALKS? RECORD OF THESE TALKS CLEARLY SHOWED THEY CONSISTENTLY WORKING TO RESOLVE ISSUES BETWEEN US. THEIR RECORD EVIDENCED BY SUCCESSIVE DRAFTS INTRODUCED ON AGREEMENT MAKING RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION AS WELL AS BY PROPOSALS THEY MADE DESIGNED REMOVE EMBARGO AGAINST CHINA AND DESIGNED PROMOTE HUMAN CONTACTS CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

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Control: 2819
Rec'd: OCTOBER 4, 1956
5:16 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 363, OCTOBER 4, 6 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

19. WANG CONTINUED AMERICAN PRESS ALWAYS BEEN FOND OF MAKING CHARGES AGAINST CHINA ALLEGING IT NOT FREE COUNTRY AND EXISTENCE IRON OR BAMBOO CURTAIN AND ALLEGING HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT OFFER FREEDOM OF TRAVEL FOR FOREIGNERS. PRESENT FACT IS AMERICANS DESIRE VISIT CHINA. AMERICAN PEOPLE INTERESTED IN CHINA. DEEDS AND WORDS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ARE QUITE INCONSISTENT. PROPOSALS CHINESE GOVERNMENT INTRODUCED ON QUESTION CONTACTS PERSONS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE CAPABLE OF SATISFYING DESIRE OF AMERICAN PEOPLE. PRESENT ACTION OF US GOVERNMENT RUNS COUNTER TO SUCH DESIRE OF AMERICAN PEOPLE. THIS EVIDENCED BY FACT AMERICAN PEOPLE NOT MAKING PROTEST AGAINST CHINESE GOVERNMENT BUT RATHER AGAINST AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ON QUESTION CONTACTS OF PEOPLE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE. POLICY PURSUED BY AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ON QUESTION OF CONTACTS OF PEOPLES ANC CULTURAL EXCHANGE CAN SHOW WHETHER THIS GOVERNMENT HAS ANY CONFIDENCE IN OWN SYSTEM. REFUSAL ON PART US GOVERNMENT TO PROPOSAL OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE AND CONTACT OF PEOPLES SHOWS AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS LOST CONFIDENCE IN OWN PEOPLE AS WELL AS ITS OWN SYSTEM. IT OUT OF FRIENDLY SPIRIT HIS SIDE PROPOSED CONTACT OF PEOPLE AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE. REFUSAL OF US GOVERNMENT TO GIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION THIS PROPOSAL WOULD MAKE THEM CONSIDER IT NECESSARY MAKE PUBLIC THEIR PROPOSAL SO PUBLIC COULD JUDGE.

20. I REPLIED AS HE HAD ONCE WELL SAID HERE, THESE NEGOTIATIONS NOT FOOTBALL GAME. THEY COULD NOT BE JUDGED, NEITHER WOULD WORLD JUDGE THEM ON BASIS OF NUMBER BALLS TOSSED OUT ON FIELD. COULD ONLY BE JUDGED, AND WORLD WOULD JUDGE ON BASIS SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS EACH SIDE HAD TAKEN. IT US WHICH PROPOSED UNCONDITIONALLY WE MAKE IT CLEAR OUR DIFFERENCES BE SETTLED ONLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS. NO AMOUNT PROPOSALS OR WORDS COULD OBSCURE FACT HIS SIDE STILL REJECTS THAT SIMPLE

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PROPOSITION. NO AMOUNT PROPOSALS OR WORDS COULD OBSCURE FACT HIS SIDE STILL PROCRASTINATED IN ACCEPTING THAT FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE. NO AMOUNT WORDS CAN OBSCURE FACT HIS GOVERNMENT STILL FAILING CARRY OUT ITS UNDERTAKING PERMIT AMERICANS RETURN. I REGRETTED THAT INSTEAD FACING UP TO RESOLVING THESE BASIC MATTERS HIS GOVERNMENT INTENDED AGAIN RESORT TO FORUM PUBLIC STATEMENTS. HOWEVER I CONTINUED BE ENTIRELY WILLING LET WORLD JUDGE ISSUES. I ENTIRELY WILLING LET WORLD JUDGE WHETHER IT AND AMERICAN PEOPLE HAD FAITH IN OUR SYSTEM WHICH HAD ENDURED FOR ALMOST TWO CENTURIES AND BROUGHT TO OUR PEOPLE AND WORLD STANDARDS OF MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING AND FREEDOM UNPARALLELED IN WORLD'S HISTORY.

21. WANG SAID HE HAD PRESENTED HIS VIEWS THIS MORNING AND HAD NO MORE TO ADD. HE SURE PEOPLE ABLE JUDGE WHO TRYING SOLVE ISSUES AND WHO OBSTRUCTING.

22. I HAD NO MORE AND SUGGESTED THURSDAY, OCTOBER 18 FOR NEXT MEETING. HE AGREED.

GOWEN

RBW

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729.

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
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October 4, 1956

Letter No. 46

Dear Walter:

I have little to add to my telegram on today's meeting. As you will see I still think they are working toward a position which they estimate will enable them to bring about at least an indefinite recess, most likely sometime after the elections and before the new year. I may well be wrong and you all may well be right, but I do not think it can be assumed because they have continued talking up to now they will continue to do so indefinitely. During past months I have been able to do a certain amount of stringing them along and dangling a certain amount of "pie in the sky", but I have now largely run out of that as I have never been in a position where I could say if you do so and so we will do so and so.

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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I full well realize the reasons it has never been possible to enable me to take any such positions, but I know also that you realize the extremely narrow limits in which this has required I operate. As I did full well realize this at my last meeting I threw renunciation in the cultural exchange package and strengthened it today. My only point is that with the material now at hand, I do not feel confident that I will be able to keep things going much longer. Perhaps I feel low this afternoon after the verbal exercise of this morning and perhaps I am unduly pessimistic.

I had planned to make only a short speech this morning but he threw up so many balls I felt I had to field, that it turned out to be rather long. I could well have fielded some more but I thought I caught the most important ones.

At the moment I haven't got the slightest notion of what to say at the next meeting. However, I hope that by then the three prisoners will be on their way so I can make a little mileage out of that.

Regards to all,

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

730

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This document consists of 6 pages, Series A.
No. 2 of 4 copies,

DEPARTMENT OF STATE October 12, 1956

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Letter No. 57

SECRET

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Dear Alex:

The principal event since your last meeting has been the Chinese Communist last-moment refusal to allow Addis, the British Counselor from Peiping, to see Father McCarthy in Ward Road Jail in Shanghai on October 5, after all arrangements had been made and after Addis arrived at the prison. Addis was met with the bland statement from the officials that McCarthy had changed his mind and did not want to see Addis. The officials added that they could not force McCarthy to have the interview. Addis was naturally taken aback, but did what he could by way of remonstrance. The British are of course as aware as we are that McCarthy did not voluntarily change his mind. The Communist claim was either an outright lie, or else they had broken McCarthy. We suspect that they want to demonstrate to the British that they are wasting their time in trying to see the prisoners. The Communist decision may have been made after they allowed Father McCarthy's letter to O'Neill to be delivered. We are enclosing a copy of the full text of this letter, which shows that Father McCarthy was alert and resolute when he wrote

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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the letter. We have it from other sources that he probably is the most resourceful and durable of the remaining Shanghai prisoners, which makes it all the more unlikely that he would have voluntarily given up the fight. Since this represents a callous and completely indefensible hardening of the Chinese Communist position, Mr. Robertson believes that we should attack Wang very vigorously on it at the October 18 meeting. You will get full instructions on it in your guidance telegram. The British are awaiting guidance from us on how they should react in Peiping. We will counsel a strong reaction there too although our main reliance will be on you at Geneva.

2. ... a Chinese mental case at Logansport, Indiana still demands to return to the Communist mainland but according to the foreign student adviser appears to be incompetent to take the initiative to get in touch with the Indian Embassy. Consequently we are considering asking the Immigration Service to deport him. The longer he remains the more chance there is that the Chinese Communists will exploit the case in their propaganda.

3. One of the two Chinese convicts at the U. S. Health Service Hospital at Lexington, Kentucky, who opted for return to the China Mainland has now informed the parole officer that he has changed his mind. He claims that since he was formerly in the Nationalist Army he will be persecuted by the Communists should he go back. We are asking that commutation of sentence proceedings in his case be halted.. Fortunately we had not told the Indians nor the Chinese Communists of the results of our survey so that if this development can be kept confidential no harm will have been done.

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4. Missing U.S. Military Personnel

We have thought a good deal about how we should renew our pressure on the Communists to account for our missing military personnel. This is a subject which the relatives of the missing persons keep very much alive here and numerous letters are written each month by the Department of State, the Department of Defense and USUN in New York in response to pleas from these relatives. Our official replies contain the assurance that the United States Government is leaving no stone unturned to try to obtain the facts from the Communists. We feel very keenly the need to take some action. However, we share the views expressed both by you and by General Guard, the Senior U.S. representative on UNCMAC, that we are unlikely to obtain any satisfactory accounting from the Communists either in Panmunjom or Geneva.

After weighing the pros and cons, we wonder if it would not be preferable for you to reopen the subject at Geneva. Enclosure A contains a summary of our reasons. These were originally prepared for inclusion in a memorandum recommending reintroduction of this subject at Geneva, but we wanted first to get your reaction. A further reason for selecting the Geneva forum, which, for obvious reasons, is mentioned neither in the enclosure nor in Col. Monroe's memorandum on his talks with the U.S. element of the MAC, is Col. Monroe's feeling that the personnel presently assigned to UNCMAC or those who might be assigned there in the future, have neither the experience nor the specialized skill required to negotiate effectively on this subject with the Communists.

Our tentative thinking is that you might introduce this item again, using as your springboard the statement by the Communist spokesman in the MAC that they had no responsibility for individuals held outside Korea.

You

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You could then proceed on a case by case basis to seek information from Wang. Presumably he would, at least in the beginning, refuse to discuss this issue and try to shift the responsibility back to the MAC. This would not be so easy for him to accomplish this time, in view of the statement made by the Communist spokesman in that body. Even if we fail to obtain any information from the Communists, we might at least succeed in throwing them off balance for a time, particularly if we should decide to exploit the issue publicly.

We should like to have your candid views as to the advantages and disadvantages of reintroducing this subject at this time, and also your estimate of the kind of support you would require from Defense should you undertake this task. Defense's capabilities to supply the kind of information you would want is, of course, limited. The enclosed copy of a memorandum from General Erskine to the Secretary of Defense indicates what Defense is undertaking to do to supply some of the deficiencies pointed out in Dave's letter of August 23.

5. Our feeling here based more on our appraisal of the general attitude of the Chinese Communists than the tactical situation in the Geneva talks is that the Communists are probably not moving toward a recess or break-off of the talks at least not until after the elections and the opening of the UNGA. It appears to us they have more to gain by holding on than by breaking off. The latter move seems contrary to their

general posture in international affairs. We are concerned at the adverse effects that the continuation of these talks are reported to be having in some parts of the Far East. We are considering asking key posts for up to date reports on this matter.

6. You will be interested in the latest Chinese Communist gambits in the culteral field. A number of American publishers have received orders for American newspapers and magazines. The official Chinese Communist book and periodical agency the Gnozi Shudian has sent letters to a large number of American publishers requesting the contribution or sale at discount of large selections of scientific and technical books for a proposed exhibit in Peiping early in 1957. The Chinese Communists have also announced on the China Mainland that a wide range of American publications including Time and Life can now be subscribed too. Teaching of English is being introduced in the middle schools to the extent that teachers are available.

7. By way of general comment, don't expect any new tack to be authorized here on either of the two big issues. The emphatic conclusion here is that our position is unassailable on both questions and that any attempt to look for new wording on/renunciation otherwise show any "give" would only weaken our position, both from a tactical standpoint and from the standpoint of our public position when the eventual public showdown comes. We are somewhat more skeptical than you apparently are/as to the likelihood of a Chinese Communist suspension of the talks or other major move within the next few weeks. The Chinese Communists are exploiting the talks in various ways, as we have seen in connection with the 8th Party Congress, and in their talks with visiting delegations, such as the

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Malayan Chinese, and the Indonesian delegation headed by Sukarno. Their present tactics ~~(which)~~ seem to envisage a continuation of the talks and further misrepresentation and exploitation of the fact that the talks are private and are continuing. We are making a new study in FE of the whole question of the influence of the talks on Asian attitudes toward Communist China and toward our China policy. As a sidelight on the above, you will want to know that Mr. Robertson thinks that it is preferable for you to refrain from indicating any regret or disappointment at Chinese Communist publication, or threatened publication, of statements on the talks. Naturally, you will not encourage publicity by them, but we do not now like the connotations of deploring publicity or indicating that we fear it or find it distasteful.

7. We were glad to get your letter No. 45 of September 22. We have FE/EX working on your request that Helenka be placed on a daily contractural basis.

Regards and best to each of you,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Copy of letter from Father McCarthy to Charge at Peiping, dated Sept. 1, 1956.
2. Memorandum on Missing Personnel
3. Cist of a telegram from Foreign Office commenting on O'Neill's telegram of Oct. 8.
4. Memo from General Erskine to Secretary of Defense dated Oct. 8

P.S. Apologies for the overlap between 5 and 7. You know how rushed we are. I had Ralph work with me on this, and we crossed our signals a bit.

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08160 763
1956 OCT 16 PM 9 39
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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 440

Origin

FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for October 18 meeting.

1. Major portion your presentation should be devoted to attacking Communist failure carry out pledge made in Agreed Announcement. Lead off with McCarthy case as typical example of Communist disregard of pledged word. First point out McCarthy and other nine Americans should have been released long ago if clear language of Agreed Announcement had any meaning. Now one of nine belatedly permitted write British Charge stating he is unjustly prevented from leaving and requesting representations his behalf. When Charge endeavored investigate case as provided in Agreed Announcement his representative prevented from seeing McCarthy, after Communists had authorized interview and made appointment. Statement by prison official that McCarthy did not wish interview is not credible. Note written evidence that McCarthy wanted interview and ask why prison official refused permit Charge's representative verify McCarthy's wishes.

In course of your presentation also press Communists for reply which they promised some time ago to British Charge's letter August 23 requesting permission visit all American prisoners. Communists have no valid reason refuse

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FE:CA:RNClough/ikb 10/16/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
S - The Secretary L - Mr. Phleger FE - Mr. Sebald

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refuse this. In connection with Chou En-lai's statement to British Charge December 9 that Communists could not permit visits all Americans because US would not permit Indians visit Chinese prisoners this country, point out US has offered permit Indians interview any Chinese prisoner this country, which Indians declined to do upon instructions from Peiping.

State that US Government has been extremely patient in face of inexplicable refusal Communists carry out their commitment release all Americans. U.S. Government seriously concerned at this latest attempt to evade obligations of Agreed Announcement, and is considering making public statement.

FYI We believe Communists can be put on defensive both in Geneva meetings and publicly by using McCarthy case to dramatize Communist violation public pledges. Their plea for closer cultural contacts with the US can be made to look ridiculous in light of their behavior in McCarthy case. We are requesting British Charge to (1) make representations requesting immediate release McCarthy on basis his letter stating he being unjustly prevented from leaving; (2) write McCarthy explaining circumstances last attempted interview and offering arrange another interview; (3) write Communist Foreign Office asking reply to his letter of August 23 requesting permission interview all jailed Americans. END FYI

2. Reject attempts to draw you into discussion of Communist cultural exchange or trade proposals, stressing resentment American government and people at continued detention American citizens and inability rely on public commitments made by Communists. Communist refusal agree to meaningful renunciation of force should also be cited. FYI In view Wang's statement last meeting we agree it

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would be consistent Chinese Communist previous practice for them to issue statement on cultural exchange shortly before October 18 meeting. In this event we concur course proposed last sentence your 362. Department prepared make reply if deemed desirable. END FYI

3. In any discussion of renunciation of force hold to established position.

Dulles

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08654 764

1956 OCT 17 PM 7 09

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Origin

FOR JOHNSON

Latest Chinese Communist statement on Geneva talks seems to have fallen flat. Not carried so far by any newspaper or wire service seen here. We plan ~~to~~ ignore statement if press continues to do so.

Dulles
JSR

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CS/T

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WHMcConaughy/ikb 10/17/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances: L - Mr. Phleger FE - Mr. Sebald

S/S-CR

OCT 17 1956 P.M.

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Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 17 1956
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AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

Bureau of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
OCT 29 1956
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To → WPM
(other copy circulated)

SECRET

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

October 17, 1956

Letter No. 47

Dear Walter:

1. I am starting this on Wednesday and will finish it tomorrow after the meeting.

2. I certainly have no objection to again bringing up the POW question here, but as Monroe said after his trip to Korea, I think the decision revolves around whether we believe there is any chance whatever of obtaining any more information and, if not, whether we then intend to use the issue further publicly to indict the Chicoms. If it is solely the latter I believe Geneva to be the best forum. I do not agree with the statement in the draft memo enclosed with your letter (No. 56) that Geneva offers a slightly better chance than Panmunjon for obtaining an accounting for at least a few of the 450. I can build up a good public record on the subject here and can probably embarrass Wang to a certain degree, but

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

he is never going to give me any accounting for individuals here, and we should not raise the subject here on the assumption that there is any possibility he will do so. He has frequently and strongly taken the position that the lists he gave me at the outset of the talks accounted for all Americans in China and it cannot be expected he will reverse that position.

3. As a minor point with respect to numbered para (2) of the draft memo, I did in fact allude to the POW question at our 56th meeting (para 16 mytel 173) and drew a response from him on it.

4. With regard to the less likelihood of their countering with our failure to account for communist prisoners if the subject is raised here, you will recall that when I first raised the suject here he fortunately countered only with the 14,000 sent to Taiwan which was not hard to handle, but he may now be better prepared to counter with others and I will have to be prepared immediately to reply if he does so. Of course, by raising the subject here we will probably avoid the more difficult subject of the Koreans released by Rhee.

5. In this connection it is my recollection that their list may be wholly or primarily based on the lists of

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notification of capture that we transmitted through the ICRC. It is also my recollection that a large discrepancy in these lists arose from the fact that a capture form would be made out at the time the man was taken with a copy to the ICRC. On arrival at Kojedo the man's tag would be missing and another would be made out with another copy to the ICRC. Because of the language problem, difficulties of transliteration, and sometimes through the POW giving a different name, the name would not appear as identical with the first report. Thus ICRC would receive and transmit to the Communists two names covering the capture of only one man. I do not recall whether this appears anywhere in the records, but I know it was explained to me when I made my "POW trip" to Korea with General Hull.

6. Also pertinent to all of this was an exchange of numbers of persons held in the early days of the armistice negotiations. My memory on this is dim but I believe we gave the Communists some definite numbers on those we held.

7. I do not recall what the circumstances are and when the communist list of missing personnel mentioned in the last sentence of the first para of the draft memo was presented or of what it consisted. My only point is that before terming it "in large part fictitious" I would want to be sure that it is not in fact based upon names originating with the UNC.

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8. My memory on our exchanges of lists of names of POWs with the Communists is also very hazy. Not that it is likely to come in any detail here, but to avoid possible mistakes I would appreciate a short summary of the facts in this regard. I have a feeling we gave them some list early in the armistice negotiations, and that they gave us one but I am just not sure whether this is correct or of what they consisted. Were there also not lists given the NNRC which were passed on to the Communists? I do not want anyone to go to any great trouble on this but perhaps there is a pertinent summary already made up. Perhaps HD would have it available or could readily make it up.

9. Whether the subject is raised here or Panmunjon it will be important that the information with respect to individuals reflect the "accounting" set forth in CINCUNC's message of March 2, 1956. That is, in our best documented cases of their at one time being alive in Communist hands, the March accounting attempted to dispose of them by saying they had "escaped". Thus in these "escaped" cases the issue is no longer whether they were at one time alive in Communist hands, by saying they "escaped" they have admitted this, but rather being able to demonstrate that such an accounting is false. This is very well set forth in detail in the memo enclosed with Dave's letter of August 23.

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My reason for mentioning it is that while the Memo to the Service Secretaries enclosed with your letter encloses what I presume is the substance of Dave's memo, the attached "Suggestions" do not appear to take account of this important point of which I would have to take account before again raising individual cases here. For our purposes here I would not need any large number of cases, a half dozen or so would probably serve my purposes, although, of course, the more I have in my pocket the better. My suggestion would be to have Ralph and Col. Monroe pick out a few of the most promising cases and exhaustively run them down with the services rather than spreading the effort too thin.

10. My 362 did not imply that I had changed my estimate that they are most likely to make a major move shortly after the elections and the opening of the UNGA. With two weeks between meetings, the "next few meetings" mentioned in my 362 brings us up to that point. What I have been and continue to say is that they are very obviously putting themsleves in a position to carry out such a move at about that time. Whether they do so, of course, remains to be seen. I simply want to be sure that the Department understands and is prepared for the contingency and does not desire to take any further action to forestall it. Incidentally,

while our position through the Suez crisis has been very consistent with the position on renunciation of force I have taken here, the statements of the French and British have certainly not given too much support to the "universally accepted" nature of the principle.

11. I was very interested in your account of the Chinese Communist initiative in the publications field. Do our Treasury regulations operate so as to prevent any such shipments? (I have subsequently seen the CA notes which I am glad to note is encouraging the licensing for non-technical publications.)

12. I had been deploring publicity under my previous instructions but had also tried to make it clear we did not fear it. I entirely agree with Walter's views and will act accordingly in the future.

13. The guidance for tomorrow has just come in. It is very complete and I certainly agree we are on a strong wicket in the disgraceful McCarthy affair. I just can't understand why they have done it.

Thursday

14. Back from the meeting and have just sent off my summary to you. I do not think there can longer be much doubt as to the course of action they have laid out for themselves. The only question now is the timing -- that is will they carry out their move at the next meeting just before the elections and the UNGA or will they wait until the following meeting just after the elections and the UNGA. In any event,

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there will in all probability be a public statement following the next meeting, which will make the threat to break, with the break carried out at the following meeting. One can never dismiss the possibility of a bland reversal but I just do not think it is likely as they have now gone almost out to the end of this limb. I hope that the Secretary will have time carefully to consider the situation and that my guidance will be as explicit as possible.

15. I deliberately did not try further today to develop the threat implicit in the last sentence of his prepared statement, leeaving that for next time when I will want to make a very carefully considered and comprehensive statement in reply to his of today. I would nope that my guidance will also cover whether it is desired I try to steer things in the direction of an indifinite recess or a clean break, if the next meeting goes in that direction.

16. I should think it would be nice to get out OUR statement on implementation out before the next meeting. I think it would place us in a much better position to meet their next move. (Incidentally, I hope you will get it to us here well before release time so that we know what has been said and I can get a copy over to Wang at approximately its release time.) I should also think that at our next meeting I should be prepared to say something on the missing POWs without getting into any details.

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17. I am enclosing for comment a draft break statement which I would plan to issue immediately following any meeting at which a break would occur. It might, of course, be necessary somewhat to modify it to meet the exact situation but I would plan to stick fairly close to its general line. As this would ostensibly be an extemporaneous statement as I left the meeting room it must be short and simple.

18. In the quite likely event he does not break at our next meeting but very shortly thereafter and issues a statement along the lines of his prepared statement today I would propose to promptly comment along the lines of para 2,3, and 4 of the enclosed break statement with such changes as the circumstances require.

Regards to all,

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Encl. Draft Press Statement

P.S. Just an afterthought. If they are planning something timed to our elections I might throw them off step and somewhat spike their guns by asking for a postponement of the next meeting to Monday November 5. I am in a good position to ask for it as I have never cashed in on the times I have agreed to his requests for postponement. I would, of course, do it at the last minute, that is on Wednesday or Thursday before the meeting and all I would have to do is send him word that it was "impossible" for me to meet until Nov. 5.

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DRAFT STATEMENT

I regret to announce that at today's meeting Ambassador Wang refused to agree to any date for our next meeting. (or refused to meet further with me).

In effect, he refuses to meet further unless the U.S. capitulates to their demand for a Foreign Ministers conference under the continued threat that the Chinese Communists will resort to force if they cannot otherwise achieve their ambitions in the Taiwan area. Ambassador Wang has also demanded that the U.S. remove its existing controls over trade and travel between the U.S. and China.

I have told Ambassador Wang that I hope he will reconsider this peremptory attitude and for my part I stand ready again to meet at any time to resume with him in a genuine negotiating spirit search for agreement on an unconditional declaration which would remove the existing threat of the Chinese Communists to resort to force in the Taiwan area and agree that our differences will be settled by peaceful means only.

The U.S. continues to expect the Chinese Communists to carry out their commitment of September 10, 1955 and promptly to release the 10 unfortunate Americans still held in their prisons in violation of that agreement.

I have informed Ambassador Wang that any communications can be transmitted through our respective consular offices here in Geneva.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 415, OCTOBER 18, NOON

PRIORITY

FROM JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

TWO HOUR TWENTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. I OPENED WITH STATEMENT ALONG LINES PARA ONE DEPTEL 440 EXCEPT THAT ONLY STATED PRISON AUTHORITIES REFUSED PERMIT UK CHARGE REPRESENTATIVE SEE MCCARTHY, NOT MENTIONING PRISON OFFICIAL ALLEGATION MCCARTHY DID NOT WISH INTERVIEW. (MY THOUGHT WAS IF WANG BRIEFED ON SUBJECT AND MADE THIS STATEMENT WOULD USE IT AS POINT FOR COUNTERATTACK. HOWEVER DURING DISCUSSION IT WAS OBVIOUS HE NOT BRIEFED ON ANY DETAILS MCCARTHY CASE). HE MADE NO RESPONSE MY NOTIFICATION WE WERE CONSIDERING PUBLIC STATEMENT AND AFTER EXTEMPORANEOUS REBUTTAL MY OPENING STATEMENT ALONG FAMILIAR LINES, MADE PREPARED STATEMENT OPENING WITH SENTENCE "TALKS HAVE NOW COME TO STAGE WHERE NO PROGRESS CAN BE MADE". REVIEWED NEGOTIATIONS ALONG FAMILIAR LINES AND THEN ALLEGED US HAS REVEALED "IT DELIBERATELY BLOCKING PROGRESS IN AMBASSADORIAL TALKS AND IS FEARFUL OF ANY IMPORVEMENT IN SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS". PRC HAS EXERTED "GREATEST EFFORTS" WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN REWARDED AND CONSIDERS SUCH "FUTILE SITUATION SHOULD NOT CONTINUE ANY LONGER". PRC THEREFORE FORMALLY PROPOSES THE HOLDING OF A FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE "TO DISCUSS THE QUESTIONS OF RELAXING AND ELIMINATING TENSIONS TAIWAN AREA, AS WELL AS QUESTIONS MUTUAL RENUNCIATION FORCE BY CHINA AND US, LIFTING EMBARGO, PEOPLES CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE, ETC.". "WHAT IS AT STAKE IS THE FUTURE OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND INDEED PEACE OF FAR EAST AND WORLD".

IN REPLY

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IN REPLY I REVIEWED HISTORY THEIR BAD FAITH IMPLEMENTING FIRST AGREEMENT AND THEIR REFUSAL ABANDON USE FORCE TAIWAN AREA AS SHOWING FUTILITY DISCUSSION AT ANY OTHER LEVEL. IF THEY DESIRED RESOLVE THESE PROBLEMS COULD BE DONE BETWEEN US AS AMBASSADORS, IF THEY DID NOT DESIRE RESOLVE THEM CHANGING LEVEL WOULD MAKE NO DIFFERENCE. US WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE UNDER THREAT OF FORCE.

DURING SUBSEQUENT GIVEN AND TAKE HE DID NOT ATTEMPT FORCE ANY MORE SPECIFIC REPLY, OBVIOUSLY CONTENT LET MATTER REST HERE UNTIL NEXT MEETING, AND SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION CENTERED AROUND IMPLEMENTATION WITH MY CONTINUING COME BACK TO MCCARTHY CASE, PRC REFUSAL PERMIT THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT OPERATE ABSENCE REPRESENTATIONS INDIAN EMBASSY ETC. WANG CONSISTENTLY TOOK REFUGE IN TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT CHARGE.

NEXT MEETING FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2. RETURNING PRAGUE TOMORROW.

GOWEN

JS

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17-48

Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 416, OCTOBER 18, 6 PM

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FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

WANG CLEARLY PLOTTED THEIR FUTURE COURSE AT TODAY'S MEETING AND BARRING UNFORESEEN REVERSAL ONLY QUESTION IS TIMING. BELIEVE MOST LIKELY COURSE IS RELEASE SHORTLY AFTER NEXT MEETING OF PUBLIC STATEMENT ALONG LINES HIS TODAY'S PREPARED STATEMENT. IN THIS EVENT OR IN EVENT BREAK NEXT MEETING PROPOSE IMMEDIATELY ISSUE HERE PUBLIC STATEMENT ACCORDANCE DRAFT BEING TRANSMITTED BY LETTER.

PROPOSE AT NEXT MEETING MAKE CAREFUL REVIEW OUR POSITION NOTING IMPLIED THREAT LAST SENTENCE HIS TODAY'S PREPARED STATEMENT AND ALSO AGAIN MAKING MENTION MISSING POW ISSUE. WHILE WILL NOT GO INTO DETAILS LATTER ISSUE THIS MEETING WILL APPRECIATE MOST RECENT STATISTICAL SUMMARY THAT SITUATION. SUGGEST RELEASE OUR IMPLEMENTATION STATEMENT BEFORE NEXT MEETING.

GOWEN

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Action Assigned to CD/DIR

Control: 10671

Rec'd: OCTOBER 18, 1956

8:21 PM

Date of Action

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 417, OCTOBER 18, 7 PM (SECTION ONE OF SEVEN)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 60TH WITH PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. DURING RECENT MEETINGS, AND IN YOUR GOVT'S CURRENT SERIES BI-WEEKLY PRESS STATEMENTS RECURRENT THEME HAS BEEN ATTEMPT CREATE FALSE IMPRESSION RESPONSIBILITY FOR OUR FAILURE MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS THESE TALKS AND SPECIFICALLY FAILURE THUS FAR VREACH AGREEMENT ON FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE RESTS WITH MY SIDE. EMPHASIS YOUR SIDE PLACES ON THESE UNSUPPORTED ALLEGATIONS DEMONSTRATES UNEASY AWARENESS OF GLARING WEAKNESS IT POSITION. THAT IS, IN FINAL ANALYSIS, IT COMES DOWN TO QUESTION OF COMPARATIVE GOOD FAITH OF TWO SIDES IN CARRYING OUT PRESENTLY EXISTING OR PROPOSED AGREEMENTS. FORTUNATELY, PEOPLE OF WORLD WHO BEING CALLED UPON FORM OPINION ON THIS SUBJECT HAVE ENTIRELY CONCRETE SET FACTS BY WHICH THEY CAN JUDGE THIS MATTER FOR SELVES. WORLD WELL KNOWS OF COMMITMENT YOUR SIDE MADE SEPT 10 1955, RESPECT RETURN AMERICANS. WORLD WELL KNOWS IN SPITE OF THAT CLEAR COMMITMENT TEN AMERICANS STILL LANGUISH IN YOUR PRISONS. LET US TAKE AS EXAMPLE CASE JUST ONE THESE AMERICANS, FR. MCCARTHY.

B. ON JUNE 15 1953, FR. MCCARTHY'S LONG DEVOTION TO CHINESE PEOPLE AND DESIRE PROMOTE UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES WAS REWARDED BY SUDDEN ARREST. WITHOUT RESPECT FOR LEGAL NORMS OF ANY SOCIAL OR POLITICAL SYSTEM HE WAS KEPT IN PRISON FOR MONTH AFTER MONTH YEAR AFTER YEAR WITHOUT TRIAL, WITHOUT CHARGES BEING PREFERRED, WITHOUT OPPORTUNITY OBTAIN DEFENSE COUNSEL, WITHOUT OPPORTUNITY DEFEND HIMSELF,

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WITHOUT OPPORTUNITY HAVE HIS GUILT OR INNOCENCE DETERMINED BY AN IMPARTIAL TRIBUNAL. FINALLY ON SEPT 18 1955 FR. MCCARTHY IS SHOWN BY YOUR AUTHORITIES COPY OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH YOU AND I ISSUED HERE EIGHT DAYS PREVIOUSLY. AS WOULD ANY REASONABLE MAN, FR. MCCARTHY BELIEVED THIS SOLEMN COMMITMENT APPLIED HIM AS WELL AS ALL OTHER IMPRISONED AMERICANS. HE COULD ONLY HAVE ANTICIPATED HIS EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY ACCORDANCE WITH THAT ANNOUNCEMENT.

C. HOWEVER, WHAT HAPPENS? INSTEAD OF THE PROMISED RELEASE, ON OCTOBER 22 1955 HE FINALLY GIVEN SO-CALLED TRIAL AND SENTENCED TO SPEND MORE YEARS IN PRISON.

D. IN MEANWHILE FR. MCCARTHY RECEIVES LETTER FROM UK CHARGE WRITTEN AND DELIVERED WITHIN CONTEXT OF ANNOUNCEMENT AND TRANSMITTING COPY THEREOF TO HIM. AGAIN HE MUST HAVE DARED TO HOPE. ON DECEMBER 10 1955 HE IS PERMITTED SEND LETTER TO THE UK CHARGE PROPERLY POINTING OUT HE WAS BEING PREVENTED FROM RETURNING TO US. UK CHARGE, AGAIN IN ABSOLUTE CONFORMITY WITH AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO YOUR GOVT ON BEHALF FR. MCCARTHY. WHAT IS RESULT? IN UTTER DISREGARD OF THE FREELY ENTERED INTO COMMITMENT AND PROVISIONS OF ANNOUNCEMENT YOUR GOVT CURTLY ASSERTED IT WAS ENTIRELY MATTERS ITS SOVEREIGNTY AS TO HOW IT TREATED IMPRISONED AMERICANS AND REFUSED ACT ON UK CHARGE'S REPRESENTATIONS. THUS IN THIS ONE EXAMPLE THERE IS LAID OUT EXTRAORDINARILY COMPLETE RECORD OF NOT ONLY FAILURE YOUR AUTHORITIES RELEASE AMERICANS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR COMMITMENT SEPT 10 BUT EVEN PERMIT THE OPERATION OF THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED BY THAT ANNOUNCEMENT.

E. HOWEVER, EVEN THIS IS NOT THE END OF RECORD IN THIS CASE. ON SEPT 1 THIS YEAR FR. MCCARTHY PERMITTED AGAIN WRITE UK CHARGE REQUESTING INTERVIEW WITH HIM, AGAIN WITHIN CONTEXT ANNOUNCEMENT. YOUR AUTHORITIES AGREED PERMIT INTERVIEW AND TIME WAS SET FOR IT. ACTING IN GOOD FAITH REPRESENTATIVE UK CHARGE MAKES LONG JOURNEY TO SHANOHAI, PRESENTS HIMSELF AT PRISON AT APPOINTED TIME. THEN, PRISON AUTHORITIES REFUSE

PERMIT REPRESENTATIVE UK CHARGE EVEN SEE MR. MCCARTHY. HE REFUSED EVEN MEAGER PRIVILEGE OF INTERVIEW. HE REFUSED VERY EXPLICIT AUTHORITY SET FORTH IN ANNOUNCEMENT INVESTIGATE FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE. THERE CANNOT BE ANY CLEARER EVIDENCE OF DELIBERATE REFUSAL CARRY OUT EVERY SUBSTANTIVE PROVISION OF ANNOUNCEMENT.

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55-D
Action
FE

Control: 10672
Rec'd: OCTOBER 18, 1956
8:22 PM

FROM: GENEVA

Info
RMR

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 417, OCTOBER 18, 7 PM (SECTION TWO OF SEVEN)

1
4

F. IT SHOULD NOT EVEN HAVE BEEN NECESSARY FOR FR. MCCARTHY WRITE ASKING FOR INTERVIEW, FOR UK CHARGE SHOULD LONG AGO HAVE BEEN ENABLED BY YOUR AUTHORITIES SEE ALL AMERICANS WHO CONTINUE BE HELD IN PRISON. AS LONG AGO AS LAST DECEMBER YOUR PRIME MINISTER TOLD UK CHARGE THAT HE WAS NOT PERMITTED VISIT AMERICAN PRISONERS ON GROUNDS THAT INDIAN EMBASSY IN US NOT PERMITTED VISIT CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY. ALTHOUGH THIS MATTER HAD NOT BEEN RAISED DURING OUR DISCUSSION ANNOUNCEMENT ON MAY 31 1956 AT 49TH MEETING, I FORMALLY INFORMED YOU HERE, AND INDIAN EMBASSY IN US WAS INFORMED, THAT ITS REPRESENTATIVES COULD INTERVIEW ANY CHINESE PRISONER IN US WHETHER IN FEDERAL OR STATE INSTITUTIONS. IT SOLELY BECAUSE OF INEXPLICABLE OBJECTIONS YOUR GOVT THAT THIS WAS NOT DONE. ON AUG 23 THIS YEAR UK CHARGE AGAIN FORMALLY REQUESTED PERMISSION VISIT ALL AMERICAN PRISONERS. ALTHOUGH THERE NO LONGER EVEN SLIGHTEST BASIS FOR YOUR AUTHORITIES REFUSE THIS MODEST REASONABLE REQUEST, YOUR GOVT HAS NOT EVEN YET REPLIED HIS LETTER.

G. MY GOVT HAS BEEN EXTREMELY PATIENT IN FACE THIS INEXPLICABLE CONTINUED REFUSAL OF YOUR AUTHORITIES CARRY OUT ITS CLEAR COMMITMENT RELEASE ALL AMERICANS. IT IS ALSO SERIOUSLY CONCERNED AT ATTEMPT OF YOUR AUTHORITIES, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN CASE FR, MCCARTHY, EVADE THEIR OBLIGATIONS UNDER ANNOUNCEMENT WITH RESPECT THIRD PARTY FUNCTIONS. THESE UNDISPUTABLE FACTS WITH REGARD PUBLIC AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND MY GOVT IS CONSIDERING MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT WITH REGARD TO THESE FACTS.

H. IT IS IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS AS WELL AS CONTINUED UNWILLINGNESS OF YOUR GOVT ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION FORCE THAT WORLD WILL JUDGE WHICH SIDE IS WILLING CARRY OUT ITS

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PUBLIC COMMITMENTS, WHICH SIDE IS WILLING UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCE RECOURSE TO USE OF FORCE IN SETTLING OUR DISPUTES, AND THUS, WHICH SIDE IS TRULY DEMONSTRATING ITS GOOD FAITH IN ATTEMPTING IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN US.

2. WANG REPLIED, IN MY STATEMENT I REFERRED TO ISSUE CIVILIANS AS WELL AS RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION. HE COULD ONLY SAY I HAD ONLY REPEATED OLD ARGUMENTS IN THIS RESPECT AND IN DOING SO REVERSED FACTS. IN DISCUSSING QUESTION CIVILIANS HAD NEVER MADE ANY CLEAR ACCOUNTING IN CASES 52 PEOPLE OF 55 NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME AND ALSO FAILED GIVE ACCOUNTING WITH REGARD 26 PERSONS WHOSE CASES BROUGHT UP PREVIOUSLY AND WHOSE NAMES I HAD GIVEN HIM. I HAD NOT REFERRED TO ANY IMPROVEMENT IN ABILITY CHINESE IN US RETURN THEIR FATHERLAND. I HAD NOT SPOKEN OF ANY ACTION TAKEN BY MY AUTHORITIES ELIMINATE OBSTRUCTION OFFERED CHINESE RETURNING THEIR COUNTRY. THUS IT WAS THEIR SIDE WHICH ACTUALLY DISSATISFIED WITH PRESENT SITUATION ON CIVILIANS. DESPITE REPEATED REPRESENTATION OF THEIR SIDE, SITUATION HAD NOT YET IMPROVED. I HAD MADE REFERENCE TO AMERICAN NATIONALS IN CHINA BUT NOT ABLE STATE ANY CASE OF ORDINARY AMERICAN RESIDENT IN CHINA HINDERED OR PREVENTED FROM LEAVING. THIS FULLY PROVED IT PRECISELY CHINESE SIDE WHICH CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT BETWEEN US. POLICY HIS GOVT ANY ALIENS RESIDING HIS COUNTRY WITHOUT RESPECT NATIONALITY, WHO ARE FRIENDLY TO PEOPLE AND ABIDE BY THEIR LAW, WILL BE TREATED WITH EVEN MORE FRIENDLINESS AND PROTECTED. TO TREAT FOREIGN FRIENDS AS CRIMINALS IS NOT PRACTICE OF CHINA AND WILL NEVER OCCUR CHINA. SUCH IS ONLY PRACTICE OF AMERICAN AUTHORITIES WITH RESPECT INNOCENT CHINESE RESIDENTS IN AMERICA. HOWEVER, ANY ALIENS RESIDING CHINA WHO DARED GO AGAINST CHINESE LAW WOULD CERTAINLY BE PUNISHED ACCORDING TO LAW.

3. WANG CONTINUED, WITH REGARD CONCRET EXAMPLE I HAD GIVEN THIS MORNING REGARD CASE FR. MCCARTHY. IF HE HAD NOT ENGAGED IN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AGAINST CHINA AND HAD NOT

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CARRIED OUT SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AGAINST CHINA GOVT, HE WOULD NEVER BEEN PUNISHED BY LAW. FR. MCCARTHY HAD HIMSELF MADE CONFESSION REGARD THESE CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES. IN CASE ANY FOREIGN NATIONALS ENGAGED IN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AGAINST CHINESE GOVT, COULD ANYONE EXPECT CHINESE STAND IDLY BY WITHOUT DOING ANYTHING AGAINST HIM. SUPPOSING SUCH CASE OCCURED IN US, HE PRESUMED MY GOVT WOULD ALSO TAKE SIMILAR MEASURES AGAINST HIM. THIS IS ONLY NATURAL.

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Action Assigned to

42

Action

FE

Info

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Action Taken

Control: 10692

Rec'd: OCTOBER 18, 1956

9:36 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Action Office Symbol

NO: 417, OCTOBER 18, 7 P.M. (SECTION THREE OF SEVEN)

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

4. WANG CONTINUED FROM PREPARED STATEMENT, AT TODAY'S MEETING HE WOULD LIKE POINT OUT TALKS HAVE NOW COME TO STAGE WHERE NO PROGRESS CAN BE MADE. THIS COULD NOT BUT GREATLY DISAPPOINT THEM. AT LAST MEETING MY SIDE USED ENTIRELY UNJUSTIFIED PRETEXT ANB ONCE AGAIN REJECTED LAST PROPOSAL MUTUAL CONTACT AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES. THIS COULD NOT BUT LEAD ONE TO CONCLUSION PRESENT TALKS AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL COULD NOT SOLVE OTHER PRACTICAL MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN CHINA AND US AS STIPULATED IN AGENDA. AT VERY BEGINNING OUR DISCUSSIONS ON SECOND POINT AGENDA MY SIDE DELIBERATELY AND WITHOUT ANY REASON HAGGLED PROCRASTINATED FIRST POINT AGENDA. THEN SO-CALLED RENUNCIATION FORCE ITEM INTRODUCED. HOWEVER THROUGHOUT FULL YEAR NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS, MY SIDE PERSISTED IN UNJUSTIFIABLE POSITION ENCROACHING SOVEREIGNTY INTERFERING INTERNAL AFFAIRS. MY SIDE NEVER TRIED CONCEAL THIS INTENTION ENCROACH SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERFERENCE INTERNAL AFFAIRS UNDER RENUNCIATION FORCE PROPOSITION. IN THIS RESPECT MY REMARKS AT LAST MEETING ON RELATIONS BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT AND SOVERIGN AND INTERNAL AFFAIRS WERE STARTLING. ACCORDING MY LOGIC IT SEEMS ANY COUNTRY WHICH HAPPENS HAVE DEALING WITH US MUST ACCEPT ENCROACHMENT SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERFERENCE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ENTIRELY CONTRARY THIS ATTITUDE OF MY SIDE, THEIR SIDE ADOPTED SPIRIT CONCILIATION WITH VIEW RESOLVING SINO-AMERICAN DISPUTES AND MADE THREE SUCCESSIVE REASONABLE PROPOSALS THIS RESPECT. IT ONLY DUE PERSISTENCE MY SIDE IN UNREASONABLE DEMANDS, WE THUS FAR HAVE NOT SUCCEEDED AND TALKS DEVELOPED INTO DEADLOCK. EVIDENTLY UNTIL MY SIDE ABANDONS ATTEMPT ENCROACHMENT SOVERIEGNTY AND INTERFERENCE INTERNAL AFFAIRS NO PROGRESS

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COULD BE EXPECTED THIS QUESTION. IN SPITE ALL THIS, HIS SIDE HAD CONTINUED MAKE IMPORTANT EFFORTS WITH VIEW BREAKING DEADLOCK. THEIR SIDE HAD INTRODUCED TWO PROPOSALS FOR LIFTING EMBARGO AND PEOPLES CONTACT AND CULTURAL RELATIONS. IN MAKING THESE PROPOSALS THEIR SIDE BELIEVED AGREEMENT THESE MATTERS WHICH EASILY RESOLVED WOULD NOT ONLY DISPOSE THESE TWO OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, BUT ALSO DEFINITELY FACILITATE IMPROVEMENT ATMOSPHERE THESE TALKS, THUS CONTRIBUTING TO SOLUTION OTHER CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. HOWEVER MY SIDE HAD REJECTED BOTH THESE REASONABLE PROPOSITIONS. IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT MY SIDE EVEN REFUSED CONDUCT DISCUSSION THESE PROPOSALS. IN ADDITION TO MAKING ACCEPTANCE OF OUR TERMS ON RENUNCIATION FORCE ISSUE, PRECONDITION ALSO INTRODUCED PRETEXT OF HANDFUL AMERICANS WHO OFFENDED LAW IN CHINA AND SERVING SENTENCES IN CHINA. THESE PRETEXTS ALL BEEN REFUTED LONG AGO--WE OURSELVES WELL AWARE SUCH PRETEXTS UNTENABLE. EVERYBODY KNOWS PRETEXTS MY SIDE COULD IN NO SENSE JUSTIFY OBSTRUCTION LIFTING EMBARGO AND DEVELOPMENT PERSONAL CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE.

5. WANG CONTINUED, IN TAKING SUCH POSITION MY SIDE ONLY REVEALS SELF AS DELIBERATELY BLOCKING ANY PROGRESS IN AMBASSADORIAL TALKS AND FEARFUL ANY IMPROVEMENT SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. TALKS BETWEEN US AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL HAD TAKEN SUCH LONG TIME, DURING WHICH SO MANY TRIALS MADE. DESPITE FACT THEIR SIDE HAD MADE SUCH EFFORTS, THESE EFFORTS NOT REWARDED AS DESERVED. THEY CONSIDER NOW SUCH FUTILE SITUATION SHOULD NOT CONTINUE ANY LONGER. THEY CONSIDER IT IS TIME FOREIGN MINISTERS OUR COUNTRIES MEET FOR DIRECT TALKS. HENCE HE NOW FORMALLY PROPOSED FOREIGN MINISTERS CONFERENCE BETWEEN CHINA AND US BE HELD TO DISCUSS QUESTION RELAXING AND ELIMINATING TENSION TAIWAN AREA AS WELL AS QUESTIONS MUTUAL RENUNCIATION FORCE BY CHINA AND AMERICA, LIFTING EMBARGO, PERSONAL CONTACT AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE, ETC. IN MAKING THIS PROPOSAL THEIR SIDE WAS FULLY CONSCIOUS DUTY TO PEOPLE. WHAT IS AT STAKE IS FUTURE SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND INDEED PEACE IN FAR EAST AND WORLD. THEREFORE IT HIS EARNEST HOPE MY GOVT WOULD GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THIS PROPOSAL.

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Action Taken

44
Action

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Control: 10726
Rec'd: OCTOBER 18, 1956
10:32 PM

Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FE
Info

FROM: GENEVA

R

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 417, OCTOBER 18, 7 PM (SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN)

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6. I REPLIED WHEN MY GOVT MADE PROPOSAL FOR THESE TALKS HE WOULD WELL RECALL THAT IT PUT AS FIRST ITEM IN TERMS REFERENCE QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS. HIS GOVT AGREED HERE THIS WAS FIRST ITEM ON AGENDA. HIS GOVT WELL AWARE WHAT WE REFERRING TO WHEN USED TERM RETURN CIVILIANS. THERE HAD BEEN VARIOUS INDIRECT EXCHANGES BETWEEN OUR GOVTS ON SUBJECT AND IN 1954 HE AND I HERE DIRECTLY DISCUSSED MATTER. HAD BEEN DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT HERE BETWEEN OUR RESPECTIVE CONSULATES AND WHEN HE AND I FIRST MET HERE AUGUST LAST YEAR, I HAD GIVEN HIM LIST OF PEOPLE WITH WHOM WE CONCERNED IN DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT. THESE WERE PEOPLE WHO DENIED EXIT PERMITS FROM HIS COUNTRY AND PEOPLE IN PRISON. OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE PRIOR ISSUANCE ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT 10 LAST YEAR, SO FAR AS AMERICANS CONCERNED, CENTERED ENTIRELY AROUND THESE PEOPLE. SEPT 6 LAST YEAR HE INFORMED ME CASES THOSE REFUSED EXIT PERMITS HAD BEEN RESOLVED AND THEY BEING GIVEN SUCH PERMITS. THUS WHEN WE MADE ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT 10 ONLY CASES REMAINING WERE THOSE IN PRISON. HE WOULD WELL RECALL OUR LONG DISCUSSIONS THIS SUBJECT AND WOULD WELL RECALL HISTORY OF EACH OF WORDS APPEARING IN THAT ANNOUNCEMENT, PARTICULARLY WORD "EXPEDITIOUSLY." QUITE CLEAR INTENT MY GOVT THIS SUBJECT FROM VERY BEGINNING NOT ISSUANCE SOME VAGUE PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH RESOLVED NOTHING, BUT IN RESOLUTION PROBLEM ITSELF.

7. I CONTINUED, WE GIVEN THAT PROBLEM TO RESOLVE AND WAS ON VERY CLEAR UNDERSTANDING MY PART ISSUANCE OF THAT STATEMENT WOULD RESOLVE PROBLEM THAT I HAD AGREED TO ITS ISSUANCE. I WILLING AGREE TO WORDING THEREIN, WHICH NOT AS EXPLICIT AS WOULD HAVE LIKED TO SEE, IN DEFERENCE TO HIS VIEWS AND ON UNDERSTANDING IT COVERED PROBLEM WE GIVEN TO RESOLVE. I STILL CONSIDERED THAT AGREEMENT DID COVER PROBLEM. AS SAID AT TIME WE REACHED THAT AGREEMENT, HOWEVER, AGREEMENT

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AS SUCH DID NOT RESOLVE PROBLEM, ONLY CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT COULD RESOLVE PROBLEM. THIS WAS FIRST AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN US. ITS PROMPT FAITHFUL EXECUTION COULD HAVE HAD GREAT POTENTIALITIES FOR FUTURE OUR RELATIONS. I AND MY GOVT HAD MOST EARNESTLY HOPED IT WOULD BE PROMPTLY FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT. DURING PAST MONTHS HERE I HAD OVER AND OVER AGAIN POINTED OUT IT NOT BEING CARRIED OUT. THIS MORNING I POINTED OUT FACT REGARD JUST ONE CASE IN WHICH NOT CARRIED OUT, NOT ONLY RESPECT COMMITMENT RELEASE PERSON INVOLVED BUT ALSO WITH WHAT WE MIGHT TERM MORE MINOR MATTER OF THIRD PARTY FUNCTIONS. THUS THIS NOT MATTER OF ANY PRETEXT INVOLVING ANY FEW AMERICAN CITIZENS, IMPORTANT THOUGH EACH THEM WERE. IT TRANSCENDED EVEN THEIR IMPORTANCE. IT MATTER GOOD FAITH CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT HE AND I, AS AMBASSADORS REPRESENTING OUR TWO GOVTS, HAD SOLEMNLY ENTERED INTO. IF NOT GOOD FAITH CARRYING OUT AGREEMENTS REACHED BETWEEN US AS AMBASSADORS, IT CERTAINLY FUTILE CONSIDER NEGOTIATIONS AT ANOTHER LEVEL. THUS, PROGRESS BLOCKED NOT BY REFUSAL MY SIDE ENGAGE IN DISCUSSIONS OTHER AGREEMENTS, PROGRESS BLOCKED BY FAILURE HIS SIDE CARRY OUT AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED. PROGRESS MEASURED NOT BY NUMBER PAPER AGREEMENTS WE POUR OUT TO PRESS OF WORLD BUT BY WHAT WE ACTUALLY DO IN SOLVING PROBLEMS. I BEEN TRYING MY BEST URGE, IN EVERY WAY I CAPABLE, ON HIS GOVT THAT IT MAKE PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THIS FIRST PROBLEM BETWEEN US. HIS GOVT, AND ONLY HIS GOVT, HAD IT IN ITS POWER PERMIT US MAKE PROGRESS THIS REGARD. ENTIRELY CHOICE HIS GOVT AS TO WHETHER OR NOT PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE.

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Action Assigned to
Control: 10725 Action Taken
Rec'd: OCTOBER 18, 1956 10:38 PM
Date of Action 1
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Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 417, OCTOBER 18, 7 PM (SECTION FIVE OF SEVEN)

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FROM JOHNSON

8. I CONTINUED, WE NEXT BOTH AGREED MOST URGENT PROBLEM FACING US WAS THAT EXISTING TAIWAN AREA. I THOUGHT WE BOTH ACCEPTED OBVIOUS FACT SITUATION VERY COMPLEX AND DID NOT LEND ITSELF TO ANY READY AND EASY SOLUTION. WE DISAGREED VERY STRONGLY ABOUT ORIGINS, CAUSES, POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS AND OTHER ASPECTS THAT SITUATION. HOWEVER, THAT DID NOT MEAN WE HAD TO GO TO WAR ABOUT IT. WE COULD BOTH AGREE ONLY PEACEFUL METHODS BE USED IN PURSUING OUR POLICIES, AND RESOLVING THAT PROBLEM. THAT HAD BEEN MY PROPOSITION AND VERY SIMPLE PROPOSITION FROM VERY BEGINNING. ON OTHER HAND FROM VERY BEGINNING IT HAD BEEN THEIR POSITION THEY FREE USE FORCE AND THREAT FORCE IN ATTEMPT RESOLVE THAT SITUATON. MAKING SUCH CHARGES AS AN ATTEMPT BEING MADE INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFIARS, SOVEREIGNTY, OTHER SUCH MATTERS DID NOT OBSCURE FACT HE HAD NOT YET ACCEPTED SIMPLE PROPOSITION I HAD MADE THAT FORCE WOULD NOT BE USED RESOLVE THAT SITUATION.

9. I CONTINUED, WHEN HIS GOVT REACHED DECISION IT WILLING SAY WOULD NOT EMPLOY FORCE IN THAT AREA OR ANY OTHER AREAS IN WHICH WE FOUND POLICIES IN CONFLICT, AGREEMENT ON RENUNCIATION FORCE READILY POSSIBLE BETWEEN US. IF IT HAD NOT REACHED THAT DECISION AND WILLING STATE IT IN SIMPLE STRAIGHTFORWARD TERMS, NO AMOUNT DISCUSSION THIS OR ANY OTHER LEVEL COULD HOPE REACH AGREEMENT THAT SUBJECT. I HAD MADE IT CLEAR MY GOVT NOT WILLING ENTER INTO ANY STATEMENT, PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING OUR EXPERIENCE ON STATEMENT FIRST ITEM AGENDA, WHICH MEANS ONE THING TO ONE SIDE AND OTHER THING TO OTHER SIDE AND GIVES APPEARANCE TO WORLD AGREEMENT RENUNCIATON FORCE HAS BEEN REACHED WHEN SUCH AGREEMENT DOES NOT IN FACT EXIST

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EXIST. MY GOVT AND NO SELF-RESPECTING GOVT WILLING NEGOTIATE UNDER THREAT FORCE. THAT THREAT USE FORCE IN TAIWAN STILL PUBLICLY BEING STATED BY HIGH OFFICIALS HIS GOVT. WHEN THAT THREAT REMOVED WE COULD DISCUSS WAYS AND MEANS WHEREBY OTHER EXISTING PROBLEMS BETWEEN US COULD BE RESOLVED. I HAD CONTINUE HOPE HE WOULD ENTER INTO AGREEMENT WITH ME WHICH WOULD RE-NOUNCE THREAT FORCE, THUS OPEN UP WAY SETTLEMENT OTHER PROBLEMS. US WAS ONE WHO MADE THIS PROPOSAL--EXPRESED WILLINGNESS UNCONDITIONALLY RENOUNCE USE THREAT FORCE IN SETTLEMENT THAT DISPUTE. I STILL HOPED HIS GOVT COULD PERCEIVE THAT ACCEPTANCE THAT SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD PROPOSITON AS WELL AS CARRYING OUT FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US WAS IN ITS OWN INTEREST AS WELL AS IN INTEREST PEACE IN FAR EAST AND WORLD. IF THERE WAS GOOD FAITH THIS WAS SOMETHING ENTIRELY CAPABLE RESOLUTON BETWEEN US HERE. IF NOT GOOD FAITH CERTAINLY COULD NOT BE RESOLVED AT OTHER LEVEL DISCUSSION.

10. WANG REPLIED HE NOT GOING MAKE MORE COMMENTS ON COURSE OUR TALKS HERE AS RECORD OF MORE THAN YEAR PAST HAS FULLY PROVED TREMENDOUS EFFORTS PUT IN THESE TALKS BY THEIR SIDE. HE RECALLED OCCASION ON WHICH I HAD INDICATED TALKS ON THIS AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL CAPABLE RESOLVING ISSUES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. AT THAT TIME HE HAD SAID DISAGREED WITH THAT VIEW BUT ADDED IF US GENUINELY DESIROUS DO SO, OF COURSE HE GLAD GO ALONG. I HAD STATED THAT FOR OUR TALKS TO GO AHEAD DEPENDS ON RESOLUTION PRACTICAL PROBLEMS, TO THIS HE READILY AGREED. HOWEVER RECORD OF PAST YEAR DEMONSTRATED US GOVT NOT PRODUCED AUTHORITY FOR SETTLING ISSUES AND HAD NOT SHOWN WILLINGNESS DO SO.

11. WANG CONTINUED, I HAD JUST MADE STATEMENT COVERING QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS AS WELL AS WHAT I CALLED EXISTENCE THREAT USE FORCE TAIWAN. BOTH THESE QUESTIONS DEMONSTRATED FUNDAMENTALLY ERRONEOUS APPROACH MY SIDE TO THESE QUESTIONS. WE MUST RECOGNIZE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUAL BENEFIT MUST BE OBSERVED IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS TO RESOLVE CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. IN MY STATEMENT I HAD REPEATEDLY SAID I EXPECTED HIS GOVT DO THUS AND SO. THIS APPROACH TO TALKS ENTIRELY REVEALS STANDPOINT MY SIDE; THAT IS MY SIDE ONLY TAKES ACCOUNT OF OWN INTERESTS. ON QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS, IF US NOT WILLING TAKE ANY ACTION OR MAKE GESTURES TO IMPROVE SITUATON OF

CHINESE

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CHINESE IN US DESIRING RETURN CHINA AND IF US ONLY MADE CHARGES AGAINST HIS GOVT, HOW COULD SUCH APPROACH FACILITATE OUR RESOLVING THE QUESTION. WITH REFERENCE CASES CHINESE RESIDENTS IN US WHO LONG EXPRESSED DESIRE RETURN HOMELAND AND NOT ABLE DO SO, CAN THIS SITUATION INDICATE GOOD FAITH ON PART US TO CARRY OUR AGREEMENT? US AUTHORITIES BEEN TRYING COERCE CHINESE RESIDENTS WHO DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY TO APPLY FOR SO-CALLED TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS OR EVEN CAUSE THEM PROCEED TAIWAN ITSELF AND US AUTHORITIES TRYING COERCE CHINESE OBTAIN PERMANENT RESIDENCE US. COULD ALL THESE CASES BE DESCRIBED AS RECORD AMERICAN GOOD FAITH. IF WE WERE TO TALK ABOUT GOOD FAITH QUESTON INVOLVED US ALONE.

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Action Assigned to

53-D
Action
FE

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Action Taken

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4:58 PM

Action

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Init. of Officer

Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

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LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

12. WANG CONTINUED, NEXT, ON QUESTION EXISTENCE THREAT FORCE TAIWAN. IS IT NOT SITUATION US POSING THREAT FORCE AGAINST CHINA? HOW CAN ANYONE SAY THAT IN TAIWAN IT CHINA POSING THREAT FORCE AGAINST US? WAS IT NOT FACT PRECISELY CHINA WHICH FIRST PROPOSED CHINA AND US SHOULD ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS SETTLE CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES TAIWAN AREA. WAS IT NOT FACT CHINESE MADE UNTIRING EFFORTS THESE TALKS AND REPEATEDLY PUT FORTH PROPOSALS WITH VIEW IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES? WAS IT NOT FACT US REPEATEDLY REFUSED ANY IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES? TO SUM UP FACTS VERY CLEAR. PROBLEM FACING US NOT FOR CHINA DO THUS AND SO BUT PROBLEM WAS FOR US TO IMPROVE NEGOTIATIONS AND CONTRIBUTE TO SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS. THEY ON THEIR PART ALWAYS DESIRED AND ALWAYS MADE EFFORTS OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES SO THAT PROBLEMS MIGHT BE RESOLVED. THEY HAD MADE MANY EFFORTS THIS DIRECTION. NOW THAT IN THESE TALKS WHOLE SERIES OF QUESTION AND EVEN SOME MINOR ONES HAD NOT BEEN RESOLVED, SPITE ALL THEIR EFFORTS, WAS IT NOT TIME CONSIDER HOLDING FMC RPT FMC TO RESOLVE ALL THESE QUESTIONS? COULD IT BE THAT US GOVT DETERMINED CONTINUE PRESENT SITUATION THESE TALKS WITHOUT SETTLING ANY ISSUES AND ON OTHER HAND REFUSED TO RAISE LEVEL OF NEGOTIATIONS? THEY HOPED THAT IN INTEREST IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US AND IN INTEREST PEACE, US WILL NOT TAKE THAT COURSE OF ACTION. HOPED US GOVT WOULD GIVE CAREFUL AND FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION TO PROPOSAL HE HAD MADE THIS MORNING CONCERNING HOLDING FMC.

13. I REPLIED, HE HAD SPOKEN OF MUTUAL BENEFIT IN NEGOTIATIONS. I CERTAINLY AGREED. WE ENTERED INTO THIS AGREEMENT ON CIVILIANS ON UNDERSTANDING IT WAS TO BE OF MUTUAL BENEFIT. FORTUNATELY THERE WAS WAY OF UNDISPUTABLE DEMONSTRATING TO WHOSE BENEFIT IT HAD OPERATED. THERE WERE FACTS WITH REGARD

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TO IT THAT DID NOT REST ON UNSUPPORTED ASSERTIONS. FACTS WERE THAT UNDER THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT WITH WHICH WE AGREED, MY GOVT HAD NOT RECEIVED SINGLE ALLEGATION ANY OBSTRUCTION OFFERED TO ANY OF TENS THOUSANDS CHINESE IN MY COUNTRY. FACTS WERE AS I CITED THIS MORNING THAT IN ADDITION TO AMERICANS COVERED BY AGREEMENT STILL REMAINING IN PRISON HIS GOVT HAD REJECTED REPRESENTATION OF THIRD PARTY MADE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THAT AGREEMENT AND HAD PREVENTED THIRD PARTY FROM OPERATING EVEN LIMITED WAY SET FORTH THAT AGREEMENT. I'D HOPE AT OUR NEXT MEETING HE WOULD BE IN POSITION ASSURE ME THIS SITUATION BEEN CORRECTED.

14. WANG REPLIED, ALSO WANTED POINT OUT FACT MANY CHINESE IMPRISONED IN AMERICA. THEY HAD NOT SEEN ANY INITIATIVE TAKEN BY US IMPROVE THEIR SITUATION. AS HE HAD MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY CHINESE IN US STILL SUBJECT SO MANY UNREASONABLE RESTRICTIONS. HOPED US WOULD IMPROVE LOT. HE MEANT SUCH RESTRICTIONS AS SO-CALLED TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT.

15. I REPLIED, NO CHINESE IN US EVER FORCED GO TAIWAN AGAINST HIS WILL. NO CHINESE WHO DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY HAD IN ANY WAY BEEN OBSTRUCTED DOING SO. ONLY ACTION OF HIS GOVT PREVENTED THIRD PARTY FROM DETERMINING IN IMPARTIAL MANNER DESIRES OF CHINESE WHO IMPRISONED FOR COMMON CRIMES. MIGHT MENTION THAT SINCE LAST INFORMED HIM, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, 222 CHINESE HAVE RETURNED HIS COUNTRY SINCE AUG 1 LAST YEAR. CHINESE CONTINUE FREELY DEPART FOR HIS COUNTRY AT ANY TIME THEY DESIRE.

16. WANG SAID WOULD BE VERY HAP Y TO TAKE MY WORD REGARDING CHINESE IN US, BUT EVEN HAPPIER SEE FACTS ACTUALLY SO.

17. I SAID FORTUNATELY HE HAD INDIAN EMBASSY THERE WHICH COULD ASSURE HIM OF FACTS.

18. WANG SAID BUT INDIAN EMBASSY NOT INFORMED THEM US HAS ALREADY RESCINDED SO-CALLED REQUIREMENT FORCING CHINESE OBTAIN TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT. VERY MUCH HOPED SUCH PROOF COULD BE GIVEN THEM.

GOWEN

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OMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

3-48

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Info

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 10743
Rec'd: OCTOBER 18, 1956
11:17 PM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken on
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer 1
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 417, OCTOBER 18, 7 P.M. (SECTION SEVEN OF SEVEN)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

19. I SAID THAT NOT ISSUE, ISSUE IS DOES ANY CHINESE IN US FEEL HE BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM RETURNING? ESTABLISHED THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT TO TAKE CARE OF THAT. HAD INDIAN EMBASSY INFORMED HIM OF EVEN SINGLE CASE CHINESE WHO ALLEGED HE BEING OBSTRUCTED? I HAD ASSURED HIM WE BEEN AND CONTINUE WILLING TAKE ACTION IMMEDIATELY ANY CASE BROUGHT OUR ATTENTION BY INDIAN EMBASSY. THIS SHARPLY CONTRASTED WITH ATTITUDE TAKEN BY HIS GOVT WITH RESPECT REPRESENTATIONS ALREADY MADE TO HIS GOVT BY UK CHARGE. HARDLY ANY MUTUAL BENEFIT OR RECIPROCITY IN SITUATION FROM US STANDPOINT..

20. WANG SAID FACT INDIAN EMBASSY HAS NOT MADE REPRESENTATION DID NOT MEAN CASES DO NOT EXIST. PAST EXPERIENCE OF CHINESE IN US STILL HAUNTING THEM. UNLESS US GOVT GOING TO TAKE POSITIVE EFFECT MEASURES TO IMPROVE THEIR SITUATION, SUCH INFLUENCE COULD NOT BE EASILY REMOVED.

21. I SAID CERTAINLY DID NOT SEEM PREVENT CHINESE DEPARTING US WHENEVER DESIRE. US HAD AND WOULD CONTINUE FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT AGREEMENT INTO WHICH WE ENTERED, IN SPITE FACT HIS AUTHORITIES NOT ONLY NOT CARRIED OUT AGREEMENT IN BROAD ASPECTS BUT EVEN IN DETAILS. I KNEW OF NO WAY IN WHICH WE COULD BETTER SHOW C GOOD FAITH.

22. WANG COULD ONL' SAY THESE REMARKS SOUNDED VERY NICE BUT COER ION SUCH AS REQUIREMENT SECURE TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT STILL EXISTED. HE HOPED I WOULD GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO PROPOSAL HE MADE THIS MORNING.

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447, OCTOBER 18, 7 P.M. (SECTION SEVEN OF SEVEN) FROM GENEVA

23. NEITHER OF US HAVING ANY MORE TO SAY, I ASKED IF NOV 1 AGREEABLE. HE SUGGESTED FRIDAY, NOV 2. I AGREED.

GOWEN

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737

TELEGRAM **Department of State** ACTION COPY

3-48

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 11710
Rec'd: October 20, 1956
12:08 a.m.

FROM: Prague

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 189, October 19, 5 p.m.

SENT DEPARTMENT 189; REPEATED INFORMATION GENEVA 9.

GENEVA FOR OSBORN

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

In order obtain maximum coverage and assist relations with press in Geneva suggest that press officer Geneva be authorized make simultaneous release proposed press statement on CHICOM implementation agreed announcement.

JOHNSON

LR:ALR -12

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611.93/10-1956

PA

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MAR - 2 1959

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM 738

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12197 768

1956 OCT 24 PM 6 51

DC/T

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SENT TO: Amembassy PRAGUE 137

Origin

EYES ONLY JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

1. You should inform Wang on October 31 that for administrative reasons you request postponement next meeting from November 2 to Thursday, November 8.

2. In view your assessment that Chinese Communists may move toward suspension or termination of talks next meeting Osborn should urgently update historical review of talks and forward to Department, if possible prior next meeting, as it might be required on short notice. Also have Osborn prepare condensed summary of talks suitable for publishing in three or four pages Current Foreign Relations.

Dulles
HSR

611.93/10-24 56

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Drafted by: E:CA:WPMcConaughy:bp 10/24/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger (in substance)
FE - Mr. Sebald

S - The Secretary (in substance)

S/S

SECRET
Classification

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139

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
OCT 26 19
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☑ Releasable
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☐ Deny) Basis-1-301
☐ Downgrade to October 25, 1956
☐ Review Again
☑ Reviewer _____ Date 1/4/78

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Dear Walter:

From your note on the slip transmitting Fr. McCarthy's latest letter, I got the impression there may have been some misunderstanding back there about the nature of the proposed statement mentioned in the Ambassador's last comment telegram. As will have been made clear by the Ambassador's letter No. 47, this statement is proposed for release only in case Wang breaks or comes close to it, and was not intended as a recommended draft of the statement on implementation. I hope no delay has been occasioned in the release of the Department's statement.

As to why the Chinese Communists allowed the McCarthy incident to happen, it seems only to make sense (and even then not good sense) if it is remembered that the Chicoms have their own interpretation of the Agreed Announcement, which differs from ours -- or from any rational man's. In the light of their distorted interpretation, the McCarthy correspondence documents, [redacted] not a case of infraction of the Announcement, but a case of fulfillment of its terms. They maintain that the Announcement applies to imprisoned Americans, so far as the right to contact the UK Charge is concerned; however, they say the Americans' right of expeditious return can only be exercised after their cases have been "settled". Accordingly, the Chicoms maintain that there can be no question of "obstruction" until after settlement of a case. Further, they insist that neither the Announcement nor the third power arrangement has any relation to the sentences or the treatment of imprisoned Americans.

Another element in the picture is the fact that Wang was so obviously not briefed on the details of the McCarthy

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Officie of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

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Lot 72 D 415

incident. If the whole thing had been carefully planned, Wang would surely have been briefed. Accordingly it seems reasonable to suppose the incident reflects neither a calculated maneuver nor a significant change of policy. It probably occurred as an unforeseen development in the carrying out of existing policies.

I would guess at a sequence of events something like this:

1. The Chicoms allowed McCarthy to send his September 1 letter because they did not want to have McCarthy, after his eventual release, charging them with having denied him this elementary right under the Agreed Announcement, a right which they have acknowledged, even under their strained interpretation of the Announcement.

2. The Chicoms permitted McCarthy to request an interview with the UK Charge, and they O.K.'d the UK arrangements for the interview, because they wanted to provide an illustration of Chicom compliance with the Agreed Announcement -- as they interpret it.

3. In the meantime, spunky, outspoken Fr. McCarthy precipitates the contradicitions inherent in the Chicom interpretation of the Announcement by telling his jailers what he plans to say to Addis. He makes it clear he is going to tell Addis just how unjust his imprisonment has been, and is going to ask that the UK Charge make representations, not merely asking for his, McCarthy's release, but also setting forth in full detail the injustice of the "obstruction" that has been offered in his case. The jailers pass these remarks on to Peiping and request instructions.

4. Peiping cannot accept McCarthy's right to request this kind of representation without by implication acknowledging: (a) that imprisonment constitutes obstruction, and (b) that the justice/injustice of charges, treatment of prisoners, etc., are legitimate subjects of concern under the Agreed Announcement. Therefore Peiping advises the Shanghai jailers that McCarthy has no right to ask for the kind of representations he wants. When this word is given to McCarthy, he takes everybody completely by surprise with his refusal to see Addis.

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5. Given the above background, and the Chicom inerpretation of the Agreed Announcement, their decision to let McCarthy's October 6 letter pass is not surprising. They realize how suspicious this affair has looked to Addis and will look to the world; they welcome this confirmation that McCarthy had indeed refused to see Addis. To the Chicoms, in the light of their interpretation of the Announcement, McCarthy's October 6 letter illustrates, not their infraction of the terms of the Announcement, but their consistency in abiding by these terms, as they have been construed in Peiping.

All this is mere guesswork, of course, but it seems to me the most probable explanation of what has happened. The one encouraging thing about the affair, to my mind, is that Peiping still feels constrained to maintain the pretense of compliance with the Announcement, and there is thus still some hope for further releases in the not-too-distant future.

Please excuse the hasty drafting, necessitated by the fact our weekly pouch is closing in about half an hour.

Hope to see you all one of these days. Regards to all, from the both of us

Sincerely,

David L. Osborn

P.S. I appreciated the September monthly notes very much. Hope to receive October's also. Thanks, Irene and Doug.

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WPM (Copy to RNC

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

October 31, 1956

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☑ Reviewer _____ Date _____

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

SECRET

Letter No. 48

Dear Walter:

Just a very brief note late tonight in the hope that I will have a reply from Wang early tomorrow morning on the postponement of the meeting. (I have just drafted a telegram letting you know the status as of tonight.) I felt November 15 was as far as I could safely shoot for and it is evident that even this date has thrown them into something of a spin as I still have no reply. I take it that it is not the intent of the Department that I build this up into too big an issue, and, if he doesn't agree will have to play it by ear.

I had thought of trying to handle the whole matter of postponement from Prague, but as I was very anxious to go over the summary and history of the talks decided that I must come down here to do that if they were to be gotten off to you in this week's pouch which leaves

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

tomorrow. I was and still am confident nothing dramatic is imminent there.

We have had to work very hurriedly on these today in the expectation I will be able to leave for Prague early tomorrow, and to connect with tomorrow's pouch. It was physically impossible to recopy all of the White Paper in its revised form in time for tomorrow's pouch. I am therefore enclosing with this letter only the major revisions with an indication as to where they are inserted and the full revised copy will be sent in Sunday's pouch.

I think that with a few minor changes it would be possible to use the article we have done for Current Foreign Relations as a substitute for the original summary section of the White Paper. Of course, this somewhat depends on the audience to whom we are primarily directing the White Paper. You will note that in our Foreign Relations article we have struck the note that in spite of their failures, the talks did accomplish something and it was therefore a good idea to hold them. This may be very good for some audiences but it inevitably tends to give the Chinese Communists something on the credit side of their ledger. One could make the approach that the talks were a complete failure because of Chinese Communist intransigence, but it seems to me this tends to impugn the wisdom of holding them. I have tried to preserve a

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balance between extremes here, but undoubtedly Walter and the Secretary will want carefully to consider particularly the note struck in the opening paragraphs. In any event I know all of you back there will also have many suggestions for improvements. I think it would be well for you to have someone not too familiar with the talks to read the White Paper draft to test reactions. I realize that time may well not permit, but if possible I would appreciate an opportunity to comment on any major substantive changes. I will have a copy with me in Prague.

Thursday morning.

No word yet this morning. In order to give credence to necessity my being in Prague tomorrow am leaving this morning. Am returning by car as in any event would be impossible obtain plane until tomorrow morning.

Regards to all,

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Encl. Major revisions of draft White Paper on Talks.

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Control: 126
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 1, 1956
3:58 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 451, NOVEMBER 1, 8 AM

1

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

WITHOUT GIVING WANG ANY INDICATION WHETHER I AM IN GENEVA PASSED MESSAGE TO HIM EARLY AFTERNOON TODAY (OCT 31) THROUGH INTERPRETER THAT NOT REPEAT NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME MEET AS SCHEDULED NOV 2 AS NECESSARY BE PRESENT POST AT THAT TIME AND SUGGEST NEXT MEETING NOV 15 "ACCORDING CUSTOMARY SCHEDULE." ALTHOUGH I HAVE DETERMINED HE SUBSEQUENTLY ARRIVED GENEVA LATE AFTERNOON PLANE AS OF LATE TONIGHT STILL HAVE NO REPLY. ASSUME THIS INDICATES HE HAS FELT IT NECESSARY CONSULT PEIPING.

GOWEN

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Control: 228
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 1, 1956
5:51 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 453, NOVEMBER 1, 10 AM

P R I O R I T Y

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

NO REPEAT NO REPLY YET FROM WANG. AM DEPARTING FOR PRAUGE THIS MORNING. HAVE ARANGED TO KEEP IN TOUCH EN ROUTE WITH OSBORN WHO WILL KEEP DEPARTMENT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS.
DRAFTS REQUESTED PAPERS GOING FORWARD TODAY'S POUCH.

GOWEN

TJI

CA/D
Noted.

WPMcC

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Control: 518
Rec'd: November 1, 1956
12:11 p.m.

FROM: Geneva

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 456, November 1, 3 p.m.

PRIORITY

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM OSBORN

Wang agreed next meeting November 15. Usual announcement press, postponement "for administrative reasons".

GOWEN

JLN/6

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November 9, 1956

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Letter No. 58

Official - Informal

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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☑ Reviewed _____ Date 9/5/84

Dear Alex:

The world shaking events in Hungary and Egypt have indeed crowded out our Geneva operation. It is just as well that we were able to take a back seat at this time.

You handled the postponement of last week's meeting precisely right. We agree that a two week postponement was all that could justifiably be requested in the circumstances. The confluence of the crises in eastern Europe and the Suez ~~developments~~, with the pre-occupations of the pre-election week undoubtedly made the reasons for postponement quite understandable.

EUR is no doubt less uneasy about your leaving your post for the next meeting. They were quite apprehensive last week, but your assessment that no early eruption in Czechoslovakia should be anticipated, should remove any strong objection to your absence from Prague next week. However, EUR from a longer range standpoint is not happy with the double duty arrangement.

There has been no meeting yet on your instructions for the next session. With the Secretary in the hospital and with Herman Phleger

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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Lot 72 D 415

deeply engrossed in the two major crises, the meeting will be largely a FE proposition. I do not anticipate anything new. We will consider the pros and cons of taking up the missing military personnel issue at Geneva again at the next meeting, but I would not be surprised if we postponed it for at least one more meeting.

The British still have no reply from the Chinese Communists, either to the Father McCarthy representation or to the general request of last August for permission to visit all American prisoners. Relations between the British Mission in Peiping and the Chinese Communist Foreign Office are more strained than they have been since the Korean Armistice, With the Egyptian crises added to the Hong Kong border violation incident and the nasty attitude the Chinese Communists have taken on the Hong Kong riots.

In reading over your letter of September 22, requesting a change in the method of payment for Helenka Osborn, we find your request somewhat ambiguous ....

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. . . . We would appreciate your clarifying your proposal in your next letter and we will do the best we can to satisfy your needs.

We are enclosing a copy of a document spelling out Chinese Communist adherence to certain provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949.

Walter Robertson is to leave Washington November 22 for Wellington, where he will head the U. S. Delegation at the Colombo Plan Meeting December 4-8. After that, he will visit Djakarta, Manila, Hong Kong and Tokyo from Dec. 11 to Dec. 18, arriving back in Washington about December 20. Mrs. Robertson and Howard Jones will accompany him.

We were glad to get your letters No. 47 and 48 on October 29

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and November 5 respectively. You and Dave indeed did a good job on the summary and history of the talks. It is good to have this on hand, whether Wang makes any major move at the next meeting or not.

Regards and good wishes,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Clipping from PDIS- Nov. 6, "UNC Committee Approves Geneva Accords".
2. Clipping from PDIS-Nov. 7, "GRR Ratifies Four Geneva Conventions".

745

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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08089

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 531

Origin

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Guidance for November 15 meeting.

1. Press further your attack of last meeting on Communist failure carry out Agreed Announcement. Using McCarthy case as illustration, point out how Communists have not only failed carry out basic commitment release Americans expeditiously, but are balking at supplementary provisions of Agreed Announcement extending rights to third power.

FYI We consider McCarthy case represents major weakness in Communist position which you should exploit to maximum. O'Neill could not get appointment with Peiping Vice Minister Foreign Affairs and therefore embodied in letter delivered last week points made our Aide Memoire October 22, with exception last sentence numbered subparagraph 2 which he is holding for later use. You need not restrict your presentation to points made by O'Neill and may include latter point also if you consider desirable. We have withheld for time being public statement on McCarthy case because developments in Egypt and Eastern Europe would cause such statement receive little attention from world press. END FYI

2. If Wang should press you on question Chinese prisoners in US,

Drafted by: FE:CA:RNClough:WPMcConaughy:emm 11/13/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger (in draft)
FE - Mr. Sebald (in draft)

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NOV 13 1956 P.M.

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you may inform him of Red Cross survey and fact that James Lew, only Chinese convict choosing go to Communist China, sailed October 29. Do not mention unless Wang presses. FYI We do not contemplate public statement on prisoner survey until issue of 2 prisoners desiring deportation to Taiwan (Deptel 407 repeated Geneva 529) to Taipei/ is resolved, unless developments should make earlier statement desirable. END FYI

3. Reject Communist demand for Foreign Ministers Conference in same manner as last meeting, emphasizing Communist responsibility for failure make progress present talks. Hold to previous positions on renunciation of force, trade and cultural exchange.

4. Reserve missing military personnel item for presentation later meeting.

5. Contingency statement transmitted with your letter October 17 has been revised in Department. It is being telegraphed separately for your use in event Wang refuses meet again. Separate statement would be issued here.

ACTING

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification
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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 532

Origin

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FOR JOHNSON

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611.93

Re DEPTEL 531, Paragraph 5, following is approved text for your use if Wang should suspend talks.

QUOTE At today's meeting Ambassador Wang advised me that the Chinese Communists were suspending further ambassadorial meetings.

In effect, he refused to meet further unless the US capitulates to the Communist demand for a Foreign Ministers conference. At the same time Wang made clear that the Communists would not agree to renounce the use of force in the Taiwan area. He also demanded that the U.S. remove its existing controls over trade and travel between the US and China.

I have told Ambassador Wang that for my part I stand ready to meet with him in an attempt to reach agreement on an unconditional declaration which would remove the existing threat of the Chinese Communists to resort to force in the Taiwan area and would assure that our differences will be settled by peaceful means only.

I am certain my government will not accept the unilateral breakoff of these talks as a pretext for the continued violation by the Chinese Communists of the terms of the agreed announcement of September 10, 1955.

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Drafted by: FE:CA:WPMcConaughy/ikb 11/13/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter S. Robertson

Clearances:
L-Mr. Phleger (cleared in substance)
FE-Mr. Sebald (cleared in draft)
FE/P-Mr. Henderson (cleared in draft)

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As a result of this violation ten unfortunate Americans are still held in Chinese Communist prisons.

I have informed Ambassador Wang that any communications can be transmitted through our respective consular offices here in Geneva END QUOTE

ACTING

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Geneva Box

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Control: 10524
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 15, 1956
10:51 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 508, NOVEMBER 15, 1 PM

Action Assigned to

Action Taken

Date of Action

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Name of Officer

Direction

PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

ONE HOUR FIFTY-FIVE MINUTE MEETING TODAY. I MADE OPEN-
ING STATEMENT POINTING OUT PROGRESS THWARTED BY PRC UNWILL-
INGNESS AGREE DISPUTES WOULD BE SETTLED BY PEACEFUL MEANS
ONLY AND PRC FAILURE CARRY OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, LEADING
INTO MCCARTHY CASE INCLUDING CHARGE UK HAS NOT EVEN BEEN
PERMITTED CARRY OUT CLEARLY SPECIFIED FUNCTION INVESTIGATION
FACTS, AND NOTING NO REPLY UK CHARGE'S AUGUST 23 LETTER RE-
QUESTING INTERVIEW OTHER PRISONERS.

WANG REPLIED WITH SOMEWHAT PERFUNCTORY RESTATEMENT
THEIR POSITION LAST MEETING ON FUTILITY TALKS, DEADLOCK AND
NECESSITY FOR FMC THEN SHIFTING OVER TO IMPLEMENTATION.
ADDITIONAL EXAMPLE US OBSTRUCTION WAS FBI INVESTIGATION
INTO CHINESE STUDENTS' CORRESPONDENCE WITH FAMILIES
WHICH "FRESH THREAT AGAINST THOSE WISHING TO RETURN AND
VIOLATION AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT". ON MCCARTHY STATED HIS
SENTENCE EXPIRES JUNE 1957, FAMILIAR RESTATEMENT QUESTION
RIGHT RETURN DOES NOT ARISE PRIOR TO RELEASE, UK PERMITTED
INTERVIEW ACCORDANCE PRISON REGULATIONS BUT MCCARTHY REFUSED.
REFERRING US PROPOSAL INDIANS INTERVIEW PRISONERS IN US
SAID THIS ONLY "SCREENING IN DISGUISE" AND LIST PRISONERS
GIVEN INDIANS IMCOMPLETE. "IF US WANTS UK CHARGE BE ABLE CONTACT
US PRISONERS ON OWN ITITIATIVE US SHOULD GIVE INDIANS LIST
OF ALL CHINESE IN US CONCERNING ALL THOSE IN PRISON AND AGREE
INDIAN EMBASSY CAN CONTACT CHINESE IN US ON OWN INITIATIVE IN

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UNRESTRICTED MANNER". NEVERTHELESS IF UK CHARGE RECEIVES REQUEST FROM US PRISONER IN PRC INTERVIEW WILL BE PERMITTED IF IT TAKES PLACE CONFORMITY REGULATIONS. DURING COURSE SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION ALSO REFERRED "WALTER ROBERTSON'S AIDE MEMOIRE" JUNE 1 TO INDIAN EMBASSY STATING CHINESE PRISONERS IN US NOT COVERED BY AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THUS US POSITION HAS BEEN SELF-CONTRADICTORY.

THERE WAS EXTENDED GIVE AND TAKE ON IMPLEMENTATION DURING WHICH I VIGOROUSLY ATTACKED ALL ASPECTS THEIR POSITION ON AMERICANS IN PRISON. HE WAS CLEARLY ON DEVENSIVE DURING COURSE HIS DEFENSE HE CHARGED NOT SINGLE CHINESE PRISONER HAD RETURNED FROM US. DURING COURSE REPLY I STATED "WAS NOW IN POSITION ASSURE HIM THAT NOT SINGLE ALIEN CHINESE DESIRING RETURN REMAINS IN US PRISONS". HE REJECTED THIS AS FACT BUT DID NOT PRESS ME FOR DETAILS AND I NOT AMPLIFY.

AT CLOSE MEETING WHEN HE MADE PRO FORMA STATEMENT HOPING US GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE SOMETHING SAY NEXT MEETING ON FMC PROPOSAL, I SAID HAD ALREADY MADE OUR POSITION CLEAR AND WHEN HE REPLIED THEY "DIDN'T FEEL IT WAS SATISFACTORY" I SHARPLY RETORTED THAT I NOT SATISFIED WITH RESPONSES HIS GOVERNMENT AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE SOME EFFORTS THEIR PART CARRY OUT AGREEMENT ALREADY REACHED. ALSO ADDED THAT IN VIEW RETROGRESSION SITUATION AMERICANS IN CHINA" IT WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER IF WE HAD NEVER MADE AGREEMENT". MEETING ENDED ON THIS SHARP NOTE. I PROPOSED NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 29 BUT AGREED HIS PROPOSAL FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 30. DEPARTING PRAGUE TOMORROW.

GOWEN

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Control: 10839
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 15, 1956
3:22 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 514, NOVEMBER 15, 6 PM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
of Action
Office Symbol
Officer
to DC/R

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

COMMENTS TODAY'S MEETING:

WHATEVER REASON MAY BE WANG'S PERFORMANCE TODAY'S MEETING WAS CLEARLY MARKING TIME OPERATION. ALTHOUGH I PRESSED HIM HARD AND SHARPLY ON IMPLEMENTATION, PARTICULARLY AT END OF MEETING, HIS RESPONSES WERE DEFENSIVE AND RELATIVELY MILD. WHILE CONSIDERABLY LESS EMPHASIS THAN LAST MEETING ON BREAK ASPECTS THERE WAS NO SHIFT HIS SUBSTANTIVE POSITION AND THEY CONTINUE IN POSITION OF HAVING LAID GROUND FOR BREAK AT TIME THEIR CHOOSING.

FROM OBSERVATION PAPERS FROM WHICH HE TALKED, ETC., HAD IMPRESSION THAT PORTION HIS OPENING STATEMENT ON MCCARTHY AND IMPLEMENTATION WAS MADE UP FROM DRAFT PUBLIC STATEMENT THEY HAD PREPARED FOR REBUTTAL OF PUBLIC STATEMENT THEY ANTICIPATED FROM US ON SUBJECT.

I UTILIZED POINT LAST SENTENCE SUB-PARA 2 OCTOBER 22 AIDE MEMOIRE TO BRITISH ON THEORY THAT WHATEVER TECHNICAL ASPECTS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT PREVIOUS BRITISH REQUESTS O'NEIL'S LETTER LAST WEEK CONSTITUTED FORMAL REQUEST "IN-VESTIGATE FACTS WHICH CHICOMS HAVE NOT YET GRANTED.

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3:28 P.M.

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Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 515, NOVEMBER 15, 6 PM (SECTION ONE OF FIVE)

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

FROM JOHNSON

1. I OPENED 61ST MEETING WITH PREPARED STATEMENT:

A. "AT LAST MEETING I AGAIN POINTED OUT AS CLEARLY AS KNOW HOW PROGRESS IN RESOLVING OUR DISPUTES CONTINUES BE THWARTED BY UNWILLINGNESS YOUR GOVERNMENT AGREE TO FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITION DISPUTES WILL BE SETTLED BY PEACEFUL MEANS ONLY, AS WELL AS BY FAILURE YOUR GOVERNMENT CARRY OUT SIMPLE TERMS OF FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US.

B. PARTICULARLY REITERATED MY HOPE SITUATION WITH REGARD IMPLEMENTATION OF THAT FIRST AGREEMENT WOULD BE CORRECTED SO BASIS OF CONFIDENCE COULD BE ESTABLISHED. AM ENORMOUSLY DISAPPOINTED DURING PERIOD SINCE LAST MEETING NOT EVEN SINGLE STEP BEEN TAKEN IN THAT DIRECTION.

C. AT LAST MEETING PARTICULARLY SPOKE OF CASE MR. MCCARTHY, WHICH EXEMPLIFIED NOT ONLY FAILURE YOUR ATUTHORITIES CARRY OUT THEIR BASIC COMMITMENT EXPEDITIOUSLY RELEASE AMERICANS, BUT THEIR FAILURE HONOR EVEN SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS OF AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 LAST YEAR WHICH EXTENDED VERY SPECIFIC RIGHTS TO THIRD PARTIES DESIGNATED THEREIN.

D. IN SPITE OF RENEWED REPRESENTATIONS OF UK CHARGE WITH RESPECT FR. MCCARTHY, HE HAS NOT ONLY NOT YET BEEN RELEASED BUT UK CHARGE HAS NOT EVEN BEEN PERMITTED CARRY OUT HIS CLEARLY SPECIFIED FUNCTION OF INVESTIGATING FACTS IN CASE. NEITHER HAS UK CHARGE BEEN GIVEN EVEN REPLY TO HIS LETTER OF ALMOST THREE MONTHS AGO RENEWING REQUEST INTER-

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VIEW OTHER AMERICANS STILL IMPRISONED, NOR HAVE ANY OF THOSE PERSONS BEEN RELEASED RETURN US.

E. IF YOUR GOVERNMENT IS SINCERELY DESIROUS CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE IN FAR EAST AND WORLD, IT WOULD REMOVE ITS THREAT RESORT TO FORCE SETTLE DISPUTES. IF YOUR GOVERNMENT SINCERELY DESIROUS HAVE IMPROVED RELATIONS, IT WOULD TAKE PROMPT STEPS, CORRECT ITS RECORD OF PERFORMANCE WITH RESPECT THIS FIRST AGREEMENT.

2. WANG SAID I HAD JUST MADE REFERENCE TO FAILURE TALKS ACHIEVE PROGRESS SO FAR; TO THIS HE AGREED. HOWEVER HE COULD NOT AGREE TO WHAT I SAID WAS CAUSE OF LACK PROGRESS OUR TALKS. PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS OUR TALKS VERY UNSATISFACTORY SO FAR AS HIS SIDE CONCERNED; THEY DISAPPOINTED WITH ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY MY SIDE WHICH DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE PROGRESS. IT COULD NOT BUT CREATE DOUBTS IN THEIR MINDS AS TO WHETHER US STILL HAS SINCERE DESIRE ARRIVE ANY AGREEMENT ON THIS SECOND ITEM AGENDA. IN COURSE OF PREVIOUS DISCUSSION ALTHOUGH THEIR SIDE ON THREE OCCASIONS PUT FORWARD REASONABLE PROPOSALS FOR MAKING RENUNCIATION FORCE DECLARATION, YET AS RESULT MY SIDE'S INSISTENCE UNREASONABLE DEMANDS, NO PROGRESS MADE AND TALKS COME TO DEADLOCK. I WOULD CLEARLY RECALL THAT TO BREAK DEADLOCK, HIS SIDE THEN TURNED TO MATTERS WHICH THEY SUPPOSED WOULD YIELD MORE EASILY TO SOLUTION AND MADE TWO PROPOSALS FOR RAISING EMBARGO AND PROMOTING PEOPLES CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES. AGAIN MY SIDE DIDN'T ENTER GENUINE DISCUSSION THESE SUBJECTS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES HOW COULD ANYONE FEEL THERE WERE STILL HOPES FOR PROGRESS IN TALKS. THAT WHY THEY SAID AT 60TH MEETING IT HIGH TIME RESPECTIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS MET IN DIRECT CONVERSATIONS. IT THEIR FIRM CONVICTION ONLY BY HOLDING FMC CAN ANY PROGRESS BE MADE ON SUBJECTS RELAXATION ELIMINATION TENSIONS IN TAIWAN AREA, MUTUAL RENUNCIATION FORCE BETWEEN CHINA AND US, LIFTING EMBARGO, PROMOTING PEOPLES CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES AND SO FORTH. UNLESS MY SIDE PROMPTLY ABANDONED UNREASONABLE DEMANDS AND CHANGED ITS ATTITUDE IN DISCUSSIONS WHICH LANC SENSE EARNESTNESS, HE SAW NO PROSPECTS FOR PROGRESS AT PRESENT LEVEL DISCUSSIONS AND IT FUTILE CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSIONS AT THIS LEVEL. IN COMPLEXITY PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION BOTH CHINESE

AND

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AND AMERICAN PEOPLE EARNESTLY WISH IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. THEY AGAIN ASKED THAT MY GOVERNMENT SERIOUSLY AND CAREFULLY CONSIDER PROPOSAL HIS SIDE PUT FORWARD FOR HOLDING FMC. IN THIS CONNECTION HE REGRETTED NOTE I NOT YET GIVEN REPLY IN STATEMENT THIS MORNING. I HAD SPOKEN ABOUT PEACEFUL DESIRE; SUCH PEACEFUL DESIRE SHOULD ONLY BE DEMONSTRATED IN CONCRETE REPLY FROM US GOVT ON THIS PROPOSAL OF HIS SIDE.

GOWEN

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AT 6:58 P.M.

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 515, NOVEMBER 15, 6 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF FIVE)

1/6

3. WANG CONTINUED WITH RESPECT IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS HE COULD ONLY POINT OUT THIS ALSO DEPENDS ON EFFORTS BOTH SIDES.) ON QUESTION CIVILIANS ~~THEY~~ ALSO NOT SATISFIED WITH the ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY US GOVERNMENT THIS REGARD. IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS HE HAD REPEATEDLY POINTED TO OBSTRUCTIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY US GOVT. WITH REGARD RETURN CHINESE NATIONALS. HE HAD POINTED OUT SUCH MEASURES TAKEN BY US WERE IN VIOLATION of OUR AGREEMENT. SO FAR HE NOT SEEN ANY MOVES TAKEN BY US GOVT. TO CORRECT THIS UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION. MOREOVER, THEIR INFORMATION INDICATED US FBI BEEN MAKING INVESTIGATION INTO CHINESE STUDENT CORRESPONDENCE WITH FAMILIES. OBVIOUS ATTEMPT OBSTRUCT FREEDOM COMMUNICATIONS, PREVENT THEM RETURNING AND FRESH THREAT AGAINST THOSE WISHING RETURN.

THIS IS INSTANCE FURTHER VIOLATION AGREEMENT. HE ASKED THAT US GOVT. PROMPTLY STOP THIS THREATENING ACTION WHICH VIOLATES OUR AGREEMENT.

4. WANG CONTINUED, REGARDING the case of Foecher MCCARTHY WHICH I had MADE REPEATED REFERENCE, HE WISHED MAKE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: MCCARTHY LAWFULLY SENTENCED 4 YEARS. IMPRISONMENT OCTOVER 22, 1955 FOR OFFENSES AGAINST CHINESE LAW. SENTENCE TAKES EFFECT FROM DAY TAKEN INTO CUSTODY AND WILL EXPIRE JUNE 1957. PRIOR EXPIRATION SENTENCE OR BEFORE CHINESE AUTHORITIES DECIDE To GRANT HIM EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE, THERE DOES NOT ARISE QUESTION of HIS RETURN. ANY DEMAND HIS IMMEDIATE RELEASE GOES BEYOND the SCOPE AGREEMENT AND UNACCEPTABLE ANY SELF-RESPECTING COUNTRY.

5. WANG CONTINUED AS REGARDS QUESTION THIRD PARTY INTERVIEWING PRISONERS, MY SIDE ASKED REPRESENTATIVE BRITISH CHARGE BE PERMITTED INTERVIEW AMERICANS IN CHINA ON OWN INITIATIVE WHILE US WOULD PREVENT REPRESENTATIVE INDIAN EMBASSY DO SAME

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DO SAME RESPECT CHINESE IMPRISONED IN US. IN ASKING REPRESENTATIVE INDIAN EMBASSY INTERVIEW IMPRISONED CHINESE IT would AIM MY SIDE MERELY CARRY OUT SCREENING IN DISGUISE. THEIR SIDE LONG AGO MADE CLEAR WOULD NOT AGREE TO THIS. BESIDES, the LIST GIVEN INDIAN EMBASSY BY MY SIDE ONLY LIST PART OF CHINESE that are IMPRISONED AND DID NOT COVER ALL CHINESE IN PRISON US, NOT TO SPEAK OF ALL CHINESE IN US. IF US WANTED BRITISH CHARGE' ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE BE ABLE CONTACT AMERICAN PRISONERS IN CHINA THEN US SHOULD IN FIRST PLACE FURNISH INDIAN EMBASSY

LIST ALL CHINESE IN US, INCLUDING ALL THOSE IN PRISON. MY SIDE SHOULD ALSO AGREE INDIAN EMBASSY ON OWN INITIATIVE MAY CONTACT CHINESE IN US IN UNRESTRICTED MANNER. NEVERTHELESS IF BRITISH CHARGE' RECEIVED PERSONAL REQUEST FROM AMERICAN PRISONER TO THIS EFFECT, AND CHARGE' REQUESTED INTERVIEW, CHINA HAD ALWAYS GRANTED SUCH INTERVIEW PROVIDED TOOK PLACE IN ACCORDANCE RELEVANT PRISON REGULATIONS.

6. WANG CONTINUED, IN THIS CONNECTION ALLEGATION I MADE at the LAST MEETING THEIR PRISON AUTHORITIES REFUSED PERMIT REPRESENTATIVE BRITISH CHARGE' VISIT FR. MCCARTHY IN ACCORDANCE WITH the PREVIOUS ARRANGEMENTS WAS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH FACTS. FACT WAS MCCARTHY NOT WILLING COMPLY WITH PRISON REGULATIONS GOVERNING SUCH INTERVIEWS AND HAD VOLUNTARILY WITHDRAWN REQUEST INTERVIEW. FACT WAS MCCARTHY ON THAT DAY REFUSED INTERVIEW. IN PROOF THIS THERE IS HIS SIGNED STATEMENT. YET I HAD ALLEGED THEIR PRISON AUTHORITIES REFUSED MCCARTHY PERMISSION to HAVE INTERVIEW. THIS OBVIOUSLY DELIBERATE DISTORTION FACT. HE CONSIDERED IT NECESSARY CLARIFY THIS POINT THIS MORNING.

7. I REPLIED I THOUGHT STATEMENTS HE JUST MADE ABOUT the PRISONERS, PARTICULARLY REGARD FR. MCCARTHY EXEMPLIFY AND ILLUSTRATE BETTER THAN ANYTHING I KNOW APPARENT CONTINUED UNWILLINGNESS HIS AUTHORITIES EVEN CARRY OUT AGREEMENTS WE had ALREADY REACHED. I FELT I ILLUSTRATED WHAT I HAD SAID IN the PAST ABOUT FACT IF THERE NO DESIRE ON PART HIS GOVERNMENT to RESOLVE ISSUES AND CARRY OUT AGREEMENTS WHICH WE MIGHT REACH AT THIS LEVEL IT CERTAINLY FUTILE CONSIDER NEGOTIATIONS ANY OTHER

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ANY OTHER LEVEL. AS POINTED OUT LAST MEETING AND MANY TIMES PREVIOUSLY HE PERFECTLY WELL REALIZED AND HIS GOVERNMENT PERFECTLY WELL REALIZED WHAT AMERICANS WE TALKING ABOUT WHEN WE SUGGESTED THESE TALKS TAKE UP AS THEIR FIRST MATTER OF BUSINESS, THE RETURN OF CIVILIANS, HE AND HIS GOVT PERFECTLY WELL KNEW THAT AT TIME WE ENTERED INTO AGREEMENT RE-GARD CIVILIANS THESE WERE ONLY AMERICANS THAT WERE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION. WHAT HE NOW APPEARED SAYING WAS ALL OUR DISCUSSION AND PLAIN WORDS OUR AGREEMENT WITH REGARD THESE AMERICANS UTTERLY WITHOUT ANY MEANING OR SUBSTANCE. IT UTTERLY BEYOND MY COMPREHENSION HOW HE COULD SERIOUSLY MAKE THIS ASSERTATION AT THIS TIME. CERTAINLY NO MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN US AT TIME WE WERE DISCUSSING THIS AS TO WHAT WE MEANT BY WORDS "OBSTRUCTION" AND "EXPEDITIOUS" AND TO WHOM THEY APPLIED WITH REGARD AMERICANS IN CHINA. IF RELATIONS BETWEEN US TO BE IMPROVED AND INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS HAVE MEANING, MUST BE CARRIED OUT IN GOOD FAITH BY PARTIES THERETO. ATTITUDE HIS GOVT TAKEN REGARDING THESE PRISONERS AFTER WE ENTERED INTO OUR AGREEMENT AND ATTITUDE OF HIS GOVT, AS EMPLIFIED BY HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING, WERE AT GROSSEST VARIANCE WITH NOT ONLY OUR UNDERSTANDING BUT THE PLAN WORDS OF AGREEMENT. NOT ONLY DOES AGREEMENT SPECIFICALLY AND CLEARLY COVER ALL AMERICANS DESIRING RETURN BUT HE WOULD WELL RECALL WHEN WE DISCUSSING THIS, QUESTION DIFFERENTIATING IN SOME WAY BETWEEN THOSE IN PRISON AND THOSE NOT WERE DISCUSSED AND SPECIFICALLY ELIMINATED FROM AGREEMENT. NOT A QUESTION OF PLACING DEMANDS WHICH, AS HE TERMED IT "UNACCEPTABLE TO ANY SELF-RESPECTING COUNTRY." IT QUESTION WHETHER SELF-RESPECTING COUNTRY WOULD CARRY OUT SOLEMN COMMITMENTS INTO WHICH IT ENTERED. AGREEMENT SAID ANY AMERICAN WHO FELT BEING OB-STRUCTED--DID NOT SAY ANY AMERICANS NOT IN PRISON--ANY AMERICAN WHO FELT BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM RETURNING MIGHT COM-MUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE.

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1956 NOV 16 AM 10 11 Control: 10961
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 16, 1956
7:02 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 515, NOVEMBER 15, 7 PM (SECTION THREE OF FIVE)

Action Assigned to OR/Mar
Action Taken
Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Initials

8. I CONTINUED, AGREEMENT SAID, HIS GOVT WOULD RECEIVE REPRESENTATIONS FROM UK CHARGE IN ANY SUCH CASE. AGREEMENT SAID IF DESIRED BY US GOVT UK CHARGE MIGHT ALSO INVESTIGATE FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE. FR. MCCARTHY RIGHTLY AND PROPERLY FELT HE WAS BEING OBSTRUCTED AND HE INVOKED, STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT, THE ASSISTANCE OF UK CHARGE. NO ACTION TAKEN BY HIS GOVT IN RESPONSE TO REPRESENTATION MADE BY UK CHARGE. UK CHARGE, STILL STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT, ATTEMPTED TO INVESTIGATE FACTS IN FR. MCCARTHY'S CASE. FR. MCCARTHY EXPECTED HE WOULD DO SO AND CHARGE EXPECTED BE ABLE DO SO. BOTH CERTAINLY HAD EVERY REASON TO EXPECT THIS COULD BE CARRIED OUT BECAUSE IT CLEARLY EMBODIED IN OUR AGREEMENT. AS FR. MCCARTHY SAID IN LETTER TO UK CHARGE HE CERTAINLY DIDNT ASK TO SEE HIM TO CARRY ON ANY SOCIAL CHAT. HE DESIRED TALK ABOUT HIS CASE IN ORDER THAT UK CHARGE COULD INVESTIGATE FACTS. FR. MCCARTHY WAS INFORMED HE WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED IN ANY WAY TO DISCUSS HIS CASE WITH UK CHARGE. FR. MCCARTHY PROPERLY FELT UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES INTERVIEW WAS POINTLESS. THIS ACTION BY WANG'S AUTHORITIES CLEARLY IN VIOLATION OF OUR AGREEMENT, AND ENTIRELY FRUSTRATED WHOLE PURPOSE OF OUR AGREEMENT. AS I SAID, I AND MY GOVT CONSIDER THIS WHOLE ACTON WITH REGARD TO FR. MCCARTHY NOT ONLY IN VIOLATION BASIC PRINCIPLES OUR AGREEMENT THAT ALL--AND I REPEAT ALL--AMERICANS WHO DESIRE TO DO SO BE PERMITTED TO RETURN BUT ALSO IN GROSSEST VIOLATION SUBSIDIARY PROVISION OF AGREEMENT CONCERNING FUNCTION THIRD PARTY. AS HE HAD PROPERLY SAID IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN US REQUIRED EFFORTS OF BOTH SIDES. ATTITUDE WHICH HIS GOVT ADOPTING WITH REGARD PRISONERS DID NOT INDICATE ANY EFFORT--IN FACT QUITE CONTRARY--TO RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM. IT INDICATED WILLINGNESS ENTIRELY TO DISREGARD AND IGNORE SOLEMN COMMITMENTS.

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9. WANG REPLIED WITH REGARD FIRST AGENDA ITEM PERMANCE THIS GOVT ALWAYS CONFORMED WITH AGREEMENT THAT ITEM. REGARDING the CASE MCCARTHY ALREADY CLEARLY STATED IF HIS REQUEST IN CONFORMITY WITH PRESCRIBED REGULATIONS, ALL HIS REQUESTS WOULD HAVE BEEN GRANTED. AS RESULT LENIENT POLICY HIS GOVT HANDLING the CASES AMERICANS GREAT MAJORITY THOSE IMPRISONED FOR OFFENSES AGAINST CHINESE LAW BEEN DEPORTED. BY CONTRAST, WITH REGARD to the CHINESE IMPRISONED US PRISONS, HIS SIDE SO FAR HAD NOT SEEN ANY MOVE BY US GOVT WITH REGARD THEM. UP TO NOW NOT SINGLE PERSON OF THOSE IMPRISONED US HAD RETURNED CHINA, but WHEN I WAS REFERRING AMERICANS IN CHINA IT SEEMED I NEVER AWARE STILL MANY CHINESE IN PRISON IN US. STATEMENTS MY SIDE WITH REGARD to the IMPRISONED PERSONS FULL OF SELF-CONTRADICTION. FOR INSTANCE, IN STATEMENT ISSUED DEC 17 1955 DEPT OF STATE ALLEGED IN OUR AGREEMENT NO DISTINCTION MADE BETWEEN THOSE IN PRISON AND THOSE OUT OF PRISON. BUT ASST SEC STATE WALTER ROBERTSON IN AIDE MEMOIRE TO INDIAN EMBASSY STATED CHINESE PRISONERS IN US were NOT COVERED BY AGREEMENT. THIS SELF-CONTRADICTORY STATEMENT. CAN WE BE ALLOWED GIVE SUCH UNEQUAL INTERPRETATION TO AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN US? HE THEREFORE ADVISED ME TAKE NOTE that the FACT MANY CHINESE IN US OBSTRUCTED AND PREVENTED FROM RETURNING. US CLAIMS SELF BE FREE COUNTRY. WHAT KIND OF FREE COUNTRY IS IT IF CHINESE STUDENTS CORRESPONDENCE WITH FAMILIES is BEING INTERFERED WITH. IF FREEDOM CHINESE STUDENTS TO COMMUNICATE WITH FAMILIES BEING INTERFERED WITH WHAT ELSE COULD ONE EXPECT OF FREEDOM FOR CHINESE TO RETURN FROM US.

10. WANG CONTINUED, QUESTION IMPROVING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH HOW WE PROCEED IN THESE PRESENT TALKS. SINCE PRESENT STATE AFFAIRS THESE TALKS NOT SATISFACTORY, QUESTION CONFRONTING US WAS HOW MAKE THESE TALKS MOVE FORWARD AND MAKE PROGRESS. IN ORDER MOVE THESE TALKS FORWARD HIS SIDE TAKEN INITIATIVE IN MAKING WHOLE SERIES EFFORTS THIS DIRECTION. THEN AT VERY END THEY PUT FORWARD the PROPOSAL FOR HOLDING FMC OUR TWO COUNTRIES. IF US ALSO SHARES DESIRE IMPROVE RELATIONS AND ALSO SHARES DESIRE SOLVE ISSUES BY PEACEFUL MEANS, SHOULD TAKE EFFECTIVE STEPS to MOVE TALKS FORWARD. IT THEIR HOPE US WOULD PROCEED THIS DIRECTION.

GOWEN

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Control: 10962
Rec'd: ~~NOVEMBER 15, 1956~~
6:13 P.M.

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RMR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

Date of Action 1/6

Action Office Symbol

NO: 515, NOVEMBER 15, 2 PM (SECTION FOUR OF FIVE)

Action Officer

Direction to DC/R

11. I REPLED HE HAD RAISED QUESTION HOW WE MOVE TALKS FORWARD. WE MOVE THESE TALKS FORWARD IF WE RESOLVE PROBLEMS CALLED UPON TO DEAL WITH. AFTER MORE THAN FIFTEEN MONTHS WE HAVE NOT RESOLVED VERY FIRST PROBLEM CALLED UPON TO DEAL WITH. WHY HAD WE NOT RESOLVED IT? BECAUSE HIS GOVT HAD NOT TAKEN ACTION NECESSARY TO RESOLVE IT, EVEN THOUGH IT HAD COMMITTED SELF DO SO. HE REFERRED TO EFFORTS OUR RESPECTIVE GOVTS RESOLVE PROBLEMS. AIDE MEMOIRE JUNE 1 OF DEPT OF STATE TO INDIAN EMBASSY HE REFERRED TO WAS MOST EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF EFFORTS MY GOVT RESOLVE PROBLEMS. MEMO CORRECTLY POINTED OUT CHINESE ALIEN COMMON CRIMINALS IN US PRISONS WERE NOT SUBJECT TO OUR DISCUSSION LEADING UP TO OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT AND WE DID NOT CONSIDER THEM INCLUDED THEREIN. NEVERTHELESS, IN VIEW HIS REPRESENTATIONS HERE ON THAT SUBJECT, WE PROPOSED TO TAKE ACTION ON THIS QUESTION AND THAT AIDE MEMOIRE VERY SPECIFICALLY SET FORTH THAT "ALL CHINESE ALIEN CRIMINALS NOW SERVING SENTENCES IN FEDERAL OR STATE PENITENTIARIES IN US ARE FREE TO APPLY AT ONCE FOR PAROLE OR COMMUTATION SENTENCE FOR PURPOSE IMMEDIATE VOLUNTARY RETURN TO" WANG'S COUNTRY. IN SPITE HIS GOVT'S INEXPLICABLE ATTITUDE TOWARD PROPOSAL MADE IN THAT AIDE MEMOIRE I WAS IN POSITION TO INFORM HIM THAT THERE NOT NOW IN ANY US PRISONS ANY ALIEN CHINESE WHO DESIRES RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY.

12. I CONTINUED, WITH RESPECT TO FR. MCCARTHY WANG HAD SAID IF a REQUEST WERE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRESCRIBED REGULATIONS THEY WOULD BE GRANTED. I UTTERLY REJECTED CONCEPT THAT REQUEST MUST BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHATEVER REGULATIONS PRISON AUTHORITIES MIGHT SET FORTH WHEN THOSE REGULATIONS ARE IN CONFLICT WITH CLEAR PROVISIONS INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT ENTERED INTO BY WANG'S GOVT. ONLY TEST IS WHETHER THEY ARE IN ACCORDANCE with the PROVISIONS OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. REQUESTS OF MCCARTHY AND

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UK CHARGE HAVE BEEN IN STRICT ACCORDANCE WITH THAT AGREEMENT. REJECTION THOSE REQUESTS BY WANG'S AUTHORITIES IN VIOLATION THAT ANNOUNCEMENT. I REJECTED CONCEPT RELEASE WHAT HE GALLED "GREAT MAJORITY" THOSE AMERICANS IN HIS PRISONS WAS THE FULFILLMENT TERMS AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. DETENTION ANY AMERICAN WHO DESIRED RETURN WAS VIOLATION THAT ANNOUNCEMENT.

13. WANG REPLIED, STATEMENT HE MADE THIS MORNING HAD GIVEN A VERY CLEAR EXPLANATION THIS REGARD. HE COULD NOT ACCEPT MY ALLEGATION THAT HIS SIDE VIOLATED AGREEMENT AND CONSIDERED IT DISTORTION OF FACT. DURING PERIOD IN WHICH SERVING PRISON TERM, AMERICAN PRISONERS CANNOT CLAIM RIGHT TO RETURN. THIS IS EXACTLY IN CONFORMITY WITH OUR AGREEMENT AND NOT IN VIOLATION OF OUR AGREEMENT. IT PRECISELY CHINESE SIDE WHICH TAKEN EFFECTIVE MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE POLICY LENIENCY. I REPEATEDLY MADE ARBITRARY ALLEGATIONS CHINESE GOVT NOT BY CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT BUT IT PRECISELY AS RESULT CHINESES GOVT CARRYING OUT POLICY LENIENCY THAT GREATER PART AMERICAN PRISONERS BEEN ABLE EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT RETURN. ON US SIDE SO FAR NOT SINGLE CHINESE IMPRISONED IN US PRISON HAS RETURNED. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH CHINESE IMPRISONED IN US NOT REGAINED FREEDOM, HE REJECTED STATEMENT NOT A SINGLE ONE AMONG THEM DESIRES RETURN.

14. I REPLIED I DIDNT SEE HOW ON ONE HAND HE MADE STATEMENT THAT FACT THAT WHAT HE CALLED "GREAT MAJORITY" OF PRISONERS IN HIS COUNTRY HAD RETURNED SHOWED HIS AUTHORITIES HAD CARRIED OUT THE AGREEMENT, AND ON OTHER HAND HE SAID THEY HAD NO RIGHTS UNDER AGREEMENT. AGREEMENT DID NOT SPEAK OF THE "GREAT MAJORITY" OF PRISONERS. AGREEMENT SPOKE OF ALL AMERICANS WHO DESIRED RETURN.

15. WANG REPLIED FACT GREAT MAJORITY AMERICAN PRISONERS RETURNED TO US MEANS CHINESE GOVT TAKEN MEASURES ON OWN INITIATIVE IN ACCORDANCE WITH LENIENT POLICY AND ENABLED THEM RETURN. CHINESE GOVT NOT SUSPENDED SUCH A POLICY WITH

REGARD

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REGARD AMERICAN PRISONERS. HOWEVER, BEFORE THE CHINESE GOVT HAD ADOPTED THESE MEASURES, ANY DEMAND FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF ANY PRISONERS WHOSE SENTENCES NOT YET EXPIRED WHEN BEYOND OUR AGREEMENT. NOR HAD MY GOVT AGREED TO ANY IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY. HE THEREFORE ADVISED ME THAT IN SPEAKING ABOUT QUESTION CIVILIANS, I SHOULD PAY MORE ATTENTION TO IMPROVING SITUATION CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY. MOREOVER, HE HOPED I'D GIVE CONSTRUCTIVE CONSIDERATION TO PROPOSAL HE MADE AT LAST MEETING AND AGAIN THIS MORNING WITH REGARD HOLDING FMC TO BREAK PRESENT DEADLOCK.

GOWEN

CAB

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* ACTION COPY

47

Action FE

Info RMR

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Action Assigned to —

Control: 10963 Taken —

Rec'd: NOVEMBER 15, 1956 6:07 P.M.

Date of Action —

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 515, NOVEMBER 15, 6 PM (SECTION FIVE OF FIVE)

Office Symbol 1

Name of Officer 6

Action to DC/R —

16. I ASKED WAS IT ON HIS ASSERTION THAT ALL OUR DISCUSSIONS LEADING UP TO OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT, AND AGREED ANOUNCEMENT ITSELF, HAVE NO MEANING WITH REGARD TO AMERICANS WE WERE DISCUSSING.

17. WANG DID NOT THINK THIS PROPER WAY POSING SUCH QUESTION. CHINESE GOVT EITHER WOULD NOT AGREE ENTER AGREEMENT AT ALL OR ONCE IT ENTERED AGREEMENT IT ALWAYS CARRIED IT OUT FAITHFULLY. IN SAME SPIRIT HIS SIDE ALWAYS CARRIED OUT AGREEMENT WE REACHED PREVIOUSLY. IT EXACTLY CHINESE SIDE WHICH EXTREMELY DISSATISFIED WITH VIOLATION AND BREACH OF OUR AGREEMENT. HAD NOTHING MORE SAY TODAY.

18. I HAD NOTHING EITHER.

19. WANG REPEATED HAD NOTHING EXCEPT HOPED I BE ABLE AT NEXT MEETING EXPRESS OPINION WITH REGARD PROPOSAL HE HAD MADE.

20. I THOUGHT I HAD EXPRESSED IT VERY CLEARLY THIS MORNING.

21. WANG DID NOT THINK IT WAS SATISFACTORY.

22. I DID NOT THINK RESPONSES OF HIS GOVT WERE SATISFACTORY.

23. WANG SAID HIS SIDE HAD MADE REPEATED EFFORTS THIS REGARD. OF COURSE IF I HAD SOMETHING BETTER OFFER, SHOULD PUT IT FORWARD.

24. I SAID WOULD LIKE SEE SOME EFFORTS CARRY OUT AGREEMENT WE MADE. AS I HAD SAID BEFORE, WE SEEM TO HAVE GONE BACKWARD IN THAT REGARD. IT WOULD BE BETTER IF WE HAD NEVER MADE THAT AGREEMENT.

25. WANG

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25. WANG SAID HAD NOTHING MORE.

26. I PROPOSED NEXT MEETING NOV 29. WANG PREFERRED FRIDAY, NOV 30, AND I AGREED.

GOWEN

CAB

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150

71

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
NOV 23 1956
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
☐ Releasable
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☐ Review Again
☐ Reviewer _____ Date _____

SECRET

November 15, 1956

OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

Letter No. 49

Dear Walter:

I do not have much more to say this time, I still feel that I was right about their intentions as of the end of the last meeting but they have postponed action for reasons about which we can only speculate. Certainly the dramatic events elsewhere have had their influence but it is hard to say what the influence may have been on them. Perhaps their reaction was much the same as ours with respect to our public statement on implementation, i.e. they felt so much was going on elsewhere that a public statement from them threatening a break or a break would not attract much attention or constitute much pressure on us. I do not even exclude the Secretary's illness as a possible additional factor.

I will plan to come down by air on November 28 for our next meeting, returning immediately on December 1, without any further notification to the Department unless there is some major change for the worse in the general situation or that in Czechoslovakia, in which case I will of course check by telegraph. Please tell EUR so that they understand. I sent a message this last time so there would be no misunderstanding and I am mentioning it now in view of what I thought was a somewhat odd reply. You can assure EUR that I do not come to Geneva for a "visit" but to do some work.

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

P.S. Tell Walter I hope he has a good trip. Am so glad Mrs. Robertson can go with him.

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Lot 72 D 415

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November 23, 1956

SECRET
OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Letter No. 59

Dear Alex:

We were pleased at the forceful manner in which you presented the case for Father McCarthy at the last meeting. Wang was very much on the defensive and his defense was weak. We have now received reports of O'Neill's last interview with the Chinese Communists which show that in Peiping also they are holding very firmly to a logically untenable position. Copies of these reports are enclosed.

Mr. Robertson left yesterday on a four weeks' trip to the New Zealand meeting of the Colombo powers and to several posts in the Far East. We will probably hold a meeting tomorrow to consider what line you should take at the next meeting. My present thinking is that we should continue to press them hard on the McCarthy case and implementation generally. I will try to get off a longer letter to you on Monday outlining more fully our views.

The Chinese Communists now appear to have worked themselves into the awkward position of having to either come up with a new gambit, suspend the talks or remain on the defensive.

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

Copies of Texts of 3 telegrams from British Charge.

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

RE:CA:FNClough:bmm

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Lot 72 D 415

OUTGOING TELEGRAM 752

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

Department of State

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Classification

777
13704

PLAIN VERBATIM TEXT

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 581

FOR JOHNSON

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Re DEPTEL 532

Your comments desired on following draft statement for issuance by Department should Communists break off talks. QUOTE Chinese Communist Ambassador Wang Ping-nan informed US Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson on (blank) he would not meet with him again until US agreed meeting at Foreign Minister level. Ambassador Johnson told Ambassador Wang although US willing continue discussion of fundamental matters at issue, meeting at Foreign Minister level neither appropriate nor acceptable under present circumstances.

US in July 1955 agreed participate in Geneva talks in hope might bring about release American citizens imprisoned Communist China and open way to solution other matters at issue. At first appeared progress could be made.

September 10, 1955 Communists issued following agreed statement: INNERQUOTE The People's Republic of China recognizes Americans in People's Republic of China who desire return to US entitled to do so and declares it adopted and will further adopt appropriate measures so they can expeditiously exercise their right to return. END INNERQUOTE At time statement issued still nineteen Americans in prison or under house arrest in Communist China. Soon clear Communists not intend carry out

Drafted by: FE:CA:RMcConaughy:dw 11/26/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances: CA - Mr. McConaughy

L - Mr. Phleger (in substance)

FE/P - Mr. Henderson

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NOV 26 1956 P.M.

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unqualified commitment and today more than fourteen months later still ten Americans in Communist jails.

To justify failure fulfill their pledge Peiping resorted accusations that US preventing Chinese from leaving. Such accusations completely unfounded. Since beginning Geneva talks no Chinese prevented leaving US. Indian Embassy which was designated assist any Chinese who wished to leave has not brought to attention of Government single case of Chinese who claims he is being prevented from leaving.

In addition seeking release imprisoned American citizens US proposed both US and Communist China agree to renounce use of force particularly Taiwan area, except in self defense. Ambassador Johnson pointed out progress in discussions could not be expected in face of continuing Communist threats to take Taiwan by military force. Once threat of force been removed other matters might be discussed. This proposal failed when Chinese Communists insisted Taiwan problem was domestic matter they entitled settle by any means they chose, including force.

In recent months Chinese Communists introduced proposals aimed promoting trade and INNERQUOTE cultural contacts END INNERQUOTE between US and mainland China. Ambassador Johnson pointed out US restrictions in these fields resulted from Chinese Communists' acts and threats of military agression and mistreatment Americans. US sought assurance through Geneva talks such behavior would not continue. Until meaningful assurances in these respects been received US could not consider modifying these safeguards.

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US dedicated to peaceful solution of differences. It is prepared resume discussions at ambassadorial level directed toward issuance by both sides meaningful declaration on renunciation of force and thereafter other practical matters at issue. UNQUOTE

Hoover, ACTING (WGP)YER

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153

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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- [x] Reviewer _____ Date 1/9/5

3 4

November 26, 1956

SECRET

OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

Letter No. 60

Dear Alex:

We are considering whether to release a public statement on the McCarthy case. We are also weighing the pros and cons of a public statement on the results of our offer of parole and deportation to Chinese convicts in U.S. prisons. The press attention to the Middle East and Hungary has abated sufficiently for us to be able to command a reasonable amount of press space for these matters if we decide that from other standpoints the time is ripe. The GRC has agreed to take the two prisoners who elected to go to Taiwan so there is no longer a problem on that score. If we decide to make a statement this week, it would probably come out on Thursday. We would, of course, give you the text in advance.

Your letter No. 49 of November 15 arrived on November 23. In the prevailing circumstances we consider that Wang is unlikely to suspend the talks at the next meeting. However, we have a contingency statement ready for use if a suspension does occur. With Chou's goodwill trip through parts of Southeast Asia and the Middle East in full swing, with Nehru's visit to the President in prospect, and with the Chinese Communists' public agitation over the Egyptian issue tapering off somewhat, an abrupt move of a defiant nature at this moment would not seem to be in the cards, notwithstanding the fact that they have lost the UN membership battle for this session of the GA.

We have

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

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We have delivered your message to EUR. There was considerable apprehension at absences of any of our chiefs of mission in curtain countries following the political criticism of Jacobs and Wailles for not being at their post when the trouble started, but this is less evident now.

I agree with you that the EUR telegram authorizing your "visit" to Geneva was peculiarly worded. We did not see the text before it went out or we would have objected. They simply told us that they were okaying your travel to Geneva.

I was at the American Assembly at Harriman, New York, November 15 through November 18. The final Report was pretty favorable to our basic far Eastern policy, although there was criticism of our policy on travel of newsmen. You get so many reports of the harm which the talks are doing to us in the Far East, I'm glad I can tell you that the fact of the talks made it much easier for me to defend our China policy before the Conference. They are all for "flexibility" and a reasonable conciliatory and moderate approach." They felt that the Geneva talks are a definite manifestation of such an attitude. I believe we would have been criticized for a negative and rigid posture toward the Chinese Communist problem, had we not had the Geneva conversations to point to. I will send you a copy of the revised Final Report as soon as I receive it. You no doubt have seen the references to the speech of Ernie Gross on the night of November 17 in which he rather minimized the Geneva talks as being "behind the Barn" in character and as not being at a sufficiently high level.

I am enclosing a copy of an extremely confidential report made by ... his recent trip to Communist China. I apologize that we have to send you a rather messy copy, but it is the only one we have. It is particularly sensitive and we had to get a special dispensation to sent it to you.

Walter Robertson got away on Thanksgiving Day. I am enclosing a copy of his itinerary in case you would like to write him before he gets back on December 22nd.

I leave on Wednesday to make a speech in Mr. Robertson's stead at the Naval War College on November 29 on "The Power Struggle in the Far East." I'll have something to say about the talks in the course of that speech.

Sabe Chase has just reported for temporary duty with us until he retires next March. It is good to have him here.

Regards and good wishes to all of you,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Copy of report by....
2. Copy of Mr. Robertson's itinerary

FE:CA:WPMcConaughy:cmm

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT ☐ CHARGE TO

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14450 778

7 27

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SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 587

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FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for November 30 meeting.

1. Continue press for Chinese Communist fulfillment their commitments in McCarthy case and those of other Americans. US Government rejects Chinese Communist contention that imprisoned Americans, the very persons on whose behalf we negotiated Agreed Announcement, can be excluded by Chinese Communists from provisions Agreed Announcement, which they are bound to observe. Neither can US Government accept Chinese Communist refusal permit British Charge exercise investigative functions prescribed under Agreed Announcement. Continued Chinese Communist violation of their pledged word can only force conclusion that their word cannot be relied on. (FYI In your presentation draw freely on exchange November 15 between British Charge and Peiping Foreign Office. Department has decided not repeat not issue press release on McCarthy case prior next meeting but you should hammer away on this flagrant case. END FYI)

2. You may refer as necessary to US action regarding Chinese prisoners in US. James Lew arrived Hongkong November 19 and presumably entered

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Drafted by: 11/27/56
FE:CA:EPClough:WMcConaughy:erm

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:
L - Mr. Phleger (in draft)

S/S-CR

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mainland along with group granted direct transit through Hongkong. (FYI GRC has agreed take two convicts opting for Taiwan and preparations their deportation under way. It would appear preferable make no mention these two as they might only becloud issue. We do not contemplate public statement at present on our offer to Chinese prisoners but will reply factually should press raise question. END FYI)

3. Hold to same positions on foreign ministers' meeting, renunciation of force, trade and cultural exchange.

4. Reserve missing military personnel for later meeting.

Hoover, ACTING

(Ltr)

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INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

Geneva Gen

755

48-D

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Action
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 562, NOVEMBER 28, 6 PM

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Control: 19434 Action Taken

Rec'd: NOVEMBER 28, 1956
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AS MINOR POINTS OFFER FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS FOR ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE:

(1) SUBSTITUTE "UNLESS"FOR "UNTIL" IN FIRST SENTENCE SO AS CONFORM TEXT DEPTEL 532,

(2) SUBSTITUTION FOLLOWING FOR SECOND SENTENCE:

"AMBASSADOR JOHNSON TOLD AMBASSADOR WANG US READY AND WILLING SETTLE PRACTICAL AND FUNDAMENTAL MATTERS AT ISSUE IN AMBASSADORIAL TALKS WHICH HAD BEEN ACCEPTED AS APPROPRIATE FORUM BY BOTH SIDES; UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, OF MANIFEST UNWILLINGNESS CHINESE COMMUNISTS TO SETTLE ISSUES, MEETING AT FOREIGN MINISTERS LEVEL NEITHER APPROPRIATE OR ACCEPTABLE". WHILE I SEE NO OBJECTION TO DEPARTMENT'S LANGUAGE FOREGOING REVISION CONFORMS SOMEWHAT CLOSER AND AMPLIFIES RATIONALE I HAVE USED IN MEETINGS.

(3) DELETION OF "CLAIMS HE" LAST SENTENCE FOURTH PARAGRAPH. THIS MIGHT BE SOMEWHAT SAFER WAY OF MAKING SAME POINT UNTIL WE SEE WHAT PUBLIC COMMENT INDIANS MAY MAKE TO SHOW THEY HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN PERFORMANCE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT FUNCTIONS.

GOWEN

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Control: 20926
Rec'd: NOVEMBER 30, 1956
1:40 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 570, NOVEMBER 30, 3 PM

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Date of Action 1/6

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FROM JOHNSON

THREE HOUR FIFTEEN MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING. FOLLOWING BRIEF OPENING STATEMENT BY WANG RESTATING THEIR POSITION ON FACT AND CAUSES DEADLOCK IN TALKS AND NECESSITY FMC, ENTIRE REMAINDER MEETING DEVOTED IMPLEMENTATION. DURING COURSE MEETING I MADE POINTS PARA ONE DEPTEL 587 AND INFORMED HIM ARRIVAL JAMES LEW STRESSING HE DEPORTED EVEN THOUGH HAD SERVED ONLY SMALL PART HIS SENTENCE AND WAS NOT RPT NOT ELIGIBLE FOR PAROLE OR RELEASE UNDER NORMAL REGULATIONS. ALSO INFORMED HIM OF ARC INTERVIEWS OF PRISONERS BUT DID NOT MENTION THOSE OVTING FOR TAIWAN AND THIS QUESTION DID NOT ARISE. WHEN HE RESPONDED WITH USUAL CHARGE PRISONERS COULD NOT MAKE FREE CHOICE AND US SHOULD "ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE" FOLLOW PRC PROCEDURE AND RELEASE PRISONERS AFTER WHICH THEY COULD CHOOSE WHERE THEY DESIRE GO I COUNTERED BY POINTING OUT PRC HAD FOLLOWED DEPORTATION PROCEDURE IN RELEASES AMERICANS AT TIME OF AND IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THROUGHOUT LONG GIVE AND TAKE I CONTINUOUSLY CAME BACK TO ALL ASPECTS MCCARTHY CASE AS PRIME ILLUSTRATION THEIR FAILURE CARRY OUT AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. WANG RETREATED ENTIRELY BEHIND REPETITION PREVIOUS CHARGES RE CHINESE IN US IN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT CLOSE OFF DISCUSSION AND MEETING WITH LAST WORD. THIS I REFUSED ACCEPT AND DURING LAST HOUR AND HALF REPEATEDLY REFUTED EACH HIS CHARGES AND TURNED DISCUSSION REPEATEDLY BACK TO AMERICANS PARTICULARLY MCCARTHY UNTIL HE FINALLY DESISTED FROM REPEATING HIS CHARGES.

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NEXT MEETING THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13. DEPARTING PRAGUE TOMORROW MORNING.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION 1 OF 9 Symbol

Officer

Direction to DC/R

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FROM JOHNSON

1. WANG OPENED 62ND MEETING WITH PREPARED STATEMENT. MY SIDE HAS CONTINUED TAKE PROCRASTINATING ATTITUDE ON SECOND ITEM AGENDA CULMINATING DEADLOCK OUR TALKS. EVER SINCE BEGAN SECOND ITEM HIS SIDE BEEN FOLLOWING SPIRIT OF RESOLVING ISSUES IMPROVING RELATIONS AND REPEATEDLY MADE CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS THIS DIRECTION. HIS SIDE MADE GREAT EFFORTS CLEAR AWAY DIFFICULTIES RESOLVE ISSUES. BY ADOPTION HIS PROPOSALS FOR RENUNCIATION FORCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US AS WELL AS FOR HOLDING FMC, OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD HAVE RESOLVED OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND TENSIONS IN FAR EAST WOULD HAVE BEEN RELAXED AND SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS IMPROVED. HOWEVER, MY SIDE APPARENTLY DID NOT SHARE DESIRE. MY SIDE SIMPLY STICKING TO UNREASONABLE DEMANDS FOR ENCROACHING THEIR SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERFERING INTERNAL AFFAIRS--THUS CONTRIBUTING NOTHING TO RESOLUTION PROBLEMS.

2. WANG CONTINUED UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES HIS SIDE AGAIN TAKEN INITIATIVE IN MAKING PROPOSAL FOR LIFTING EMBARGO AND ANOTHER FOR PROMOTING MUTUAL CONTACTS AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE BETWEEN CHINESE AND AMERICAN PEOPLE IN EXPECTATION THAT RESOLVING THESE TWO POINTS MIGHT ENABLE US MAKE PROGRESS OTHER ISSUES AS WELL. HOWEVER, MY ATTITUDE TOWARD THESE PROPOSALS HAD BEEN EQUALLY DISAPPOINTING. MY SIDE HAD EVEN GONE SO FAR AS REFUSE NEGOTIATE, GIVING NO CONSIDERATION WHATSOEVER TO THOSE PROPOSALS. MEANWHILE MY SIDE CONTINUED INTOLERABLE ACTS PROVOCATION TO INCREASE TENSION TAIWAN AREA. SUCH PERFORMANCE IN DRAGGING OUT TALKS ON ONE HAND AND CREATING TENSIONS OTHER WAS NOT EXPRESSION SINCERITY TALKS. IT WAS

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THEIR HOPE I WOULD CHANGE THIS FUTILE, HARMFUL PERFORMANCE AND GET DOWN TO EARNEST NEGOTIATION SO TWO US COULD DISCHARGE MISSION. HE'D BE GLAD HEAR ANY CONSTRUCTIVE VIEWS I MIGHT HAVE PUSH FORWARD OUR TALKS.

3. I REPLIED HE HAD SPOKEN OF SETTLING OUR PROBLEMS HERE. HE HAD SPOKEN OF CONSTRUCTIVE VIEWS OR ATTITUDES ON SETTLING OUR PROBLEMS. THIS EXACTLY POINT I BEEN TRYING MAKE HERE DURING RECENT MONTHS. I TRIED POINT OUT WAY SETTLE PROBLEMS WAS DO SOMETHING ABOUT THEM RATHER THAN JUST ISSUE FORMS OF WORDS WHICH APPEARED DO SOMETHING ABOUT THEM BUT IN FACT DO NOTHING. OUR GOVERNMENTS BOTH AGREED AND TERMS REFERENCE THESE TALKS CLEARLY SET FORTH THAT FIRST PROBLEM WE WERE TO DEAL WITH WAS RETURN CIVILIANS. AS HAD POINTED OUT AT TIME WE ISSUED OUR STATEMENT, STATEMENT ITSELF SOLVED NOTHING-- ONLY ACTION HIS GOVT COULD SOLVE MATTERS INSOFAR AS AMERICANS CONCERNED. HOWEVER HIS GOVT CONTINUED PROCRASTINATE AND STALL IN SETTLEMENT THAT MATTER. IT ENTIRELY IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME UNDERSTAND WHAT IT HOPES GAIN THEREBY.

4. TURNING TO PREPARED STATEMENT I CONTINUED:

A. SINCE LAST MEETING, I RECEIVED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WITH REGARD CONTINUED EFFORT YOUR GOVT PROCRASTINATE IN CARRYING OUT ANNOUNCEMENT SEPT 10 LAST YEAR, AND DISTORT VERY CLEAR MEANING THAT ANNOUNCEMENT. ON NOV 14, YOUR AUTHORITIES IN PEKING REJECTED REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY UK CHARGE IN CASE MCCARTHY, ALLEGING THAT CHARGE'S REPRESENTATIONS EXCEEDED SCOPE HIS FUNCTIONS UNDER AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. YOUR AUTHORITIES EVEN REFUSED PERMIT UK CHARGE INVESTIGATE FACTS IN MCCARTHY'S CASE.

B. FOR OVER YEAR, YOUR AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN STEADILY AND SYSTEMATICALLY DEPRIVING THAT ANNOUNCEMENT OF ITS MEANING, SO NOT SHRED OF ITS ORIGINAL SUBSTANCE LEFT WITH RESPECT AMERICANS.

C. AT TIME THAT ANNOUNCEMENT ISSUED, IT COVERED, SO FAR AS AMERICANS IN CHINA CONCERNED, DEFINITE GROUP 19 PERSONS IN PRISON. OUR ANNOUNCEMENT CONTAINED VERY EXPLICIT PROVISIONS AFFECTING THESE 19 PERSONS. THEIR RIGHT RETURN WAS RECOGNIZED.

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MEASURES WERE TO BE TAKEN BY YOUR AUTHORITIES PERMITTING THEM EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THIS RIGHT. IF ANY OF AMERICANS FELT HIS DEPARTURE BEING PREVENTED, HE COULD COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE. UK CHARGE WAS TO BE ABLE MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF ANY SUCH PERSON. CHARGE WAS ALSO TO BE ENABLED INVESTIGATE FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE.

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Action Assigned to CA/D

31 36

Action

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Control: 124

Rec'd: DECEMBER 1, 1956

4:13 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION 2 OF 9)

Date of Action

Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

1/6

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D. NOW, AFTER MORE THAN YEAR, IT IMPOSSIBLE POINT TO SINGLE PROVISION OUR ANNOUNCEMENT WHICH HAS NOT BEEN SYSTEMATICALLY CYNICALLY VIOLATED BY YOUR AUTHORITIES. EVEN LIMITED ABILITY OF AMERICANS COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE HAS BEEN DEPRIVED OF ANY MEANING BY PROHIBITION ANY MENTION OF FACTS WITH REGARD THEIR CASES. THIS WOULD APPEAR INDICATE EVEN YOUR AUTHORITIES REALIZE FACTS IN THESE CASES COULD NOT JUSTIFY CONTINUED FAILURE RELEASE THESE PERSONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH COMMITMENT ANNOUNCEMENT.

E. WHILE YOUR AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN THUS CONSTRICTING SCOPE OF AGREEMENT, WITH EVENTUAL RESULT ITS SIGNIFICANCE HAS BEEN ALL BUT DESTROYED, MY GOVERNMENT HAS NOT ONLY BEEN FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT EVERY ONE OF ITS PROVISIONS, IT HAS EVEN ENLARGED ITS SCOPE BEYOND WHAT WAS ORIGINALLY AGREED UPON. MY GOVERNMENT OFFERED DEPORT IMMEDIATELY YOUR COUNTRY ANY ALIEN CHINESE PRISONER MY COUNTRY WISHING GO THERE. TO ASSURE YOU OUR GOOD FAITH MY GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED ALLOW REPRESENTATIVES OF THIRD PARTY YOUR CHOICE TO BE PRESENT WHEN PRISONERS STATED THEIR PREFERENCES. YOU REJECTED THIS OFFER, MAKING IT CLEAR YOU PREFERRED MY GOVERNMENT JOIN YOUR AUTHORITIES IN RESTRICTING, RATHER THAN ENLARGING, SCOPE OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT. THIS, MY GOVERNMENT OF COURSE COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT DO. SINCE DECISION HAD BEEN TAKEN TO EXTEND PROVISIONS OF AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT TO SUCH PRISONERS, MY GOVERNMENT ON OWN INTITIATIVE TOOK MEASURES ALLOW THOSE WISHING DO SO EXPEDITIOUSLY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT RETURN. PRISONERS WERE INTERVIEWED INDIVIDUALLY BY REPRESENTATIVES OF AMERICAN RED CROSS IN

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ORDER ENTIRELY IMPARTIALLY DETERMINE THEIR WISHES. IN KEEPING WITH YOUR DESIRES, NO REPRESENTATIVE OF INDIAN EMBASSY, - NOR OF ANY THIRD COUNTRY - WAS PRESENT THESE INTERVIEWS.

F. I CAN NOW INFORM YOU, ON OCTOBER 29, AS RESULT THESE MEASURES, A CHINESE PRISONER DESIRING RETURN YOUR COUNTRY, MR. JAMES LEW, DEPARTED FROM MY COUNTRY. I UNDERSTAND HE ARRIVED HONG KONG NOVEMBER 19, AND HAS NOW PRESUMABLY CROSSED INTO YOUR COUNTRY. I MIGHT MENTION MR. LEW WAS PERMITTED PROCEED YOUR COUNTRY EVEN THOUGH HE HAD SERVED ONLY ABOUT ONE AND ONE HALF YEARS OF 7 TO 20 YEARS SENTENCE FOR MANSLAUGHTER AND WOULD NOT FOR MANY YEARS HAVE EVEN BECOME ELIGIBLE FOR OUR VERY LENIENT PAROLE PROCEDURES OR REDUCTION SENTENCE FOR GOOD BEHAVIOR.

AS FOR BALANCE OF CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY, THEY HAVE FREELY AND FORMALLY INDICATED TO IMPARTIAL REPRESENTATIVE ARC THEY HAVE NO DESIRE RETURN YOUR COUNTRY AND ARE THUS CLEARLY OUTSIDE TERMS REFERENCE OUR TALKS.

G. HAVE GIVEN YOU THIS INFORMATION NOT IN ORDER DEMAND YOUR AUTHORITIES ENLARGE, AS MY GOVERNMENT HAS DONE, SCOPE OF ANNOUNCEMENT. MY GOVERNMENT ASKS NO MORE THAN PLAIN TERMS OF OUR AGREEMENT BE IMPLEMENTED, WITH RESPECT TO VERY AMERICANS ABOUT WHOM YOU AND I WERE TALKING WHEN ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ISSUED. MY GOVERNMENT IS CLEARLY ENTITLED EXPECT 10 REMAINING AMERICANS WILL BE ALLOWED WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY RETURN THEIR COUNTRY.

H. I MENTION THIS MATTER IN SOME DETAIL THIS MORNING BECAUSE THINK IT IMPORTANT WE BE CLEAR AS TO WHICH SIDE REALLY BEEN RESOLVING ISSUES BETWEEN US. I MENTION IT BECAUSE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FULFILLING UNDERSTANDINGS AND COMMITMENTS ALREADY ARRIVED AT AND GREAT IMPORTANCE KNOWING WHETHER PLEDGED WORDS HAVE ANY VALUE. THIS HAD IMPORTANCE WHICH TRANSCENDS EVEN IMPORTANCE OF THESE INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS AND THIS ISSUE. IMPORTANCE RELATES TO WHOLE RANGE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES. BASIS OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL IF THERE IS TO BE POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATING RESOLUTION OF OUR OTHER DISPUTES.

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5. I CONTINUED, PERFORMANCE HIS GOVERNMENT THUS FAR WITH RESPECT FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US HAD NOT ESTABLISHED THAT BASIS CONFIDENCE. I HAD AT EACH MEETING HERE AND CONTINUE TO EXPRESS MY HOPE THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD ESTABLISH THAT BASIS OF CONFIDENCE BY CARRYING OUT THAT AGREEMENT. THIS IS NOT ANYTHING WHICH ANY FORM OF WORDS OR PROPOSAL FROM MY SIDE COULD POSSIBLY RESOLVE. NEITHER COULD ANY FORM WORDS OR PROPOSALS FROM MY SIDE RESOLVE PROBLEM OF DECISION BY HIS AUTHORITIES THAT OUR OTHER DISPUTES BE SOLVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS ONLY. EITHER THESE PROBLEMS COULD BE RESOLVED BY CHANGING LEVEL OF THESE MEETINGS. THEY COULD BE RESOLVED WHEN HIS AUTHORITIES REACHED DECISION TO RESOLVE THEM. WHEN THAT DONE WE COULD HERE GO ON TO DISCUSSION OTHER MATTERS BETWEEEN US. I HAD HOPED, STILL HOPE HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE ACTION ESSENTIAL ENABLE US DO SO. I REGRETED THAT IN HIS STATEMENT THIS MORNING I DID NOT SEE ANY INDICATION THEY HAD TAKEN DECISION DO SO.

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Control: 126
Rec'd: DECEMBER 1, 1956
4:22 AM

1-6 CMDYR

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION 3 OF 9)

Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DO/R

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6. WANG REPLIED AFTER LISTENING STATEMENT I JUST MADE HE EQUALLY REGRETTED NO INDICATION IN STATEMENT ANY CONSTRUCTIVE VIEWS MAKE PROGRESS THESE TALKS. I HAD SPOKEN OF ESTABLISHING MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BETWEEN US AND ALSO SAID SETTLEMENT PROBLEMS COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED BY TAKING ACTION RATHER THAN PUTTING FORWARD EMPTY WORDS. IN COURSE TALKS HIS SIDE REPEATEDLY MADE PROPOSALS WHICH COULD HAVE HELPED US MAKE PROGRESS. YET MY SIDE REFUSED TAKE UNDER CONSIDERATION. HOW COULD WE EXPECT PROGRESS. IF ONLY ONE OF TWO SIDES HAD DESIRE MAKE PROGRESS BY TAKING ACTION IN THESE TAKS IT VERY HARD MAKE ANY PROGRESS. FOR LONG TIME THEY HAD NOT SEEN ANY INDICATION OF INTENT ON PART US TAKE EFFECTIVE STEPS MAKE PROGRESS THESE TALKS. MY SIDE NOT ONLY FAILED OFFER EFFECTIVE STEPS PUSH THESE TALKS FORWARD BUT AT SAME TIME MY SIDE NOT WILLING CONSIDER ACCEPTANCE THEIR PROPOSALS WHICH COULD HAVE ACTUALLY MADE PROGRESS OUR TALKS. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES HOW COULD ONE EXPECT ANY RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS AND HOW COULD MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BE ESTABLISHED THIS MANNER.

7. WANG CONTINUED INSOFAR AS PROBLEM RETURN CIVILIANS IT RATHER HIS SIDE WHICH FELT DISSATISFIED. THEY HAD ALWAYS EXTENDED WELCOME ALL CHINESE NATIONALS RETURNING THEIR COUNTRY. HOWEVER NUMBER PERSONS WHO ACTUALLY RETURNED VERY MUCH AT VARIANCE WITH NUMBER THOSE WHOSE RETURN THEY DESIRED. THESE TALKS NOW IN SIXTEENTH MONTH YET MY SIDE STILL, WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION REFUSED FURNISH LIST ALL CHINESE RESIDING MY COUNTRY. MY SIDE STILL REFUSED GIVE ANY ACCOUNT 52 CHINESE WHOSE NAMES HE HAD GIVEN ME WITH REQUEST ACCOUNTING BE MADE

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NOR GIVEN ANY EXPLANATION OF FAILURE RETURN 26 OF 103 WHO MY SIDE LONG AGO INFORMED HIM DESIRED RETURN AND WHOSE RETURN BEEN OBSTRUCTED. EVEN AFTER CONCLUSION SOLEMN AGREEMENT MY SIDE SEEN FIT PRESSURE CHINESE NATIONALS SECURE TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT OR APPLY FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE US. IN ADDITION MY AUTHORITIES CONTINUE USE ALL SORT IMPOSSIBLE METHODS TRY KEEP THEIR NATIONALS FROM RETURNING HOMELAND. BESIDES SHOCKING CASE HE BROUGHT UP LAST MEETING IS HOW FBI, IN ATTEMPT OBSTRUCT RETURN, FLAGRANTLY INTERFERING FREEDOM CHINESE NATIONALS' CORRESPONDENCE, MY IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES ALSO USED PRESSURE AND THREATS IN VIOLATION AGREEMENT AND ATTEMPT CONVINCE DEPARTING CHINESE PROCEED TAIWAN OR NOT LEAVE US. MOST CHINESE WHO RETURNED RECENTLY HAD HAD SUCH EXPERIENCE, INDICATING SUCH ILLEGAL PRACTICES BEING USED SYSTEMATICALLY. INSTEAD CORRECTING THIS VIOLATION AGREEMENT MY SIDE RESORTING ENTANGLEMENT ISSUE BY MAKING FALSE CHARGES THAT HIS COUNTRY FAILED CARRY OUT AGREEMENT. MY SIDE DARED NOT FACE UP TO FACT HIS GOVT LONG SINCE CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT BY ENABLING ALL AMERICANS DESIRING DO SO RETURN MY COUNTRY. MY SIDE CANNOT DENY HIS SIDE IN ACCORDANCE AGREEMENT TAKES MEASURES ON OWN INITIATIVE AND BEEN HANDLING CASES IN LENIENT SPIRIT EVEN ENABLED GREATER PART AMERICAN PRISONERS RETURN. AT OPENING THESE TALKS THIS GROUP AMERICANS NUMBERED 40, INCLUDING 13 AIRMEN (SIC.). NOW REMAINED ONLY 10 SERVING SENTENCES IN CHINA. NOW MY SIDE GONE SO FAR DEMAND IMMEDIATE RELEASE THESE PERSONS PRIOR EXPIRATION SENTENCES AND BEFORE JUSTICE AUTHORITIES TAKEN MEASURES OWN INITIATIVE COMMUTE SENTENCES. HE COULDNT BUT CONSIDER THIS FLAGRANT CASE INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS HIS COUNTRY. INSOFAR CASE CHARLES MCCARTHY CONCERNED ALREADY MADE COMMENT AT GREAT LENGTH LAST MEETING AND NOT GOING MAKE FURTHER COMMENT TODAY. CONTRARY LENIENT POLICY HIS COUNTRY TOWARD AMERICAN PRISONERS, MY SIDE ILLEGALLY CARRIED OUT SCREENING OF IMPRISONED CHINESE IN ATTEMPT ACCOMPLISH DESIGN RETAINING THESE PERSONS. THEY WOULD NEVER RECOGNIZE THIS ILLEGAL SCREENING PERSONS. THEY FORMALLY DEMAND US CARRY OUT AGREEMENT BY SUPPLYING LIST CHINESE, BY REMOVING OBSTRUCTIONS THEIR DEPARTURE AND BY STOPPING ALL ACTS WHICH VOLATE AGREEMENT. IMPROVEMENT RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND PROGRESS OUR TALKS REQUIRED CONCERTED EFFORT BOTH SIDES. THE DEMAND ONLY ONE SIDE UNILATERALLY TO MAKE PROGRESS WILL NOT HELP IN THE ACTUAL PROGRESS OF OUR TALKS.

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Action FE

Info RMR SS G SP C L

Control 127 Assigned to CAD
Rec'd: DECEMBER 1, 1956
Action Taken 4:55 AM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION IV OF 9)

Action Office Symbol

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

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8. I REPLIED HE HAD SPOKEN OF FALSE CHARGES HERE. WE HAD VERY GOOD METHOD IN OUR ANNOUNCEMENT OF DETERMINING WHO IN FACT MAKING FALSE CHARGES. WE HAD VERY GOOD METHOD DETERMINING WHO IN FACT CARRYING OUT ANNOUNCEMENT. IT METHOD HE HIMSELF SUGGESTED. IT IS THIRD PARTY WHICH HAD SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS IN EACH OUR COUNTRIES UNDER ANNOUNCEMENT. I DID NOT KNOW HOW IT COULD BE BETTER DEMONSTRATED THAT MY GOVT HAD CARRIED OUT AGREEMENT THAN BY FACT IT HAD NOT YET RECEIVED FROM THIRD PARTY SINGLE REPRESENTATION ALLEGING IT HAD INTERFERED WITH DEPARTURE ANY CHINESE FROM MY COUNTRY WHO DESIRED RETURN. THIS SHOULD DEMONSTRATE WHAT I WANTED EMPHASIZE IS FACT; MY COUNTRY HAD NOT SLIGHTEST INTEREST ATTEMPTING KEEP IN MY COUNTRY ANY CHINESE WHO DESIRES RETURN HIS COUNTRY. THAT SHOULD BE, I THOUGHT, SELF-EVIDENT. WE HAD NO NEED FOR OR DESIRE HAVE UNWILLING RESIDENTS OUR COUNTRY. EVERY CHINESE MY COUNTRY WHO DESIRED RETURN CONTINUED FREE BE ABLE DO SO AT TIME HIS CHOICE. THAT THEY CONTINUED DO SO SHOWN BY FACT THAT INSOFAR OUR INFORMATION EXTENDS 250 HAVE DONE SO SINCE BEGINNING OUR TALKS. QUESTION NOT WHETHER NUMBER WHO RETURNED WAS, AS HE PHRASED IT, NUMBER WHOSE RETURN THEY DESIRED; QUESTION WAS WHETHER THOSE WHO WANTED RETURN ABLE DO SO. THIS, IN VIEW HIS REPRESENTATIONS HERE EVEN EXTENDED TO PRISONERS WHO COMMON CRIMINALS. EXTENDED WITHOUT REGARD GRAVITY CRIMES, LENGTH SENTENCES OR ELIGIBILITY FOR LENIENCY. I HAD BEEN MAKING NO DEMAND ON HIM HERE EXCEPT THAT HIS GOVT EQUALLY CARRY OUT COMMITMENT IT UNDERTAKEN. THAT IT HAD NOT DONE SO SHOWN BY FACT THERE 10 AMERICANS WHO UNDENIABLY DESIRE RETURN, NOT YET ABLE DO SO. THAT IT NOT EVEN CARRIED OUT

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SUBSIDIARY PORTIONS AGREEMENT PROVEN BY FACT IT EVEN REFUSED ACCEPT REPRESENTATIONS FROM THIRD PARTY WITH REGARD CASE CLEARLY COMING WITHIN TERMS ANNOUNCEMENT. I HAD REFUSED PERMIT THIRD PARTY EVEN INVESTIGATE FACTS CASE WHEN REQUEST BEEN MADE STRICTLY IN ACCORDANCE TERMS ANNOUNCEMENT. THESE NOT VAGUE, UNSUPPORTED ALLEGATIONS MY PART, THEY UNDENIABLE FACTS. THEY ACTS INVOLVING THIRD PARTY UNDER OUR AGREEMENT. NO AMOUNT RATIONALIZATION COULD DISPOSE OF THESE FACTS.

9. WANG REPLIED HAD ALREADY MADE CLEAR OPINION ON QUESTION CIVILIANS THIS MORNING. NOTHING MORE ADD TO THOSE OBSERVATIONS. ALSO MADE CLEAR REPEATEDLY HIS SPECIFIC REQUEST ON IMPROVEMENT STATUS CHINESE NATIONALS IN US, IMPROVEMENT THEIR ABILITY WITHOUT OBSTRUCTION RETURN THEIR COUNTRY. HE DESIRED SEE THIS SITUATION WOULD IN FACT BE IMPROVED. AS HE HAD REPEATEDLY MADE CLEAR IN THESE TALKS, ANY ADDITIONAL DEMANDS GOING BEYOND SCOPE AGREEMENT, INSOFAR AS AMERICANS IN CHINA CONCERNED, WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED BY HIS SIDE. THEY HAD ALREADY TAKEN MEASURES ENABLE GREATER PART AMERICANS IN CHINA EXERCISE RIGHT RETURN. AS REGARDS REMAINING 10 PRISONERS SERVING SENTENCES HE HAD NEVER SAID CHINA WOULD CEASE APPLYING TO THEM LENIENT POLICY. IF THESE PERSONS SHOW GOOD BEHAVIOR, THEY WOULD CONTINUE, AS THEY HAD REPEATEDLY STATED, TO TAKE LENIENT MEASURES.

10. I REPLIED IT NOT QUESTION GOOD BEHAVIOR, NOT QUESTION LENIENT POLICY AS HE TERMED IT. NOT QUESTION OF GREATER PART OF AMERICANS BEING ABLE RETURN WHO DESIRE DO SO. IT QUESTION OF WHETHER FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US WAS TO BE CARRIED OUT AND ALL OF THEM BE ABLE DO SO. I HAD MADE NO DEMANDS ON HIM BEYOND SCOPE AGREEMENT. MY DEMANDS WERE THAT AGREEMENT BE CARRIED OUT. THUS FAR IT HAD NOT BEEN. HE SPOKE OF LENIENT POLICY. AS I HAD PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT, VERY HARD EVEN A PART AGREEMENT, SEE THAT IS BEING CARRIED OUT. POLICY NOW APPEARED BE THESE PEOPLE REQUIRED SERVE FULL TERM THEIR SENTENCES. CONTRASTED SHARPLY WITH ACTION TAKEN MY AUTHORITIES. AS I POINTED OUT THIS MORNING A CHINESE PRISONER IN MY COUNTRY DESIRING RETURN HIS COUNTRY HAD BEEN PERMITTED DO SO ENTIRELY WITHOUT REGARD NORMAL POLICIES PAROLE AND LENIENCY. PERMITTED DO SO WITHOUT REGARD HIS BEHAVIOR OR ANY TIME OFF GOOD BEHAVIOR. WHEN IMPARTIALLY DETERMINED HE DESIRED RETURN, HE WAS PERMITTED IMMEDIATELY--LET ME SAY EXPEDITIOUSLY--DO SO.

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11. WANG REPLIED HIS GOVT HAD IN PAST AND WOULD IN FUTURE ADOPT LENIENT POLICY TOWARD AMERICAN PRISONERS. IN VIEW CRIMES AND OFFENSES COMMITTED BY THESE INDIVIDUALS IN CHINA, NOT QUESTION OF TAKING COUPLE YEARS OFF THEIR SENTENCES. FACTS ALREADY DEMONSTRATED HOW EXTENSIVE HAD BEEN APPLICATION LENIENT POLICY TO AMERICANS. TO DEMAND HIS GOVT DISREGARD PROVISIONS OF ITS LAW IN DEALING WITH AMERICANS WAS INTERFERENCE WITH SOVEREIGN RIGHTS HIS COUNTRY AND WOULD NEVER ACHIEVE DESIRED END. IF ALL THSE AMERICANS WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES IN CHINA BE ABLE RETURN WITHIN PRESCRIBED TIME THEN, NOT NECESSARY MAKE THAT AGREEMENT. AS MATTER OF FACT MY GOVT ACTUALLY KEPT GREATER NUMBER CHINESE IN OUR PRISONS. THEY HAD REPEATEDLY STATED AND EXPRESSED STRONG OPPOSITION TO SCREENING THESE CHINESE. THERE WAS SIGNIFICANT DISCREPANCY BETWEEN MY STATEMENT THIS MORNING AND AT LAST MEETING. AT LAST MEETING I MADE STATEMENT NOT SINGLE CHINESE INDICATED DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY. THIS MORNING I TOLD HIM ONE THESE CHINESE HAD DESIRED DO SO. THIS CONSPICUOUS CASE SELF-CONTRADICTION. HE REPEATEDLY ADVISED MY GOVT ADOPT MEASURES ON OWN INITIATIVE JUST AS HIS GOVT HAD IN HANDLING CHINESE IN MY COUNTRY. I HAD BEEN MAKING DEMANDS IMMEDIATE RELEASE AMERICANS SERVING SENTENCES HIS COUNTRY. IF HE WERE TO FOLLOW MY LOGIC (HE NOT SPEAKING OF IMMEDIATE RELEASE ALL THOSE IMPRISONED CHINESE) HE'D LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER MY GOVT COULD AGREE ALLOW ALL THESE IMPRISONED CHINESE GET OUT OF PRISON AND BE IN POSITION TO EXPRESS WILL. AS HE HAD REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT IN PAST, IT ESSENTIAL IN HANDLING RETURN CIVILIANS TO ADOPT MEASURES FACILITATE AND ENABLE PERSONS TO IN FACT RETURN. NOTHING IN SERIES ACTIONS TAKEN MY GOVT HAD BEEN IN DIRECTION RESOLVING THIS PROBLEM. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES HOW COULD ONE SPEAK OF FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTING OUR AGREEMENT.

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VMM

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Control: 151
Rec'd: DECEMBER 1, 1956
5:30 AM

Action Assigned to OAE

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION V OF 9)

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

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12. I REPLIED, FIRST WANTED CLEAR UP APPARENT MISUNDERSTANDING. HE QUOTED ME AS SAYING AT LAST MEETING NOT SINGLE CHINESE IN PRISON HAD INDICATED DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY. I DID NOT RECALL MAKING THAT STATEMENT--DID NOT BELIEVE I HAD. WHAT I RECALLED SAYING WAS THAT THERE NOT THEN ANY SINGLE CHINESE IN OUR PRISONS WHO DID DESIRE RETURN, THAT STATEMENT ENTIRELY ACCURATE AND CONSISTENT WITH STATEMENT I HAD MADE THIS MORNING BECAUSE AS HAD STATED THIS MORNING MR. LEW DEPARTED FROM US OCTOBER 29.

13. I CONTINUED FRANKLY NOT ABLE FOLLOW HIS LINE REASONING. ON ONE HAND HE SAID MY ASKING HIM RELEASE ALL AMERICAN PRISONERS AND PERMITTING THEM RETURN IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT WAS INTERFERING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. ON OTHER HAND HE ASKED ME TO RELEASE ALL CHINESE IN PRISONS US AND ONCE RELEASED PERMIT THEM MAKE DECISION AS TO WHETHER DESIRED RETURN. I NOT ASKING HIM RELEASE AMERICANS FROM HIS PRISONS TO REMAIN HIS COUNTRY. I WAS ASKING HIM TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR ALL OF THEM WHO UNDOUBTEDLY WISHED RETURN TO DO SO. I MIGHT POINT OUT EVEN HIS OWN PRACTICE DID NOT CONFORM TO WHAT HE DESIRE I DO. HE HAD INFORMED ME OF AT LEAST EIGHT OR NINE CASES SINCE TALKS BEGAN--SOME AT TIME ISSUANCE AGREEMENT AND SOME SUBSEQUENT THAT--OF AMERICANS WHO BEING DEPORTED FROM HIS COUNTRY. THEY NOT BEING RELEASED AS FREE PERSONS INTO HIS COUNTRY TO DECIDE WHAT THEY WANTED DO, THEY BEING DEPORTED. I HAD NOT OBJECTED THIS PROCEDURE. HIS AUTHORITIES COULD NATURALLY CARRY IT OUT ANY WAY THEY DESIRED. TWO IMPORTANT ELEMENTS ARE SIMPLY WHETHER THEY DESIRE RETURN AND WHETHER ABLE DO SO.

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CONTROL: 151

CORRECTION ISSUED: 12/9/56, 3 AM LR

ACTION FE

INFO RMR SS G SP C L

-2- 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION V OF XI) FROM GENEVA
CORRECTED PAGE 2

Prior Action

Action Office Symbol 1-6

Name of Officer

Direction to DC/R

IN CASES WHERE HIS AUTHORITIES CARRIED OUT DEPORTATIONS THESE ELEMENTS PRESENT. NOT OBJECTING, BUT SIMPLY POINTING OUT INCONSISTENCY WITH WHAT HE NOW SEEMED BE SAYING WITH REGARD CHINESE PRISONERS IN US. ACCEPTING HIS CONTENTION THAT THEY COVERED BY AGREEMENT THESE TWO ELEMENTS AGAIN ARISE. DID THEY DESIRE RETURN AND WERE THEY ABLE DO SO. IN ABSENCE OF HIS CONCURRENCE PROCEDURE WE FIRST SUGGESTED TO DETERMINE THEIR DESIRES, WE HAD ADOPTED MOST INCONTROVERTIBLY UNPREJUDICED METHOD WE COULD FIND. THAT WAS AGENCY OF AMERICAN RED CROSS. THAT AGENCY INTERVIEWED EACH PRISONER TO DETERMINE HIS DESIRE. WHEN THAT DETERMINED, PRISONERS WHO HAD EXPRESSED DESIRE RETURN HIS COUNTRY ENABLED IMMEDIATELY AND PROMPTLY DO SO.

14. WANG REPLIED ON QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS, I HAD SPOKEN OF TWO ELEMENTS: WHETHER PERSONS DESIRED RETURN AND WHETHER ABLE DO SO. PROBLEM WE NOW HANDLING CONCERNED TRANSACTION BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES AND SHOULD THEREFORE FOLLOW USUAL INTERNATIONAL PRACTICE. GREATER PART AMERICANS IN CHINA INCLUDING THOSE IMPRISONED FOR OFFENSES HAD BEEN HANDLED BY HIS GOVT IN ACCORDANCE WITH MEASURES TAKEN HIS GOVT. AS FAR AS CHINESE IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY CONCERNED, THEY HAD REPEATEDLY POINTED OUT FACT IMPRISONED PERSONS NOT IN POSITION INDICATE FREE WILL. THAT WHY HE RAISED QUESTION WITH ME AS TO WHETHER MY AUTHORITIES COULD RELEASE THEM OUT OF PRISON AND WHEN ONCE RELEASED DETERMINE WHETHER DESIRED RETURN MY COUNTRY. IF US NOT IN POSITION DO SO, THEN EASY UNDERSTAND WHY HIS GOVT COULD NOT ACT ACCORDING TO WHAT I HAD DEMANDED HERE.

15. I REPLIED, HAD NOT ASKED HIM TO RELEASE AMERICANS IN PRISON TO REMAIN IN CHINA AND THEN DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT THEY DESIRE GO. AS HAD POINTED OUT IN PAST THAT HAD NOT EVEN BEEN HIS OWN PRACTICE IN MANY THESE CASES. EXCEPT WHERE PERSONS HAD SERVED FULL TERM SENTENCES, AND THEREFORE THERE NO CHOICE BUT RELEASE THEM, THEY APPEARED TO HAVE FOLLOWED PRACTICE DEPORTATION. AS HAD TOLD HIM THAT IS ENTIRELY ACCEPTABLE TO ME AND I DID NOT BELIEVE IT CONTRARY TO TERMS AGREEMENT. IN FACT I ANTICIPATED THAT HE WOULD PROBABLY CARRY OUT HIS OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREEMENT IN THAT MANNER. HOWEVER, THIS ENTIRELY MATTER FOR DECISION BY HIS AUTHORITIES. I HAD NEVER

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ATTEMPTED DICTATE MANNER IN WHICH THEY SHOULD CARRY OUT THEIR OBLIGATIONS. ON ASKED INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION ASSUMED BY HIS AUTHORITIES BE CARRIED OUT.

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Control: 197
Rec'd: DECEMBER 1, 1956
6:27 AM

Action Assigned to
Action Taken
Time
Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer
Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM, (SECTION SIX OF ~~SEVEN~~)

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16. WANG REPLIED WHAT I HAD SPOKEN ABOUT EXACTLY WHAT HIS COUNTRY DOING NOW. AS TO WHAT METHODS AND WAYS EMPLOYED, WHETHER THEY BE DEPORTED OR WHETHER BE GIVEN EARLY RELEASE, ENTIRELY MATTER DECISON BY JUSTICE AUTHORITIES HIS COUNTRY. AS HAD REPEATEDLY STATED HERE, IF PRISONERS CONCERNED SHOWED GOOD BEHAVIOR, IT WOULD CERTAINLY HELP JUSTICE AUTHORITIES TAKE ACTION TO REACH SUCH DECISON.

17. I REPLIED YET HE ASKED JUSTICE AUTHORITIES MY COUNTRY UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASE ALL CHINESE PRISONES MY COUNTRY, THEN LET THEM DECIDE IF THEY DESIRE RETURN.

18. WANG REPLIED THEY HAD NOT MADE SUCH A DEMAND ON MY GOVT. ONLY DEMANDED IT ADOPT MEASURES ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE. WISHED STRESS IMPRISONED CHINESE MY COUNTRY DID NOT HAVE ABILITY ESPRESS WILL WHILE IN PRISON. TO TRY TO STATE BY ANY MEANS THAT ANY CHINESE IN OUR PRISONS RETURN OR NOT COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED TRUE.

18. I ASKED DID HE MEAN A MAN IN PRISON COULD NOT DECIDE WHETHER HE PREFERED TO SERVE SENTENCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH REGULATIONS OF WHICH AWARE, OR DESIRED IMMEDIATLY PROCEED HIS COUNTRY--THAT IS DID HE MEAN A MAN COULD NOT MAKE A DECISION BETWEEN THOSE TWO THINGS.

19. WANG REPLIED AS RESULT YEARS MY GOVT'S OUTRAGEOUS ANTI-CHINA PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AND PERSECUTION CHINESE MY COUNTRY,

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TREMENDOUS PRESSURE AND THREATS EXERTED THESE PERSONS WITH REGARD DESIRE RETURN MOTHERLAND. AS RESULT ALL THIS, (PSYCHOLOGY OF CHINESE PRISONERS NO LONGER NORMAL AND WOULD BELIEVE IF ONLY MENTION DESIRE RETURN MOTHERLAND, SENTENCES MIGHT BE DOUBLED AND IN CASES WHEN PEOPLE COMMITTED MINOR OFFENSE,) MIGHT BE TAKEN AS MAJOR OFFENSES AND HEAVIER SENTENCES GIVEN. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES DIFFICULT EXPRESS WITH AND DIFFUCILT MAKE DICISON.

20. I SAID SEEMD TO ME PRESSURE WOULD ALL BE IN OTHER DIRECTION. CERTAINLY FOR PRISONER WHO HAD LONG SENTENCE AHEAD OF HIM TO BE GIVEN CHOICE BETWEEN SERVING THAT SENTENCE AND BEING GIVEN IMMEDIATE RELASE RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY, PRESSURE WOULD BE ALL FOR SEEKING RELEASE. I WAS CONFIDENT ANY CHINSE IN US PERFECTLY AWARE OF WHAT BEEN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF OUR SYSTEM JUSTICE FROM VERY BEGINNING OUR COUNTRY. FAR FROM BEING WORRIED ABOUT HIS SENTENCE BEING DOUBLED OR INCREAED, HE WOULD KNOW PERFECTLY WELL THAT UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE UNDER OUR SYSTEM. FIRST, IT ALWAYS BEEN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OUR JUSTICE, NO MAN COULD BE TRIED TWICE FOR SAME CRIME. THAT IS IF TRIED AND FOUND INNOCENT HE COULD NOT BD TRIED AGAIN. IF TRIED AND FOUND GUILTY AND SENTENCE IMPOSED HE COULD NOT BE TRIED AGAIN AND ANOTHER SENTENCE IMPOSED. IF TRIED AND FOUND GUILTY AND APPEALED SENTENCE TO HGHER COURT, HIGHER COURT COULD UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES INCREASE SENTENCE. IT COULD EITHER DECREASE SENTENCE OR REAFFIRM SENTENCE--OR DECLARE HIS INNOCENT. THESE ABSOLUTELY FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF OUR SYSTEM JUSTICE WHICH WELL KNOWN ANYONE LIVNG OUR COUNTRY. I THUS SATISFIED NO PRISONERS COULD FOSSIBLY HAVE FEAR HE MENTIONED. IN ANY EVENT I THOUGHT CASE MR. LEW WHO HAS JUST RETURNED HIS COUNTRY AMPLY PROOF THIS. AGAIN ASK HIM BY WHATEVER METHOD HE CHOSE, PERMIT AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY EXPEDITOUSLY BE PERMITTED RETURN MY COUNTRY. IN OTHER WORDS SIMPLY ASK THAT CLEAR WORDS AGREEMENT BE CARRIED OUT.

21. WANG SAID DIDNT WANT ENGAGE DEBATE ON LEGAL PROCEDURE MY COUNTRY. SIMPLY WANTED POINT OUT NO LACK CASES INNOCENT

CHINESE NATIONALS AND CHINESE STUDETS MY COUNTRY WHO SUBJECTED ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT MY GOVT. FOR A PERSON SIMPLY TO DESIRE RETURN OWN COUNTRY HAD EVEN BEEN MADE SORT OF CRIME. EVEN THOSE PERSONS WHO ALREADY EMBARKED ON SHIPS BOUND HOME AND EVEN THOSE ALREADY HONG KONG HAD BEEN SUBJECTED ALL SORTS SYSTEMATIC OBSTRUCTION. SUCH WAS TREATMENT GIVEN BY MY AGENCIES TO PERSONS WHO NOT EVEN COMMITTED OFFENSES MY COUNTRY. WE COULD IMAGINE WHAT STATE OF MIND PERSONS ACTUALLY IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY ARE IN. THAT REASON HE HAD POINTED OUT PERONS IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY NOT ABLE EXPRESS FREE WILL.

GOWEN

JS

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Date of Action 9
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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION 7 OF 9)

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22. I MADE TWO POINTS. NO CHINESE IMPRISONED MY COUNTRY EXCEPT FOR COMMITTING COMMON CRIMES; SURVEY OF ALL CHINESE PRISONERS MY COUNTRY SHOWED THEY THERE FOR ONLY TWO OFFENSES-- ONE WAS MURDER OR MANSLAUGHTER, OTHER NARCOTICS VIOLATION. SECONDLY, IT TRULY REMARKABLE THAT IF ANY SUBSTANCE THEIR ALLEGATIONS OF OBSTRUCTION, AT LEAST ONE CASE NOT CALLED OUR ATTENTION BY VERY AGENCY ESTABLISHED FOR THAT PURPOSE. THIS FACET TAKEN WITH FACT CHINESE HAD STEADILY BEEN RETURNING HIS COUNTRY SHOWED LACK SUBSTANCE SUCH ALLEGATIONS.

23. WANG SAID ALREADY POINTED OUT MANY EXAMPLES HOW CHINESE IN AMERICA WHO DESIRED RETURN BEEN OBSTRUCTED. ON OTHER HAND FACT MANY CHINESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA WHO DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY NOT ABLE DO SO PROVED FACT OBSTRUCTION. HAD EXPRESSED HOPE AND CONTINUED HOPE THIS SITUAION SO FAR AS CHINESE IN AMERICA CONCERNED WOULD BE IMPROVED.

24. I ASKED DID MCCARTHY DESIRE RETURN? ANSWER WAS HE DOES. DID HE FEEL HE BEING OBSTRUCTED? ANSWER WAS HE DOES. HE HAD SAID TO DESIGNATED THIRD PARTY THAT HE DID. HAD THIRD PARTY MADE REPRESENTATION TO HIS COUNTRY ON CASE? ANSWER WAS HE HAD. HAD HIS GOVT REFUSED ACCEPT THOSE REPRESENTATIONS IN ACCORDANCE OBLIGATIONS UNDER AGREEMENT? ANSWER WAS IT HAD. HAD THIRD PARTY ATTEMPTED INVESTIGATE FACTS OF CASE? IT HAD; HIS GOVT REFUSED PERMIT IT DO SO. THERE HAD BEEN MOST EXPLICIT VIOLATION OF EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF LETTER OUR AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT.

25. WANG COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS WAY OF PRESENTING PROBLEM

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HE COULD PUT MATTER THIS WAY. ASKED WHETHER CHARLES MCCARTHY COMMITTED OFFENSES IN CHINA? ANSWER WAS YES. ASKED IF PERSONS WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES SHOULD BE ARRESTED? ANSWER WAS THEY SHOULD. HAD CHARLES MCCARTHY BEEN TRIED? ANSWER WAS YES. HAD HE HIMSELF ADMITTED HIS OFFENSE? YES HE HAD. WHEN WOULD HE BE ABLE GET RELEASE FROM PRISON? THERE WERE TWO ANSWERS-- ONE WAS AS SOON AS SENTENCE EXPIRED HE WOULD BE RELEASED. OTHER WAS IF CHINESE JUSTICE AUTHORITIES CONSIDERED HE HAD SHOWN GOOD BEHAVIOR AND WAS ELIGIBLE TO BE GRANTED EARLIER RELEASE UNDER THEIR LEGAL PROCEDURES--THEN HE WOULD BE GRANTED RELEASE ACCORDINGLY. DID AGREEMENT BETWEEN US STIPULATE CHARLES MCCARTHY WOULD BE RELEASED BEFORE EXPIRATION HIS SENTENCE? NO SUCH STIPULATION IN AGREEMENT. HAD CHINESE GOVT ACTED IN CONFORMITY WITH AGREEMENT IN CASE CHARLES MCCARTHY? ANSWER IS CHINESE GOVT HAS.

26. I ASKED WHAT MEANING DID AGREEMENT HAVE WITH REGARD MR. MCCARTHY? HOW WAS HIS SITUATION ANY DIFFERENT FROM WHAT WAS BEFORE WE REACHED AGREEMENT.

27. WANG SAID DIFFERENCE LAY IN FACT TIME NOT COME IN WHICH HIS CASE MIGHT BE RESOLVED ACCORDING TO THAT AGREEMENT.

28. I JUST COULD NOT FOLLOW. IT SEEMED TO ME HE IN EXACTLY SAME POSITION WAS BEFORE WE REACHED THAT AGREEMENT ACCORDING TO WANG'S STATEMENT.

29. WANG SAID BLAME NOT ON CHINESE GOVT BUT ON PRISONER HIMSELF. BLAME ON PRISONER WHO CAME CHINA TO OPPOSE CHINESE PEOPLE AND GOVT UNDER CLOAK MISSIONARY WORK.

30. I DID NOT GET POINT. AGREEMENT DID NOT SAY IT DID NOT APPLY TO THOSE WHOM CHINESE GOVT ALLEGES CAME TO CHINA TO OPPOSE CHINESE PEOPLE AND GOVT UNDER CLOAK MISSIONARY WORK, AGREEMENT SAID IT WOULD APPLY ALL AMERICANS.

31. WANG SAID ALL AMERICANS TO WHOM AGREEMENT APPLIED AND SHOULD BE ABLE RETURN UNDER THAT AGREEMENT HAD ALREADY RETURNED. AGREEMENT DID NOT PROVIDE ALL PRISONERS BE ABLE RETURN WITHIN PRESCRIBED TIME. AGREEMENT PROVIDED THAT ALL PERSONS WHO DESIRED DO SO SHOULD BE ALLOWED RETURN THEIR COUNTRY;

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HOWEVER, IN MY COUNTRY GREAT NUMBER CHINESE WHO DESIRED DO SO HAD NOT BEEN ABLE RETURN. THEY HAD NOT ONLY BEEN UNABLE RETURN COUNTRY BUT EVEN THEIR CORRESPONDENCE WITH FAMILIES BEEN SUBJECT INTERFERENCE BY FBI MY COUNTRY. THIS INTERFERENCE VIOLATES FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRATIC STATE. THIS VIOLATED FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOM OF PERSONS. THIS EXACTLY VIOLATION AND BREACH OUR AGREEMENT. IT TO BE HOPED MY GOVT WOULD SPEEDILY CORRECT ALL THESE ACTIONS WHICH IN VIOLATION AGREEMENT ALL THESE OBSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITIES.

32. I SAID WANG'S LAST STATEMENT CAME DOWN TO TWO POINTS. ONE THAT AGREEMENT APPLIED ONLY TO THOSE AMERICANS TO WHOM HIS GOVT CHOSE APPLY IT. OTHER POINT SEEMED BE THEY HAD NOT APPLIED IT TO OTHER AMERICANS REMAINING IN THEIR PRISONS BECAUSE OF WHAT THEY ALLEGED TO BE OBSTRUCTION TO CHINESE IN AMERICA DESIRING RETURN. WITH REGARD FIRST POINT, AGREEMENT DID NOT STATE WOULD BE APPLIED TO THOSE TO WHOM HIS GOVERNMENT CHOSE APPLY IT. SAID APPLIED ALL AMERICANS. WITH REGARD SECOND POINT, MECHANISM WHICH WANG HIMSELF SUGGESTED TO DETERMINE WHETHER AGREEMENT CARRIED OUT HAD AS FAR AS THE US CONCERNED NOT OFFERED ANY EVIDENCE OR EVEN ALLEGATION OF OBSTRUCTION. AS FAR AS AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY CONCERNED SAME MECHANISM HAD ALLEGED OBSTRUCTION AND HAD MADE REPRESETATION ON IT WHICH HIS GOVT REFUSED ACCEPT.

GOWEN

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION VIII OF 9)

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33. WANG DID NOT AGREE TO EXPLANATION OFFERED BY ME. THERE WAS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OBSTRUCTION AND LAW BREAKING. WE COULD NOT MAKE ALLEGATION CHINESE GOVT OBSTRUCTED PEOPLE WHO BROKE CHINESE LAW. THIS NOT QUESTION HIS GOVT OFFERING OBSTRUCTIONS TO THOSE AMERICANS BUT QUESTION THOSE AMERICANS BREAKING THEIR LAW. IT THESE AMERICANS WHO TO BLAME FOR BREAKING CHINESE LAW. PEOPLE WHO COMMITTED OFFENSES MUST BE PUNISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH LAW. ON OTHER HAND HE HAD POINTED OUT MANY CASES AND EXAMPLES OBSTRUCTION TO RETURN OF CHINESE IN AMERICA. ABSENCE OF REPRESENTATION TO MY GOVT DID NOT MEAN OBSTRUCTIONS DID NOT EXIST.

34. I SAID SEEMED AWFULLY GOOD PROOF TO ME.

35. WANG REPLIED IF ALL OBSTRUCTIONS HAD BEEN REMOVED THEN THEY COULD SAY THIS PROOF. WAS MY GOVT PREPARED REMOVE REQUIREMENT FOR CHINESE NATIONALS GET TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT. THIS WAS LONG-STANDING QUESTION HE HAD RAISED FOR LONG TIME AND STILL UNRESOLVED. WAS IT ALLEGED THAT MY GOVT NEVER MADE SUCH REQUIREMENT ON CHINESE NATIONALS US.

36. I THOUGHT A LITTLE LATE TO GO OVER ALL THE GROUND I HAD PREVIOUSLY SO CAREFULLY GONE OVER WITH HIM IN REGARD THAT MATTER. I HAD POINTED OUT TO HIM IN ANY EVEN REQUIREMENTS OUR IMMIGRATION LAWS CONCERNING APPLICATIONS BY PEOPLE WHO THERE ON TEMPORARY STATUS TO SHOW THEY ABLE PROCEED ANOTHER DESTINATION AT END THEIR TEMPORARY STAY HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH ABILITY CHINESE IN US WHO DESIRE RETURN TO DO SO. HOWEVER,

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IMPORTANT FACT WAS NO CHINESE IN US HAD ALLEGED THAT IN THIS OR ANY OTHER MANNER MY GOVT HAD OBSTRUCTED HIS DEPARTURE FROM US IF HE DESIRED DO SO THROUGH CHANNEL ESTABLISHED THAT PURPOSE. ON OTHER HAND, AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY, INCLUDING MOST NOTABLY FR. MCCARTHY, HAD ALLEGED THIS. HIS GOVT NOT ONLY REFUSED ACCEPT BUT ALSO REFUSED ACT UPON REPRESENTATIONS MADE THROUGH CHANNELS ESTABLISHED IN AGREEMENT.

37. WANG REPLIED NO MATTER HOW I EXPLAINED THIS MATTER, SO LONG AS REQUIREMENT FOR TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT NOT REMOVED, WE COULD NOT BE REGARDED AS ACTING IN ACCORDANCE AGREEMENT. OTHER HAND NO MATTER HOW I EXPLAINED A WAY THIS MATTER, I COULD NOT CONFUSE QUESTION OBSTRUCTION WITH QUESTION PERSONS WHO COMMITTED CRIMES.

38. I ASKED WHO WERE WE TALKING ABOUT WHEN MADE AGREEMENT? HE PERFECTLY WELL KNEW THEN FR. MCCARTHY IN PRISON. IN FACT HE FORMALLY INFORMED ME OF THAT. NOT SAID THEN AGREEMENT WAS NOT TO APPLY TO FR. MCCARTHY. IN THOSE WEEKS OF DISCUSSION I WASN'T TALKING OF ABSTRACT AMERICANS. BOTH US TALKING ABOUT VERY SPECIFIC AMERICANS--THOSE AMERICANS IN PRISONS.

39. WANG SAID WE DID NOT THEN DISCUSS MATTER IN TERMS OF REGARDING HOLDING OF AMERICAN OFFENDERS AS OBSTRUCTION THEIR RETURN. HAD THEY NOT RESOLUTELY FOUGHT AGAINST AND REFUSED MY DEMAND FOR RELEASE THESE PRISONERS IN DEFINITE TIME? WHEN HAD HE EVER AGREED PERSONS IN THIS CATEGORY WOULD BE RELEASED WITHIN GIVEN TIME? CASE CHARLES MCCARTHY INCLUDED THEREIN. DID HE NOT MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR AT THE TIME CASES THESE PERSONS WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH IN ACCORDANCE WITH SUBSTANCE AND NATURE OFFENSES AND ALSO ALLOWANCES FOR GOOD BEHAVIOR? FACT CHARLES MCCARTHY NOT YET RELEASED, INDICATES NOT YET FULFILLED CONDITIONS FOR EARLIER RELEASE.

40. I ASKED DID WE NOT REJECT AND DID HE NOT AGREE TO ELIMINATION OF ANY DISTINCTION IN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THOSE HE TERMED AS HAVING COMMITTED CRIMES AND THOSE WHO HAD NOT? DID NOT WE SAY IN AGREEMENT ALL WOULD BE PERMITTED RETURN EXPEDITIOUSLY?

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 571, NOVEMBER 30, 5 PM (SECTION NINE OF ~~ELEVEN~~)

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41. WANG SAID THAT WAS EXACTLY WHAT HIS GOVT DOING IN DEALING WITH THESE CASES. IF HIS GOVT NOT ACTED THIS WAY HOW COULD ONE EXPECT GREATER PART AMERICANS THIS CATEGORY ABLE RETURN. HE HAD NOT SAID ALL PERSONS WOULD BE RELEASED AT SAME TIME AND ALL TOGETHER AND DID NOT CONSENT DO SO.

42. I REPLIED WE HAD SAID THEY WOULD ALL BE RELEASED EXPEDITIOUSLY. I DID NOT, MY GOVT DID NOT, AND I DID NOT THINK ANY REASONABLE PERSON WOULD THINK THEY HAD BEEN RELEASED EXPEDITOUSLY. QUESTION NOT IF SOME OR MAJORITY, QUESTION WAS IF ALL RELEASED EXPEDITIOUSLY.

43. WANG REPLIED, TALKING ABOUT EXPEDITIOUS RELEASE, I WOULD RECALL I GIVEN HIM NAMES 103 CHINESE STUDENTS MORE THAN YEAR AGO, WHO DESIRED RETURN. AFTER MORE THAN YEAR 23 STILL NOT YET RETURNED. DID I TERM THIS EXPEDITIOUS RETURN? ANOTHER 52 PERSONS WHO DESIRED RETURN AND CONCERNING WHOM REQUEST HAD BEEN MADE TO MY SIDE FOR INQUIRY; BUT THESE PERSONS HAD NOT RETURNED. COULD ANYONE CONSIDER THIS EXPEDITIOUS RETURN? IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONNOTATION WORD "EXPEDITIOUS" CHINESE GOVT ENABLED MAJORITY AMERICANS TO RETURN--NOT CASE SO FAR CHINESE MY COUNTRY CONCERNED.

44. I SAID HAD NOT GIVEN HIM LIST 103 PERSONS DESIRED RETURN. HAD NEVER SO TERMED IT. HAD GIVEN HIM LIST OF 103 PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN ORDERED DURING LIMITED PERIOD NOT DEPART FROM US. THOSE ORDERS ISSUED WITHOUT REGARD WHETHER THEY DESIRED RETURN OR NOT. I HAD EXPLAINED THAT QUITE CLEARLY AT TIME. EACH THESE PERSONS HAD BEEN FORMALLY OFFICIALLY

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NOTIFIED THAT THESE ORDERS HAD BEEN WITHDRAWN AND THEY WERE ENTIRELY FREE PROCEED WANG'S COUNTRY IF WANTED DO SO. IF THEY HAD NOT DONE SO IT BECAUSE THEY DID NOT DESIRE DO SO. IF THEY DESIRED DO SO AND FELT OBSTRUCTED THEY ENTIRELY FREE CONTACT INDIAN EMBASSY. I BEST MY KNOWLEDGE, NONE HAD ALLEGED ANY OBSTRUCTION.

45. WANG SAID ANY CASE IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES ORDINARY CHINESE SUBJECT TO INTERFERENCE IN HIS COMMUNICATION WITH FAMILY, WIFE AND FRIENDS AND IN SAME WAY UNDER GREAT MENTAL STRAIN IF HE DESIRES COMMUNICATE WITH INDIA EMBASSY. THIS ONE OF QUESTIONS ON WHICH HE HAD MADE REPEATED REPRESENTATIONS AND STILL HOPED MY GOVT WOULD TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO CORRECT IT.

46. I DID NOT SEE THAT A MAN WAS UNDER MUCH MENTAL STRAIN IN DROPPING LETTER IN LETTER BOX OR PICKING UP PHONE TO PHONE INDIAN EMBASSY.

47. WANG HAD NOTHING FURTHER.

48. I SUGGESTED THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13. HE AGREED.

GOWEN

JPT

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72 R ~~NWPM~~ Copy circular

UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

OFFICE OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
3 1956
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OFFICIAL - INFORMAL

November 30, 1956.

Letter No. 50

Dear Walter:

I have just returned from the meeting and dictated my summary telegram. As you can see it was a sterile performance with absolutely nothing new except my ability to introduce Lew's return and their reply to O'Neil. I debated also throwing in their refusal to let O'Neil take the initiative in seeing the other prisoners but decided to stick for today to the more basic points, particularly on the McCarthy case. My occasional stubborn streak came out in the last part of the meeting when I determined I was just not going to let him have the last word and kept it going until he cried uncle. I could hardly keep from smiling toward the end when he got himself wound-up in to the point he was just mixing up his words and at one point even stuttered. It was some emotional satisfaction and I hope might have some slight effect in demonstrating to them how weak their public case on implementation really is. Our release of Lew has immensely strengthened my hand. I also had debated refuting today their allegations on FBI interference with correspondence by counterattacking with their registration of families and "bringing of pressure" by their letter writing campaign. However, as the meeting went I feared this would sidetrack us from the main issue and saved it for possible use next time. I hope that

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

Herman will concur in my little lecture on American jurisprudence.

After learning of Nehru's prospective visit to the States I entirely concurred in your estimate that they would mark time today. However, I am still of the opinion that they consider they have now placed themselves in a position to break at a time of their choosing. I hope I have been able somewhat to shake their confidence on this but am not too sanguine I have done so.

I know that you will inform me of anything of significance to me during Nehru's visit. I would be very surprised if with everything happening elsewhere he would do much carrying of the ball for Peking.

Thanks very much for your letters of November 23 and 26 which were both here when I arrived. I particularly appreciated the most interesting report of Suhrawardy's visit and am returning it to you. Don't you feel it would be a good idea pretty thoroughly to brief such persons on the prisoner issue before they talk with the Chinese, not with the objective of having them take it up, but so that when Chou comes back with his torturous position they would be somewhat forewarned and not lead Chou to feel they are impressed with his position?

I am not sending any comment telegram this time as I really have nothing but the obvious to say.

I presume the Department will be agreeable to arranging the longest Christmas recess that seems feasible. As I have to get Jennifer back to school in Lausanne about January 9, it would be of considerable personal help to me if I could make the subsequent meeting during that week. Ekvall's orders expire December 30. Would you please do the necessary to set the machinery for their renewal in motion.

Wang was with me on the plane from Prague on Wednesday. We had the roughest flying I have had

since

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since I was caught in a typhoon in the Pacific during the war. It looks as if it may be another long cold winter, literally and figuratively.

Regards to all,

Sincerely,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

P.S. If you have the opportunity tell the Secretary we are all delighted he has made such a marvellously quick recovery and is able to be back on the job

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December 7, 1956

SECRET

OFFICIAL INFORMAL

Letter No. 61

Dear Alex:

We are immersed in the preparation of briefing papers for Nehru's impending conversations with the President. We are doing a paper on the Geneva talks, as well as one on China Policy in general. We are also doing one on Chinese Representation Issue in the UN. It is a problem to get everything that needs to be said within the one page that is allowed for each subject. We will send you a copy of each briefing paper as soon as they are multigraphed. Since the Secretary is leaving for Europe and will not be able to brief the President in advance, we understand the President himself may read these briefing papers.

There is increasing evidence that the Chinese Communists are getting ready to release some or all of the 10 American prisoners as a part of the big play Nehru is expected to make for some modification of our China policy. We sent you the text of an AP dispatch out of New York yesterday which quoted Krishna Menon's speech. It is clear that Menon would not have made such a speech without something pretty

The Honorable
U. Alexis Johnson,
American Ambassador now at Geneva,
American Consulate General,
Geneva.

SECRET

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Lot 72 D 415

definite to go on and probably some form of clearance from the Chinese Communists. We also have it from Kuh of the Chicago Sun Times that Indian Ambassador Mehta said the day before yesterday that he expected the prisoners to be released before Nehru's arrival in Washington. Nehru is due here on the 16th.

We are preparing ourselves for the eventuality of release of the prisoners. We expect to have a statement ready, and John Lindbeck's study of the maltreatment of Americans over the entire seven year period is being dusted off, although it might not be used immediately.

If the release of all the prisoners should take place just before your next meeting on the 13th, we would have something of a problem as to how the next meeting should be handled. I should think that after taking note of the action in proper fashion we would concentrate on renunciation of force. We certainly would not want to open up any new subjects, and I don't believe we will be ready to take up the missing servicemen again as early as December 13. However, the Department continues to receive numerous letters from Congressmen and relatives of missing military personnel pressing for further action with regard to them and we will probably want you to bring this matter up again soon, although we are not sanguine that it will produce any results. At least we would go on record as having pressed the Communists as far as we could on specific cases where there is evidence the Communists should have information. There are enclosed additional materials on none Navy

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and two Army cases which may be useful to you. They have just reached us and we have not had time to study them. Defense is making the review of these cases a continuing project, requiring reports on a quarterly basis, so you can expect to receive additional material.

We anticipate that the matter of travel of newsmen to Communist China will come up immediately in acute form, if and when the prisoners are released. We are committed to reexamine the whole question at that time, and I don't imagine we can delay the reexamination very much.

I am enclosing the full text of the speech that Ernie Cross made before the American Assembly at Harriman, New York on November 17. Ernie was not very happy about the points in the speech which the New York Times chose to highlight, and wrote a letter to the Editor of the Times which was published on November 25. He argued that the report was unbalanced and conducive to misunderstanding of his point of view. You will note the reference to the Geneva talks in the speech.

I am also enclosing as of some background interest a copy of a recent letter from Karl Rankin to Joe Grew.

We have had no reply from you to the questions we raised in our letter No. 58 about Helenka's status. Don't you want that question pursued further?

Bill Sebald and I expect to arrange a Geneva meeting today or tomorrow and we count on getting your instructions out by the close of business on Monday.

It seems to me that unless some special reason for an earlier

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meeting develops, we should seek to pass up a meeting during Christmas and New Year weeks, and arrange to have the next meeting on January 10. There will be something on that in your guidance telegram.

Regards and the very best holiday greetings and good wishes to you, Dave, Helenka and Col. Ekval from Bill, Ralph and Doug as well as myself,

Sincerely,

Walter P. McConaughy

Enclosures:

1. Dossiers on 11 Missing Military Personnel
2. Copy of Letter to Joseph Grew dated Nov. 28, 1956.
3. Copy of letter to Mr. Tichenor dated Nov. 21, 1956
4. Article from Wash. Post dated Dec. 4, 1956 by Sokolsky.
5. Speech by Ernest Gross at American Assembly.

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FOR JOHNSON

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Guidance for December 13 meeting.

1. Continue your excellent attack of November 29 on Chinese Communist progressive nullification of terms of Agreed Announcement, drawing again on McCarthy case to illustrate your points.

FYI We are asking British to take up McCarthy case again in Peiping along lines suggested by O'Neill. There were some indications last week that Communists might plan release some or all Americans coincidental with Nehru's visit December 16, but Chou's December 9 press interview Calcutta raises some doubt. In event of release we would expect you to alter presentation accordingly, but maintain emphasis on implementation Agreed Announcement unless all ten released. Supplementary instructions will be sent you if time permits. Contingency statement drafted for possible use here being wired separately. END FYI

2. Maintain previous position on other issues.

3. Propose next meeting January 10 because of holiday season.

Dist. Desired

(Officer Only)

79

Hoover ACTING

(HOOVER)

Drafted by: FE:CA:PNClough/WPMConaughy/ikb 12/10/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances:

L - Mr. Phleger

S/S-CR

DEC 10 1956 P.M.

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1956 DEC 10 PM 7 07

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VERBATIM TEXT

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA PRIORITY 640

FOR JOHNSON

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

Following draft text for release by Department if all ten Americans released:

QUOTE The Department of State is gratified to learn that the ten American citizens so long unjustly imprisoned by the Chinese Communists have finally been released. On September 10, 1955, more than a year ago, the Chinese Communists agreed that these Americans would be permitted expeditiously to return to their homes in the US. Only now have the Communists made good on their agreement. The American people are most appreciative of the good offices extended by the Indian Government and other governments in prevailing upon the Chinese Communists to honor their undertaking.

We hope that this long delayed action foreshadows a willingness on the part of the Chinese Communists to make a meaningful renunciation of force to include the Taiwan area. UNQUOTE

Following to be used in event only part of Americans released:

QUOTE We are glad that at long last these American citizens are again free. We have all been distressed by the sufferings which they and others have unjustly endured under the Chinese Communists. If the Chinese Communists had honored their pledge of September 10, 1955, they should have been free long ago.

Drafted by: FE:CA:[illegible]ough/ikb 12/10/56
FE:FE/[illegible]Lindbeck
Clearances: Phleger

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Walter P. McConaughy

I - Mr. Phleger (cleared in draft)
PL - Mr. Sebald

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The American people are most appreciative of the good offices extended by the Indian Government and other governments in prevailing upon the Chinese Communists to take this step ~~forward in~~ toward carrying out their undertakings.

There still remain (blank) Americans in Communist jails. Despite the Chinese Communists' promise over 15 months ago to take measures to permit all Americans held in China ~~xxx~~ "expeditiously" to exercise their right to return, they continue to hold (blank) Americans as political hostages.

Only full implementation of the Agreed Announcement can resolve the problem of the return of American civilians. Until the Chinese Communists honor their commitment, the United States will continue to press for the release of the remaining Americans UNQUOTE.

Hoover
ACTING
(Wpmcl) HOOVER

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VERBATIM TEXT

05426784

1956 DEC 11 PM 7 09

DC/T

SENT TO: Amconsul GENEVA 643

FOR AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

Following UP report yesterday's date from Washington transmitted for your information. Department has no independent confirmation of quoted statements:

QTE The Indian Embassy has helped some 20 Chinese nationals return to the Communist-held mainland, it was disclosed.

QTE Indian Ambassador G.L. Mehta told reporters that he knew of no Chinese represented by the Embassy who had been barred from leaving the United States by the State Department.

QTE In some instances he said difficulties arose because of the American-born wives or children of the Chinese nationals wanting to leave. But he said a majority of the score or so applicants already have returned to China.

QTE The Chinese Communists and the United States government agreed some time ago that India would represent any Chinese who claimed they wanted to leave this country and could not. The British perform the same function for Americans detained in China, ten of whom still are in jail there.

QTE Mehta talked with reporters after visiting Undersecretary of State Herbert Hoover Jr. to discuss the forthcoming Washington visit of Indian Prime Minister Nehru.

QTE His remarks were made when reporters questioned him about a statement in

Drafted by: FE/P:JWHenderson:lh 12/11/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: William J. Sebald

Clearances: CA - Mr. McConaughy NEA SOA

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DEC 11 1956 P.M.

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in Calcutta by Communist Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. Chou said the next move was up to the United States if it wants to get the rest of its nationals out of Red China. UNQTE.

Hoover, Acting
(WW)

HOOVER

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6:06 AM

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 597, DECEMBER 12, 8 A.M.

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FROM JOHNSON

IT SEEMS TO ME DRAFT PRESS RELEASE DEPTEL 640 UNJUSTIFIABLY TENDS GIVE VIRTUALLY ENTIRE SHARE OF CREDIT FOR RELEASE TO INDIA AND THUS DEPRECATES US GOVT'S EFFORTS AS WELL AS UK ROLE.

ACCORDINGLY SUGGEST TEXT FIRST DRAFT BE REVISED ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

"THE DEPT OF STATE IS GRATIFIED TO LEARN THAT THE TEN AMERICAN CITIZENS SO LONG UNJUSTLY IMPRISONED BY THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS HAVE FINALLY BEEN RELEASED IN BELATED FULFILLMENT OF THEIR COMMITMENT OF SEPT 10 1955 AT GENEVA.

"ONLY NOW AFTER FOURTEEN MONTHS OF REPEATED REPRESENATIONS IN THE AMBASSADORIAL TALKS IN GENEVA, OF EFFORTS BY THE UK REPRESENTATIVE IN PEIPING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPT 10 1955, HAVE THE COMMUNIST CHINESE PERMITTED THESE AMERICANS TO RETURN. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE MOST APPRECIATIVE OF THE INFLUENCE EXERTED BY THE GOVT OF INDIA AND OTHER GOVTS IN PREVAILING UPON THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS TO ABIDE BY THIS AGREEMENT.

"WE HOPE THAT THIS LONG DELAYED ACTION FORESHADOWS A WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS TO MAKE AND TO ABIDE BY A MEANINGFUL RENUNCIATION OF FORCE TO INCLUDE THE TAIWAN AREA AND THUS CONTRIBUTE TO THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE IN THE FAR EAST."

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SUGGEST TEXT SECOND DRAFT BE REVISED ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

"WE ARE GLAD THAT AT LONG LAST THESE AMERICAN CITIZENS ARE FREE. WE HAVE ALL BEEN DISTRESSED BY THE SUFFERINGS WHICH THEY AND OTHERS HAVE UNJUSTLY ENDRED UNDER THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS. IF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS HAD HONORED THEIR PLEDGE OF SEPT 10 1955 THEY, AND THE (BLANK) OTHERS WHO STILL REMAIN IN COMMUNIST JAILS, SHOULD HAVE BEEN FREE LONG AGO.

"ONLY NOW AFTER FOURTEEN MONTHS OF REPEATED REPRESENTATIONS IN THE AMBASSADORIAL TALKS AT GENEVA AND EFFORTS BY THE UK REPRESENTATIVE IN PEIPING, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGREED ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEPT 10 1955, HAVE THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS TAKEN THIS STEP TOWARD CARRYING OUT THAT AGREEMENT.

"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE MOST APPRECIATIVE OF THE INVLUENCE EXERTED [BY THE INDIAN GOVT AND] OTHER GOVTS IN PREVAILING UPON THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS TO PERMIT THESE AMERICANS TO RETURN" LAST TWO PARAGRAPHS AS IN DEPT'S DRAFT.

GOWEN

DT

DEC 12 AM 11 08
BUREAU OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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Drafted by: WPMcC
FE:CA:...McConaughy/ihb 12/12/56

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: WPMcC Walter P. McConaughy

Clearances:

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TO: Secretary of State

NO: 605, DECEMBER 13, NOON

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PRIORITY

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FROM JOHNSON

TWO HOUR FIFTY MINUTE MEETING THIS MORNING ALMOST ENTIRELY ON IMPLEMENTATION EXCEPT FOR REVIEW BY WANG OF FMC, TRADE, AND CULTURAL PROPOSALS WITH EMPHASIS ON LATTER TWO. CITED COLEMAN STATEMENT ON TRADE AND AMERICAN ASSEMBLY STATEMENTS ON TRADE AND CULTURAL RELATIONS AND NEWSMEN IN SUPPORT CONTENTION "AMERICAN PEOPLE" FAVOR ACTION ON THESE SUBJECTS. IF US GENUINELY DESIRES SETTLE PROBLEMS IT SHOULD EXPRESS ITS VIEWS WITH REGARD TO THESE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS ON QUESTIONS WHOSE RESOLUTION WOULD BE EASY AND IN INTEREST BOTH PEOPLES;

IMPLEMENTATION DISCUSSION FOLLOWED FAMILIAR LINES EXCEPT THAT IN REPLY HE RENEWED CHARGES US INTERFERING WITH CORRESPONDENCE CHINESE STUDENTS, I MADE STRONG STATEMENT CHARGING THEM WITH CAMPAIGN BRING PRESSURE ON STUDENTS THROUGH ORGANIZED LETTER-WRITING FROM FAMILIES. HE REITERATED OLD POSITION ON IMPRISONED AMERICANS AND THERE WAS NOT SLIGHTEST INDICATION OF ANY PLANS FOR EARLY RELEASE.

IN REPLY MY SUGGESTION JANUARY 10 NEXT MEETING HE SUGGESTED JANUARY 12 AND OPPOSED JANUARY 17 AND THEN FINALLY AGREED ON SATURDAY, JANUARY 19. RETURNING PRAGUE TOMORROW.

GOWEN

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9:09 p.m.

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FROM: Geneva

BUREAU OF
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 611, December 13, 5 p.m. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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FROM JOHNSON

1. I opened 63rd with prepared statement:

A. At last meeting I again referred manner in which your authorities seem steadily have nullified each of provisions announcement until it has ceased have any substance with respect Americans your country who were and still are being prevented returning their country. I again point out unwillingness your authorities resolve this first simple straightforward question we were called upon deal with, as well as carry out first agreement reached between us, cannot but raise serious doubts concerning intent your government carry out its agreements and resolve other questions.

B. However, instead taking action remove these doubts I regret note since last meeting your authorities seem be continuing their attitude of not only ignoring this agreement but even ignoring fact you and I have been meeting here for past sixteen months with mutual agreement our first order business was return civilians.

C. In July last year on eve beginning our talks your Prime Minister made public statement which was widely interpreted as indicating desire and willingness quickly resolve question Americans detained your country permitting them return. He was quoted to effect that number Americans detained your country was small and speedy resolution problem their return should be possible. I was accordingly willing accept your proposal with regard announcement between us on understanding this would, as stated in announcement, "expeditiously" resolve question as also stated in announcement, "Americans who desired return". However, it has not done so.

D. It seems me we have rather now almost come back in full circle from where we started as far as ten still detained Americans concerned.

E. Have noted recent statements your Prime Minister in which he again saying number Americans is small, is again making statements

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statements about possibilities their release as if we had never entered into agreement September 10 last year. He has also ignored fact my government has not only carried out agreement but even gone beyond its terms meet your point of view. However, it not my purpose here attempt edit or correct public statements your officials. Also, as have often said here, it never been my intention specify your authorities manner or procedures they should take implement their commitment under announcement. That something which only they can decide. However, it been and will remain my intent insist they do implement that agreement and permit those still detained return my country. I do this not only for sake these Americans but also for importance that respect for this agreement has in determining course our future relations.

F. I, therefore, hope this morning you in position make clear statement on intentions your authorities with respect this agreement and ten Americans still being detained.

2. Wang replied greatly regretted my statement this morning did not seem contain any new constructive views. I had made many unjustified charges against Chinese Government on question return civilians which he could not possibly accept. At opening these talks last year Chinese Prime Minister did state number Americans in China small and problem could be resolved easily. During more than year of negotiations here his government exactly been settling problem in accordance spirit that statement made by Premier. As result great majority Americans in China already returned as Premier made clear in statement. If we examined record of handling question return civilians by Chinese and American Governments, facts clearly showed Chinese Government exactly worked in accordance spirit agreement and made many efforts this respect. On other hand, on question return civilians, side which should be reprimanded is entirely US Government instead Chinese Government. Therefore, it is up to US Government make further efforts on this question present moment. I had just observed we seem to have traveled in circle and come back to point when started these talks. But blame not his side. It my side which to blame because it had consistently chosen delaying tactics. Now that year 1956 coming to close he regretted say our talks not been able make any more progress than had year before.

GOWEN

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FROM JOHNSON

3. WANG CONTINUED, QUESTION WHICH SIDE WILLING AND READY RESOLVE ISSUES AND WHICH NOT SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY ACTUAL FACTS. NO EMPTY CHARGES OR WORDS CAN DETERMINE THIS MATTER. AT VERY BEGINNING DISCUSSION ON SECOND ITEM AGENDA HIS SIDE PUT FORWARD PROPOSAL FOR HOLDING SINO-AMERICAN FMC. IT ALWAYS BEEN HIS VIEW SUCH CONFERENCE WOULD PLAY DECISIVE ROLE IN EASING AND SETTLING TENSIONS AND DISPUTES IN TAIWAN AREA. REGRETTED SAY, HOWEVER, MY GOVT UP TO NOW FAILED RESPOND TO OR ACCEPT THIS REASONABLE PROPOSAL.

4. WANG CONTINUED (FROM PREPARED TEXT) IT ALSO HARD UNDERSTAND IF MY SIDE GENUINELY DESIRED SETTLE DISPUTES AND IMPROVE RELATIONS, WHY MY SIDE STILL HAD NOT RESPONDED TO SIMPLE AND REASONABLE PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD BY HIS SIDE AUG 21 THIS YEAR PROPOSING LIFTING EMBARGO. HOWEVER AMERICAN PEOPLE DID NOT SHARE THIS VIEW OF MINE. THEY PROPERLY FEEL LIFTING EMBARGO AND RESTORATION TRADITIONAL TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND US ADVANTAGEOUS TO BOTH SIDES. HE DID NOT PRETEND SPEAK FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE BUT WHAT HAD READ IN AMERICAN PRESS INDICATES AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO DO AWAY WITH OBSTRUCTIONS TO TRADE. MR JOHN COLEMEN, PRESIDENT US CHAMBER COMMERCE AT INTERVIEW IN NOVEMBER EXPRESSED SELF IN FAVOR LIFTING EMBARGO AND RESTORING SINO-AMERICAN TRADE TIES. ALSO NOTED TENTH AMERICAN ASSEMBLY HELD NEW YORK NOT LONG AGO EXPRESSED SAME VIEW. SUCH VIEWS PROPER EXPRESSION DESIRES AMERICAN PEOPLE. AS HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD ME, IN IMPOSING UNREASONABLE EMBARGO AGAINST CHINA MY GOVT DID NOT SUCCEED IN CAUSING CHINA ANY FORMIDABLE DIFFICULTIES. THIS DID NOT HOWEVER ABSOLVE US

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ABSOLVE US OF UNRIGHTEOUSNESS OF EMBARGO POLICY. THEREFORE IT ESSENTIAL EMBARGO MUST BE LIFTED BEFORE MINIMUM BASIS SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS COULD BE ESTABLISHED. THEY FELT SOONER MY GOVT ADOPTED SUCH REASONABLE OUTLOOK, BETTER.

5. WANG CONTINUED, NEITHER HAD MY SIDE RESPONDED TO PROPOSAL FOR PROMOTION HUMAN CONTACTS CULTURAL EXCHANGE MADE BY HIS SIDE SEPT 22. MY SIDE HAD THUS SHOWN LACK WILLINGNESS REACH EVEN LIMITED AGREEMENT SUCH AS THIS. IN TAKING SUCH LINE PREVENTING NORMAL EXCHANGE MY GOVT COULD NOT MAKE SELF POPULAR. ABOVE MENTIONED AMERICAN ASSEMBLY HAD I ALSO RECOMMENDED MY GOVT PERMIT AMERICAN NEWSMEN SCHOLARS VISIT CHINA ALSO ADVOCATED INCREASED INTERFLOW CULTURE AND INFORMATION. SUCH WERE EXACTLY IDEAS COVERED BY HIS SEPT 22 PROPOSAL AND THEY FELT THESE DESIRES AMERICAN PEOPLE REASONABLE AND PROPER.

6. WANG CONTINUED, IF US HAD GENUINE DESIRE RESOLVE PROBLEMS IT SHOULD MAKE PROGRESS IN SECOND ITEM AGENDA. IT MAKE UNFOUNDED FUTILE CHARGES INSTEAD TAKING ACTION IN DISCUSSING THOSE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS WHICH COULD BE EASILY RESOLVED AND WHICH IN INTEREST BOTH OUR PEOPLE--SUCH MANNER CONDUCTING THESE TALKS FUTILE. IF US REALLY WANTED SETTLE PROBLEMS IT SHOULD EXPRESS VIEWS THESE PROPOSALS HIS SIDE. THEY CONTINUED AWAIT RESPONSE MY GOVT THESE PROPOSALS.

7. I REPLIED HE SEEMED TO HAVE MISSED POINT I HAD TRIED MAKE GAIN THIS MORNING ON RELATIONSHIP OF FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US ON CIVILIANS AND OTHER PROPOSALS WHICH HE HAD MADE. HE HAD ALSO SEEMED IGNORE FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIP TO QUESTION RENUNCIATION FORCE AND AGREEMENT SETTLE OUR DIFFERENCES BY PEACEFUL MEANS ONLY. AGAIN WANTED STRESS UNTIL THESE FUNDAMENTAL MATTERS RESOLVED, THESE SUBSIDIARY MATTERS COULD NOT FALL INTO PLACE. I HAD ALL ALONG AND STILL EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS DISCUSS AND DO BEST RESOLVE ANY OTHER SUBSIDIARY MATTERS WHICH PROPERLY COME WITHIN TERMS REFERENCE OUR TALKS, ONCE FUNDAMENTAL MATTER

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-3- 611, DECEMBER 13, 5 P.M. (SECTION TWO OF SEVEN) FROM GENEVA.

FUNDAMENTAL MATTER RESOLVED. COULD NOT BE DENIED IT HAD BEEN CINTINUED UNWILLINGNESS HIS GOVT RESOLVE THESE FUNDAMENTAL MATTERS WHICH HAD CONTINUED FOR ALL THIS TIME PREVENT US FROM GOING ON TO OTHER MATTERS. EVEN BEFORE HE AND I MET HERE OUR GOVTS AGREED FIRST MATTER TO BE SETTLED WAS RETURN CIVILIANS. I HAD MADE IT VERY CLEAR RIGHT FROM BEGINNING THESE TALKS THAT MY INTEREST NOT IN WORDS AND APPEARANCES OF AGREEMENT--MY INTEREST WAS IN RESOLVING THIS QUESTION. MY GOVT DEMONSTRATED ITS GOOD FAITH AND TOOK ACTION TO RESOLVE THIS QUESTION EVEN BEFORE HE AND I MET HERE BY REMOVING ADMITTED RESTRICTIONS WHICH HAD THERETOFORE BEEN PLACED ON DEPARTURE FROM US SOME FEW CHINESE STUDENTS. HE HAD INDICATED TO ME HERE IN 1954 AND HIS GOVT INDICATED THROUGH CONSULAR LEVEL TALKS HERE AS WELL AS THROUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS THAT THIS WAS THEIR PRIMARY INTERST. THUS RATHER THAN PROPOSING FORMULAE FOR PUBLIC STATEMENTS, MY GOVT TOOK CONCRETE ACTION RESOLVE THIS QUESTION IN WHICH HE HAD INDICATED INTEREST.

GOWEN

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 611, DECEMBER 13, 5 PM

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(SECTION THREE OF SEVEN)

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FROM JOHNSON

8. I CONTINUED WHEN HE HAD RAISED QUESTION CONCERNING CHINESE ALIEN CRIMINALS IN AMERICAN PRISONS, MY GOVT ALSO TOOK CONCRETE ACTION RESOLVE THAT. AS HAD PREVIOUSLY INFORMED HIM THERE NOT NOW IN PRISON ANY CHINESE ALIEN WHO DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY. WE TOOK ALL THESE ACTIONS WITHOUT CONDITION, WITHOUT DEMANDING CONCESSIONS, AS OUR EARNEST DESIRE QUICKLY RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM. WE DID THIS FRANKLY IN HOPE HIS GOVT WOULD ON OWN INITIATIVE TAKE CORRESPONDING ACTION TO SOLVE PROBLEM OF AMERICANS IMPRISONED HIS COUNTRY. IT COULD EASILY HAVE DONE SO IF IT HAD DESIRED RESOLVE THIS QUESTION AND THIS WHOLE MATTER WHICH HAD CONTINUED BE IRRITANT IN OUR RELATIONS COULD HAVE BEEN DISPOSED OF IN FIRST FEW DAYS OUR TALKS. HOWEVER, HE HAD INSISTED ON PUBLIC AGREEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT AND THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT WHICH WOULD BE ABLE DETERMINE FACTS. AS HAD POINTED OUT TO HIM AT TIME, THAT AGREEMENT IN SELF SOLVED NOTHING. ONLY IMPLEMENTATION THAT AGREEMENT COULD SOLVE QUESTION. NEVERTHELESS I WILLING ENTER INTO THAT AGREEMENT WITH HIM ON UNDERSTANDING IT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED AND WOULD RESOLVE QUESTION. AS I HAD NOTED THIS MORNING IT HAD NOT DONE SO. HE HAD SPOKEN OF ACTUAL FACTS WITH REGARD IMPLEMENTATION THAT AGREEMENT. IT WAS HIS SUGGESTION WE ESTABLISH THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT SO FACTS COULD BE DETERMINED. I ACCEPTED THAT ARRANGEMENT AND IT WAS THAT ARRANGEMENT WHICH BEST DEMONSTRATED FACTS. I HAD OFTEN CITED FACT HERE THAT IN NO CASE HAD WE RECEIVED ANY NOTIFICATION FROM THIRD PARTY THAT ANY OBSTACLE HAD BEEN PLACED IN WAY ANY CHINESE

MY COUNTRY

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MY COUNTRY WHO DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY. IN REPLY THAT HE HAD AT TIMES INTIMATED HERE THAT CHINESE MAY FEAR COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. AS I HAD POINTED OUT THIS UTTERLY ABSURD. ABSURD THINK PERSON WOULD SEAR PUT LETTER IN MAIL BOX OR PICK UP TELEPHONE TO COMMUNICATE WITH INDIAN EMBASSY IF HE FELT HE BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM LEAVING US. HIS GOVT MUST BE PERFECTLY AWARE THIS FACT AND PERFECTLY AWARE FACTS REGARD COMMUNICATIONS BETWEN CHINESE IN MY COUNTRY AND INDIAN EMBASSY. IN THIS CONNECTION I HAD NOTED PRESS STATEMENT MADE THIS WEEK BY INDIAN AMBASSADOR IN US IN WHICH HE QUOTED AS SAYING EMBASSY HAD ASSISTED SOME TWENTY CHINESE IN RETURNING WANG'S COUNTRY. THIS ESTABLISHED THAT CHINESE ABLE TO AND IN FACT WERE IN COMMUNICATION WITH INDIAN EMBASSY. INDIAN AMBASSADOR HAD GONE ON TO SAY KNEW OF NO CHINESE WHO HAD BEEN BARRED FROM LEAVING US. I REGRETEED UK CHARGE PEIPING NOT ABLE MAKE SIMILAR STATEMENT. REGRETTED THAT FACTS WITH REGARD AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY WOULD NOT JUSTIFY OR SUPPORT SUCH STATEMENT BY UK CHARGE. UK CHARGE WOULD HAVE TO SAY TEN AMERICANS WHO DESIRED RETURN US STILL HELD IN PRISON. HE WOULD HAVE TO SAY WANG'S AUTHORITIES REFUSED ACCEPT REPRESENTATIONS FROM HIM WITH RESPECT THESE AMERICANS EVEN THOUGH THIS CLEARLY SET FORTH IN AGREEMENT. HE WOULD HAVE TO SAY AUTHORITIES PREVENTED HIM EVEN FROM INVESTIGATING FACTS OF CASE AS CLEARLY SET FORTH IN AGREEMENT. I DID NOT KNOW HOW I COULD BETTER ILLUSTRATE OR ESTABLISH WHO HAD BEEN CARRYING OUT THIS AGREEMENT. THESE NOT WHAT HE TERMED UNJUSTIFIED CHARGES OR UNSUPPORTED ALLEGATIONS. THESE WERE ACTUAL FACTS. THESE WERE ACTUAL FACTS ESTABLISHED BY ARRANGEMENT WHICH HE HIMSELF SUGGESTED FOR ESTABLSHING SUCH FACTS. I HAD CITED THESE FACTS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF IMPORTANCE IN THEMSELVES BUT BECAUSE OF RELATIONSHIP OF THEM TO FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION WHETHER AGREEMENTS BETWEEN US WERE TO HAVE SUBSTANCE. IT HAD YET TO BE DEMONSTRATED THAT THIS FIRST AGREEMENT BETWEEN US HAD SUBSTANCE. I HAD YET TO BE DEMONSTRATED WHETHER HIS GOVT WILLING RESOLVE FIRST QUESTION WE CALLED UPON TO DEAL WITH.

WANG REPLIED

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9. WANG RELIED MY STATEMENT ON QUESTION CIVILIANS COULD NOT BE REGARDED AS IN ACCORDANCE FACTS. HE COULD NOT SEE HOW SETTLEMENT OF OUR ISSUES COULD BE FACILITATED BY REPEATING THESE STATEMENTS. AS MATTER FACT EVEN PRIOR OPENING OUR TALKS HERE AMERICAN IN CHINA WHO DESIRED RETURN MY COUNTRY HAD BEEN ABLE TO BECAUSE HIS GOVT NEVER ADOPTED ANY ILLEGAL RESTRICTIVE MEASURES AGAINST THEIR DEPARTURE. AT PRESENT STILL WERE NUMBER OF AMERICANS WHO DESIRED REMAIN HIS COUNTRY. IN FUTURE IF ANY THESE PEOPLE DESIRED RETURN MY COUNTRY HIS SIDE WOULD CONTINUE ENABLE THEM DEPART IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT. IN ADDITION THESE ORDINARY AMEICAN CIVILIANS, I MUST ALSO KNOW NUMBER FORMER AMERICAN PRISONERS FROM KOREAN WAR WHO REFUSED REPATRIATION AND WHO HAD CHOSEN RESIDE CHINA. RECENTLY TWO OF THIS GROUP INDICATED DESIRE RETURN MY COUNTRY. HIS SIDE HAD PROMPTLY ASSISTED THEM DO SO. THIS SHOWED THEY ALWAYS READY ASSIST THOSE WHO DESIRED RETURN MY COUNTRY TO DO SO. IN FUTURE IF ANY THESE FORMER PRSONERS OF WAR SHOULD DESIRE RETURN, HIS SIDE WOULD CONTINUE HELP THEM DEPART. AT TIME THESE TALKS OPENED HERE THERE WERE 40 AMERICANS IN CHINA WHO HAD COMMITTED VARIOUS CRIMES. TO SHOW GOOD WILL, HIS GOVT TAKEN SPECIAL MEASURES OF LENIENCY BY ANNOUNCING RELEASE OF 11 OF THEM ON VERY FIRST DAY OUR TALKS. IN COURSE OUR TALKS, CHINESE GOVT HAD TAKEN FURTHER MEASURES IN GIVING 19 PRISONERS OPPORTUTNIY EXERCISE RIGHT RETURN. ALL THESE 19 PERSONS HAD RETURNED. THEREFORE COULD BE SAID CHINA NOT ONLY ENABLED ALL THOSE AMERICAN NATIONALS WHO DESIRED DO SO LEAVE COUNTRY, BUT ALSO TAKEN FURTHER MEASURES ENABLE GREAT MAJORITY AMERICAN PRISONERS EXERCISE RIGHT RETURN. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES TO CHARGE CHINA FAILURE CARRY OUT OR VIOLATE AGREEMENT WAS DELIBERATE DISTORTION FACTS.

GOWEN

CV

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4:33 P.M.

Date of Action
Action Office Symbol
Name of Officer 1
Direction to DC/R 6

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 611, DECEMBER 13, 5 PM (SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN)

WANG CONTINUED (FROM PREPARED STATEMENT) INSOFAR AS REMAINING TEN AMERICAN PRISONERS CONCERNED, AS HE HAD ALWAYS INDICATED IF THEY DISPLAYED GOOD BEHAVIOR AUTHORITIES WOULD ADOPT LENIENT MEASURES WITHIN FRAMEWORK THEIR LEGAL SYSTEM GIVE THEM EARLY RELEASE. THEIR POLICY WITH REGARD AMEICAN PRISONERS WAS ENTIRELY LEGAL AND LENIENT IN EVERY RESPECT. NO ONE COULD DENY THIS FACT. LET US EXAMINE RECORD MY GOVERNMENT IN HANDLING QUESTION RELEASE CIVILIANS. UP TO NOW MY SIDE HAD REFUSED HAND OVER LIST ALL CHINESE IMPRISONED IN AMERICA. EVEN LIST OF CHINESE PRISONERS IN AMERICA WE HAD PRODUCED NOT COMPLETE ONE. MY AUTHORITES CONTINUED FORCE CHINESE GO TAIWAN. WITH REGARD THIS, HE WANTED POINT OUT MY SIDE NOT YET WITHDRAWN REQUIREMENT TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT WHICH VIOLATED OUR AGREEMENT SEPTEMBER 10 LAST YEAR. THE CONTINUED RECEIVE INFORMATION ON THIS MATTER. IN CASE WHERE CHINESE NATIONALS FORCED TO TAIWAN, MY IMMIGRATION AUTHORITIES PLAYING LEADING ROLE. MY SIDE HAD NOT YET STOPPED INTERFERING WITH CORRESPONDENCE OF CHINESE STUDENTS WITH FAMILIES. MY SIDE MUST STOP ALL THESE EXAMPLES OBSTRUCTION RETURN IN FLAGRANT VIOLATON AGREEMENT. THEY CONTINUED PRESS FOR ACCOUNTING ON GROUP 26 PERSONS AND GROUP 52 PERSONS--EXACTLY WHY THESE PERSONS HAD NOT RETURNED. UNTIL SUCH ACCOUNTING GIVEN, PEOPLE COULD ONLY ASSUME THEIR RETURN OBSTRUCTED. INSOFAR AS CHINESE PRISONERS CONCERNED MY SIDE NOT YET TAKEN MEASURES AS CHINA HAD DONE SO COULD EXERCISE RIGHT RETURN. ON OTHER HAND MY SIDE ACTUALLY ADOPTED ILLEGAL SCREENING METHOD SO THAT THESE PEOPLE LEFT IN SAME SITUATION AS BEFORE.

AT ONE MOMENT MY SIDE HAD ALLEGED NOT SINGLE ONE THESE DESIRED RETURN. AT NEXT MOMENT I SAID A SINGLE ONE DID DESIRE RETURN. AT ONE MOMENT I SAID AGREEMENT NOT COVER THESE PERSONS AT NEXT MOMENT SAID DID COVER THEM. HOW COULD SUCH CONTRADICTORY

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-2- 611, DECEMBER 13, 5 PM (SECTION FOUR OF SEVEN), FROM GENEVA, CORRECTED PAGE 2.

-6

CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS CONVINCE PEOPLE MY SIDE TRYING SETTLE THIS PROBLEM? EVEN SO IN WHOLE COURSE THESE TALKS MY SIDE PERMITTED ONLY SINGLE CHINESE IN PRISON RETURN CHINA. SHARP CONTRAST TO FACT IN SAME INTERVAL HIS SIDE PERMITTED 30 OF 40 AMERICAN PRISONERS, THAT IS TO SAY GREAT MAJORITY RETURN.

11. WANG CONTINUED THERE WERE TENS OF THOUSANDS CHINESE NATIONALS IN US; AT PRESENT ONLY VERY FEW PERMITTED RETURN. STILL MANY WHO DESIRED RETURN BUT COULD NOT AS RESULT ALL SORTS OBSTRUCTIVE MEASURES MY SIDE IN VIOLATION AGREEMENT. THERE WERE EVEN CASES IN WHICH PERSONS FORCIBLY SENT TO TAIWAN AGAINST THEIR WILL. IF MY SIDE REFUSED ANNOUNCE REMOVAL ILLEGAL REQUIREMENT TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT AND IF MY SIDE REFUSED STOP INTERFERING IN CORRESPONDENCE CHINESE NATIONALS IN US WITH FAMILIES, SITUATION COULD REALLY BE REGARDED AS FARCIAL. IT EVIDENT, THEREFORE, ON QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS, UP TO MY SIDE MAKE FURTHER EFFORTS IMPLEMENT AGREEMENT. THIS WAS REQUEST AND ALSO HOPE HIS SIDE.

12. I REPLIED, LET US BE CLEAR THAT WE DECIDED PROPER SUBJECTS OUR DISCUSSION HERE WITH REGARD CIVILIANS WERE THOSE WHO DESIRED RETURN. I HAND SAID IN PAST AND I REPEAT AGAIN AND MY STATEMENTS SUBSTANTIATED BY THIRD PARTY HE HAD DESIGNATED IN US--NO CHINESE NATIONAL IN US WHO DESIRED RETURN WANG'S COUNTRY WAS BEING OBSTRUCTED DOING SO. CHINESE NATIONALS WHO HAD NOT RETURNED HAVE DONE SO ONLY BECAUSE OF OWN FREE CHOICE. HE HAD PERSISTED IN MISUNDERSTANDING AND MISREPRESENTING WHAT HE CALLED QUESTION TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS. FIRST LET ME SAY I DID NOT CONSIDER IT PROPER SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION HERE SINCE IT HAD NO RELATIONSHIP TO THOSE WHO DESIRED RETURN HIS COUNTRY. IT HAD RELATIONSHIP ONLY TO THOSE WHO DESIRED EXTEND TEMPORARY STAY IN US--THAT IS REMAIN IN US. NEVERTHELESS I HAD BEEN WILLING EXPLAIN MATTER HERE. I HAD EXPLAINED IN PAST NOBODY REQUIRED OBTAIN WHAT HE TERMED TAIWAN ENTRY PERMITS. PERSONS DESIRING EXTEND STAY IN US MUST BE ABLE SHOW THEY CAN PROCEED TO ANOTHER DESTINATION AT END OF STAY. THIS IS NOT SOMETHING THAT APPLIED JUST TO CHINESE--IT SOMETHING THAT APPLIED ALL ALIENS IN US. APPLIED EQUALLY TO INDIAN, SWISS OR BRITISH SUBJECT.

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13. I CONTINUED HE HAD ALSO AGAIN SPOKEN OF WHAT HE TERMED INTERFERENCE WITH CORRESPONDENCE. WHAT HE WAS DOING WAS ATTEMPTING PUT BLAME ON MY GOVERNMENT FOR SITUATION WHICH HIS OWN AUTHORITIES CREATED. I HAD REFRAINED PREVIOUSLY FROM TALKING ON THIS MATTER BECAUSE I HOPED HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD REALIZE ABSURDITY SUCH CHARGE. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT IN SPRING THIS YEAR HIS PROVINCIAL AUTHORITIES WERE ENFORCING MASS REGISTRATION OF FAMILIES OF CHINESE STUDYING IN US. SUCH REGISTRATONS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN CANTON BETWEEN MARCH 30 AND APRIL 30, AND IN OTHER CITIES OF THAT PROVINCE BETWEEN APRIL 5 AND MAY 5. SIMILAR MASS REGISTRATIONS ARE KNOWN TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN OTHER AREAS DURING SAME PERIOD. IN SUCCEEDING MONTHS, PURPOSES OF THIS BECAME ALL TOO CLEAR. CHINESE STUDENTS MY COUNTRY BEGAN RECEIVING LETTERS FROM RELATIVES--LETTERS WHICH WERE ON WHOLE QUITE DIFFERENT IN CONTENT FROM THOSE THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN RECEIVING. THESE LETTERS CONTAINED SIMILARITIES OF LANGUAGE AND CONTENT THAT WERE BEYOND PROBABILITIES OF CHANCE; SOME OF THEM HINTED THAT UNLESS STUDENT RETURNED IMMEDIATELY TO MAINLAND HIS FAMILY THERE WOULD SUFFER; STILL OTHERS CONTAINED WARNINGS DISCLOSURE OF CORRESPONDENCE WOULD BRING REPRISAL ON FAMILIES. SOME STUDENTS RECEIVED LETTERS MAILED OTHER THAN FROM MAINLAND TELLING THEM TO DISREGARD EARLIER LETTERS, AS THEY HAD BEEN WRITTEN UNDER PRESSURE. PURPOSE OF THIS PRESSURE WAS ALL TOO CLEAR. HOWEVER, SOME STUDENTS, IN THEIR ANXIETY FOR FATE THEIR FAMILIES, HAD TURNED FOR ADVICE TO VARIOUS CHINESE WELFARE AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION IN MY COUNTRY. SOME BROUGHT THEIR CASES TO ATTENTION AUTHORITES MY COUNTRY. EVENTULLY, AS WAS INEVITABLE, WHOLE MANEUVER CAME TO LIGHT IN PUBLIC PRESS. IT FOUND IT INCREDIBLE ATTEMPT NOW BEING MADE LAY BLAME FOR SITUATION ON AUTHORITIES MY COUNTRY. IF ANY PRESSURE HAD BEEN EXERTED ON CHINESE STUDENTS MY COUNTRY, IT HAD COME FROM HIS COUNTRY. MY GOVERNMENT HAS REAL SYMPATHY FOR BOTH STUDENTS AND FAMILIES. MY GOVERNMENT HAD AND WOULD CONTINUE FOLLOW

HUMANE

HUMANE COURSE OF ALLOWING EACH CHINESE IN US MAKE UP OWN MIND WHETHER REMAIN OR LEAVE. IT HAD NOT BROUGHT PRESSURE BEAR ON STUDENTS, NOR HAD IT ATTEMPTED THROUGH THEM EXERT PRESSURES ON FAMILIES.

GOWEN

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Direction to DC/R

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 611, DECEMBER 13, 5 PM

SEC FIVE OF SEVEN

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14. I CONTINUED, MY GOVT HAD NOT ALLEGED AMERICANS IN HIS COUNTRY WHO DESIRED REMAIN THERE IN FACT DESIRE RETURN. IT HAD NEVER ATTEMPTED BRING PRESSURE ON THESE AMERICANS TO RETURN. I HAD BEEN VERY CAREFUL FROM BEGINNING THESE TALKS NOT BRING SUBJECT THESE AMERICANS INTO TALKS. HAD NOT ATTEMPTED COMPLICATE OUR TALKS BY MAKING FALSE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THESE AMERICANS. HAD DISCUSSED ONLY QUESTION OF AMERICANS WHO UNQUESTIONABLY DID DESIRE RETURN. AT VERY OUTSET THESE TALKS HAD GIVEN HIM LIST THESE AMERICANS, IT THOSE AMERICANS I HAD BEEN TALKING ABOUT. IT THOSE AMERICANS WHO WERE SUBJECT OF AGREEMENT. IT WAS TEN THOSE AMERICANS WHO STILL NOT GIVEN RIGHT RETURN WHICH THEY GRANTED UNDER AGREEMENT. IT WITH REGARD THESE AMERICANS UK CHARGE PEIPING NOT EVEN ABLE CARRY OUT SUBSIDIARY PROVISIONS THAT AGREEMENT. IT THOSE AMEICANS WHO SUBJECT TERMS REFERENCE THESE TALKS. UNTIL ALL, NOT JUST MAJORITY, THOSE AMERICANS HAD RETURNED, FIRST ITEM OUR DISCUSSION HAD NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED. I AGAIN URGED IT-BE RESOLVED BY HIS GOVT PERMITTING THEM RETURN.

15. WANG REPLIED, I HAD STATED OUR AGREEMENT SEPT 10 RELATED TO PERSONS WHO DESIRED RETURN THEIR COUNTRY; THAT WAS RIGHT. ON OTHER HAND, I DEMAND THAT TEN AMERICANS WHO HAD COMMITTED CRIMES AND NOW SERVING OUT TERMS SHOULD IMMEDIATELY BE RELEASED; THAT WAS WRONG IN ERROR. OUR AGREEMENT DID NOT AT ANY PLACE STATE ALL AMERICANS, INCLUDING CRIMINALS, BE

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ABLE RETURN. SUCH DEMANDS WERE ILLEGAL. SUCH INTERPRETATION OF AGREEMENT WAS DISTORTED ONE. ON OTHER HAND, IT WAS RATHER CHINESE NATIONALS IN US WHO DESIRED RETURN AND WHO BEING OBSTRUCTED FROM DOING SO.

16. WANG CONTINUED, VERY SURPRISED LISTEN MY STATEMENT WITH REGARD INVESTIGATION CORRESPONDENCE CHINESE. WELL KNOWN CHINA SENT LARGE NUMBER STUDENTS ABROAD STUDY IN PLACES INCLUDING EUROPE, US, JAPAN. THESE STUDENTS SENT ABROAD EITHER BY GOVT OR THEIR FAMILIES. DID'NT GO THERE STAY BUT RATHER SERVE THEIR MOTHERLAND AT CONCLUSION STUDY. QUESTION WHETHER THESE STUDENTS DESIRE RETURN COUNTRY DOES NOT ARISE IN ANY CIVILIZED COUNTRY. YET THEY HAD SEEN THIS PROBLEM ARISE IN US BECAUSE US TRYING DEAN THESE STUDENTS AND PREVENT THEM RETURN MOTHERLAND. NOT YET SEEN MORE STRIKING INSTANCE IN HISTORY CIVILIZED WORLD. ONLY TOO NATURAL CHINESE GOVT AND FAMILIES EXPRESS CONCERN THESE STUDENTS. NOTHING SECRET AND ENTIRELY OPEN THAT FAMILIES OF CHINESE STUDENTS HAVE GATHERED IN PUBLIC MEETINGS TO PUT FORWARD DEMAND THEIR KIN IN US BE ALLOWED RETURN. HIS DELEGATION HAD RECEIVED LARGE QUANTITIES MAIL FROM FAMILIES CHINEESE STUDENTS IN US REQUESTING ASSISTANCE FOR STUDENT RETURN REJOIN FAMILIES. THIS ONLY TOO NATURAL. IT ENTIRELY MATTER CHINESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS AS TO WHAT ADVICE OFFERED BY CHINESE GOVT TO THESE RELATIVES TO HELP KIN--THESE STUDENTS--RETURN MOTHERLAND. ONLY TOO NATURAL SENTIMENT FOR THESE RELATIVES ADVISE AND APPEAL FOR RETURN THEIR KIN IN US. NOBODY CAN EXPECT THEIR RELATIVES TO ADVISE THEIR KIN REMAIN THERE. INFORMATION IN MY STATEMENTS ENTIRELY PROVED FACT US GOVT INVESTIGATING AND INTERFERING IN CORRESPONDENCE CHINESE STUDENTS WITH FAMILIES. THIS ACT COULD ONLY BE REGARDED AS VIOLATION OF PERSONAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOM CHINESE IN US. WHAT WAS PURPOSE THIS INVESTIGATION CORRESPONDENCE? PURPOSE WAS BRING PRESSURE BEAR ON MINDS CHINESE STUDENTS IN US PREVENT THEIR RETURNING CHINA. THIS INVESTIGATION OF PEOPLE'S CORRESPONDENCE REMINISCENT DAYS KMT RULE IN CHINA. IN THOSE DAYS PEOPLE' CORRESPONDENCE ALSO INVESTIGATED AND WE TERMED THIS ACTIVITY WORK OF SPECIAL AGENTS WHILE IN OTHER DEMOCRATIC

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COUNTRY THIS CALLED POLICE ACTIVITY. THEY VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED TO THIS ACTION OF US GOVT WHICH VIOLATION PERSONAL LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SPIRIT.

17. I REPLIED INFORMATION HAD GIVEN HIM PT-SBFGMENOKR# WHAT HE TERMED INVESTIGATION OF CORRESPONDENCE. IT RESULTED FROM VOLUNTARY ACTS OF PERSONS RECEIVING CORRESPONDENCE CALLNG IT TO ATTENTION OUR AUTHORITIES AND ASKING FOR ADVICE. FROM HIS STATEMENTS SEEMED QUITE CLEAR HE DID AGREE THERE WAS CAMPAIGN TO BRING PRESSURE THROUGH FAMILIES ON THESE CHINESE STUDENTS TO RETURN OR DRF# MIGHT NOT DESIRE RETURN WOULD NATURALLY SHOW SOME CONCERN. WOULD NATURLLY BE ESPECIALLY CONCERNED WHEN, AS SOME INFORMED US, HAD RECEIVED ONE LETTER FROM RELATIVE POSTMARKED FROM WANG'S COUNTRY URGING THEM TO RETURN AND SUBSEQUENTLY RECEIVED ANOTHER LETTER POSTMARKED ELSEWHERE TELLING THEM DISREGARD FIRST ONE. FACT OF MATTER WAS NOT MY GOVT ATTEMPTING BRING ANY PRESSURE ON THESE STUDENTS. THEY WERE MATURE ENOUGH MAKE OWN DECISIONS. FACT OF MATTER WAS ALL EVIDENCE SHOWED NOT SINGLE CHINESE BEEN OBSTRUCTED FROM LEAVING US IF DESIRED LEAVE COUNTRY. EVIDENCE FOR THIS WAS NOT MY UNSUPPORTED STATEMENT. EVIDENCE WAS THIRD PARTY WHICH ESTABLISHED TO DETERMINE JUST THIS VERY FACT. FACT OF MATTER WAS, AS BEST EXEMPLIFIED IN CASE FR. MCCARTHY, THIRD PARTY IN WANG'S COUNTRY NOT EVEN PERMITTED INVESTIGATE FACTS OF CASE WHERE PERSON ALLEGING OBSTRUCTION RETURN. FACTS WITH REGARD PERFORMANCE OUR TWO GOVTS ON AGREEMENT ALL TOO PLAIN.

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FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 611, DECEMBER 13, 5 PM (SECTION SIX OF SEVEN)

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18. WANG REPLIED, I HAD SPOKEN OF CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED BY HIS GOVT TO URGE CHINESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA RETURN MOTHERLAND. FACT WAS RELATIVES THESE STUDENTS HOLD MANY PUBLIC GATHERINGS VOICE DEMAND TO HIS GOVT THAT GOVT SHOULD MAKE REPS MY GOVT FOR RETURN THEIR KIN IN US. IT WAS QUITE PUBLIC MATTER. SUCH CAMPAIGN MADE NECESSARY SIMPLY BECAUSE CHINESE STUDENTS MY COUNTRY PREVENTED FROM RETURNING. IF NOT PREVENTED FROM RETURNING, SUCH CAMPAIGN WOULD HAVE BEEN UNNECESSARY. RELATIVES HAD WRITTEN LETTERS. NO MATTER WHERE MAILED AND NO MATTER BY WHAT MEANS MAILED, PURPOSE OF LETTERS WAS URGE MEMBERS FAMILY RETURN MOTHERLAND. THIS REASONABLE AND EXPRESSION ENTIRELY HUMANE DESIRE. BUT ABSURD, UTTERLY ABSURD, FOR PARENTS URGE MEMBERS FAMILIES REMAIN IN US ALL THEIR LIVES AND DIE IN US.

19. WANG CONTINUED, HE WOULD REMIND ME TERMS REFERENCE THESE TALKS DID NOT COVER ONLY QUESTION RETURN CIVILIANS BUT COVERED WIDE RANGE MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES. HE REFERRED SECOND ITEM AGENDA. IN COURSE THESE TALKS HIS SIDE HAD MADE VARIOUS PROPOSALS DESIGNED RESOLVE OTHER MATTERS AT ISSUE BETWEEN US. HE REGRETTED MY SIDE NOT IN POSITION JOIN IN DICUSSION THESE MATTERS AND BECAUSE OF THIS ATTITUDE MY GOVT, NO PROGRESS MADE IN DISCUSSION SECOND ITEM AGENDA. IT TO BE HOPED MY GOVT WOULD DEVOTE NECESSARY ATTENTION SECOND ITEM AGENDA AND JOIN IN REASONABLE DISCUSSION THOSE ITEMS AND PROPOSALS MADE BY HIS SIDE.

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20. I REPLIED HOPED HIS GOVT WOULD RESOLVE FIRST ITEM AGENDA AND THEREBY SHOW DESIRE RESOLVE ISSUES BETWEEN US.

21. WANG REPLIED HAD ALREADY MADE QUITE CLEAR THEIR OPINION AS TO HOW FIRST ITEM AGENDA TO BE SETTLED. ON THEIR PART ALWAYS ACTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREEMENT. THEIR OPINION WAS PROBLEMS COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED THIS WAY.

22. I ASKED DID THAT MEAN AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY WHO DESIRED RETURN WOULD BE ABLE EXPEDITIOUSLY DO SO. IF SO I WELCOMED STATEMENT.

23. WANG SAID MATTERS COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED IN ACCORDANCE AGREEMENT. IMPOSSIBLE ASK BEYOND SCOPE AGREEMENT.

24. I SAID HAD ASKED FOR NOTHING BEYOND SCOPE AGREEMENT. AGREEMENT SAID AMERICANS WHO DESIRED RETURN WOULD BE ABLE EXPEDITIOUSLY DO SO AND THAT HIS GOVT WOULD TAKE NECESSARY MEASURES THAT REGARD. AGREEMENT SAID ANYBODY WHO FELT OBSTRUCTED FROM RETURNING COULD COMMUNICATE WITH UK CHARGE. AGREEMENT SAID UK CHARGE COULD INVESTIGATE FACTS IN ANY SUCH CASE. AGREEMENT SAID HIS GOVT WOULD ACCEPT REPRESENTATION FROM UK CHARGE. I COULD NOT SEE SINGLE ASPECT OUR AGREEMENT WHICH BEING HONORED WITH REGARD THOSE TEN AMERICANS STILL THERE.

25. WANG SAID WITH RESPECT TEN AMERICAN PRISONERS SERVING PRISON TERMS CHINA, HIS GOVT COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY UNILATERAL DEMAND OF US GOVT BECAUSE SUCH DEMANDS UNREASONABLE AND DID NOT CONFORM WITH AGREEMENT. PEOPLE OTHER THAN TEN AMERICANS SERVING SENTENCES, OTHER AMERICANS IN CHINA INCLUDING FORMER PRISONERS OF WAR WHO REFUSED REPATRIATION WOULD BE ASSISTED BY HIS SIDE WITHOUT ANY CONDITION DEPART FROM HIS COUNTRY IF THEY DESIRED SO. THEY MIGHT ASK HOW MANY AMERICANS FORMERLY IN CHINESE PRISONS ALLOWED RETURN AND HOW MANY CHINESE IN US PRISONS ALLOWED RETURN.

26. I SAID ALL CHINESE IN US INCLUDING THOSE IN PRISON WHO DESIRED RETURN BEEN ABLE DO SO. TEN AMERICANS HIS COUNTRY

WHO DESIRED RETURN NOT BEEN ABLE DO SO.

27. WANG SAID THESE TEN AMERICANS NOT PERMITTED RETURN BECAUSE HAD NOT SERVED OUT TERMS GIVEN THEM FOR THEIR OFFENSES. THIS WAS ACCEPTED PRACTICE EVERY SOVEREIGN GOVT.

28. I SAID IN OTHER WORDS, OUR AGREEMENT HAD NO MEANING WITH RESPECT THESE TEN AMERICANS.

29. WANG SAID AGREEMENT DID NOT STATE ALL AMERICAN PRISONERS SHOULD BE RELEASED WITHIN SPECIFIED TIME.

30. I REPLIED AGREEMENT SAID AMERICANS DESIRING RETURN WOULD BE ABLE EXPEDITIOUSLY DO SO.

31. WANG SAID THAT ONLY ONE ASPECT OF PROBLEM.

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6:18 PM

FROM: GENEVA

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 611, DECEMBER 13, 5 PM (SECTION SEVEN OF SEVEN) 1/6

32. I SAID HOWEVER ONE TERMED IT, IT WAS AGREEMENT BETWEEN US WHICH NOT BEING CARRIED OUT.

33. WANG REJOINED IT WAS US WHICH NOT CARRYING OUT AGREEMENT.

34. I STATED THIRD PARTY ARRANGEMENT SHOWED WHICH SIDE CARRYING IT OUT.

35. WANG COMPLAINED US HAD NOT ASSISTED THIRD PARTY TO PERFORM FUNCTIONS.

36. I POINTED OUT THAT NOT WHAT THIRD PARTY SAID.

37. WANG ASKED SINCE TWO ITEMS ON AGENDA, WHY HAD US NOT PRESENTED VIEWS ON SECOND ITEM.

38. I REPLIED US HAD AT GREAT LENGTH PRESENTED VIEWS ON SECOND ITEM AGENDA AND US HAD ALSO EXPRESSED VIEWS WITH REGARD FIRST ITEM. US EXPECTS AGREEMENT ON FIRST ITEM BE CARRIED OUT AND US EXPECTS FUNDAMENTAL ITEMS UNDER SECOND ITEM BE RESOLVED. IT STILL HOPED--EVEN AFTER THIS PASS OF TIME--THAT HIS GOVT WOULD MAKE DECISIONS RESOLVE THESE MATTERS.

39. WANG STATED NOW UP TO US TAKE SUCH MEASURES RESOLVE QUESTION. REMOVING REQUIREMENT FOR TAIWAN ENTRY PERMIT WOULD DO MORE GOOD THAN TO SIT HERE AND ENGAGE IN LONG EMPTY STATEMENTS. IT WAS AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO DEMANDED LIFTING EMBARGO. WHY HAD MY GOVT NOT TAKEN MEASURES DO SO? IT WAS AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO DEMANDED AMERICAN PRESSMEN BE ALLOWED VISIT CHINA. WHY HAD NOT AMERICAN GOVT TAKEN ACTION PERMIT DO SO? HE HOPED US WOULD TAKE

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WOULD TAKE CONCRETE ACTION WHICH COULD BE SEEN BY EVERYBODY RATHER THAN BY MAKING EMPTY STATEMENTS OR EMPTY PROFESSIONS OF DESIRES.

40. I NOTED FOR 180 YEARS MY GOVT CONSIDERED FULLY QUALIFIED SPEAK FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE. I THOUGHT NO LESS QUALIFIED DO SO TODAY. THIS DID NOT MEAN, HAPPILY, THAT NO DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AMONG AMERICAN PEOPLE. THIS DID NOT MEAN, HAPPILY, THAT PERSONS HAVING DIFFERENT OPINIONS NOT ABLE PUBLICLY EXPRESS THEM.

41. WANG COMMENTED WE HAD NOT COME HERE FOR HISTORY COURSES.

42. I SUGGESTED JANUARY TEN FOR NEXT MEETING IN VIEW CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEARS HOLIDAYS.

43. WANG PROPOSED JANUARY 18 WHICH I FOUND INCONVENIENT AND WE AGREED ON SATURDAY, JANUARY 19.

GOWEN

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Basis 1.5(b)

December 13, 1956.

OFFICIAL
SECRET - INFORMAL

Letter No. 51

Dear Walter:

I am again not sending any comment telegram as there is really nothing new to say and much can happen before the next meeting.

I must confess that the news stories from India certainly make my prediction that Nehru would not talk much about Communist China look entirely wrong. It now looks as if he might do much talking about it, and may be carrying some messages. Therefore, I presume that what happens at the next meeting will to a considerable degree depend on what is or is not said during the Washington visit.

Do you see any significance in Wang's persistence on the January 18 date? I do not have Chou's schedule here and wonder if it could be related to the post-Washington meeting between Chou and Nehru and Chou's return to Peiping.

I pressed for the January 17 date as Swissair is no longer flying to Prague on Saturdays and Sundays and I have to go back by Czech Air on those days for which I have no stomach. (They have had too many crashes with their old Soviet planes and the week preceding my last return by Czech Air, killed a whole plane full taking off from Zurich.) I agreed to Saturday with the thought I could lay-over here Sunday and go back Swissair on Monday ....

Walter P. McConaughy, Esquire,
Director, Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State,
Washington 25, D.C.

SECRET

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I am sorry I failed to reply to you about Helenka. However, as I had talked over with her the suggestion you made regarding leave without pay and as she was agreeable I had dismissed it from my mind as finished business. Nevertheless, I should have said something to you.

I pressume you have by now received my letter about extending Ekvall beyond December 30. (My letters to you seem to take an extraordinary time in transit).

As a side light Wang was with me on the plane coming down Tuesday and while we were in the airport at Zurich I showed him two articles and pictures in the New York Times of Chou's Indian visit. In a little while he came over and gave me the Prague English news bulletin of NCNA giving the account of Chou's Calcutta interview. It was to that I was particularly referring this morning and he knew it as I had it on the table.

I didn't feel as pleased with today's meeting as I had with the last meeting in that I wasn't able to keep it as exclusively on the ten Americans as the last meeting. However, I felt it was time to call him on their tactics with respect to the Chinese students and this inevitably lead us somewhat down that road. However, all in all, I think I was successful in continuing to keep him on the defensive.

I am very glad you accepted my suggestions on the contingency statements in the event of any releases. I just felt we were giving the Indians entirely too much credit.

I did not put too much stock in Menon's statement as indicating knowledge by him of an early release, but would be inclined to give considerable credence to Mehta's remarks if Kuh was correctly quoting him. (Incidentally thanks very much for the press account of Mehta's statement on Chinese in the U.S. As you will have seen I made very good use of it.) I would be most surprised if they released all 10. If they are going to make any gesture I think it much more likely they will at the most let 8 go.

If and when I bring up the missing servicemen again I suggest I should also include some blanket inquiring that would cover not only the 11 Coast Guard and Navy personnel but the recent weather plane incident in the Japan Sea on which I forwarded you a reply to a letter from Mrs. McLaughlin. That is, without individually mentioning all such incidents an inquiry framed in such a way as to attempt to draw from him a disclaimer of knowledge of survivors of any such incidents so that we could assure inquirers we have done our best for them.

Holiday greetings and best wishes for all. May 1957 be more productive than 1955 and 1956.

Sincerely yours,

U. Alexis Johnson
American Ambassador

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December 19,1956

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Dave:

The last batch of data on unaccounted for military personnel was sent to us by Defense in such haste that they failed to get to us the enclosed covering memorandum. I note from the memorandum that there should be data on twelve persons rather than eleven, as Walter stated in his letter of December 7 to Alex. Defense now tells us that in the rush they sent over extra copies of some of the dossiers which they would like you to send back, since one will presumably satisfy your needs. They have also told us that the Navy is declassifying the material on Naval personnel so that it can be used in negotiation.

We would be interested in your comments on the usefulness of this latest batch of material. The Department is under continued pressure to do something about the unaccounted for military personnel and we may want this subject brought up again at the next meeting.

With such long gaps between meetings you must be turning into a regular member of the Consulate General staff which we regret, since FE pays the bill and we could use you to much better advantage here. However, there seems to be no solution to this unsatisfactory situation.

Awana and I send best wishes to you and Helenka for the holiday season and hope to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Ralph N. Clough

David L. Osborn, Esquire,
American Consulate General,
Geneva

Enclosure:
Memo from Defense dated December 6

FE:CA:RNClough:dd

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Lot 72 D 415

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UNITED STATES RESIDENT DELEGATION
AND CONSULATE GENERAL
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

December 26, 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Ralph:

I am returning the extra copies of the missing-personnel dossiers you mentioned in your letter of December 19. As you say, we did get data on twelve persons.

It should be possible to make a pretty good presentation on the basis of the material we now have, if we can have discretion as to the use of material frmm some of the classified dossiers. Although some of the new material is still utterly valueless in our context (e.g., Pvt Worley, Lt. Gleaves, Lt De Lacy, Lt Cochran, Lt Batson, Lt Nelson), I don't think this would necessarily hurt our presentation. We now have a few cases we could cite in some detail to cast doubt on the so-called "accounting" in both the "escaped" and the "no-data" categories (e.g., Pvt Walker, Lt Biesterveld, Capt Moreland - why have we no new data on him? - and several of the Air Force cases). Taking off from this, we could strongly renew the demand that this "practical matter" between the two sides be settled by the simple and feasible action on Peiping's part that we have asked for all along. It has seemed to us here we might also want to work in a blanket demand for information on any other US personnel, whether or not involved in the Korean conflict, of whose fate the Communists might have knowledge. In this connection, it might be useful for us to have whatever unclassified information is available on any US planes that have gone down near China since 1950--plane numbers, crew names, etc.

Probably Wang will not even give us a nibble this time. If he does respond, it will probably be with a counterattack. He can if he chooses attack the failure of the UN side to submit any accounting at all; but this line can be exploited by us against him, as it would at least be an acknowledgment that MAC business can be dealt with here. Wang could, if he chose, make a fairly good counterattack on the 14,000, even though these are not comparable to the unaccounted-for personnel. He could point out that the PRC has let those of the US non-patriots wishing to do so return; he could ask whether the 14,000 have the same right; he could point out that this is a practical matter between our two countries. Of course, he would be wrong, but it might prove uncomfortable having to argue the point. However, this line of counterattack somehow doesn't seem Wang's style — in the present pattern.

I was glad to learn from your card that Joe Bennett is to be joining you. He is an excellent man. As to when I might rejoin you--

Ralph N. Clough, Esquire,
Office of Chinese Affairs,
Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs,
Department of State

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Lot 72 D 415

CONFIDENTIAL

the Ambassador has indicated a sympathetic understanding of my disinclination to stay on here if the talks assume - or retain - the character of an indefinite and sporadic maintenance of contact. We both feel that the next meeting ought to be somewhat more indicative than most in regard to the future of the talks.

I realize, of course, that this doesn't give you in CA much of a firm basis for planning ahead on personnel, which is another reason I'm glad Joe Bennett is coming.

Helenka and the children and I had a good Christmas, and hope all of you in CA did, too. We're taking advantage of the year-end holidays to spend a few days in Italy, which I've never seen.

Happy New Year to all.

Sincerely,

David L. Osborn

Enclosures: Extra dossiers of missing personnel for Defense

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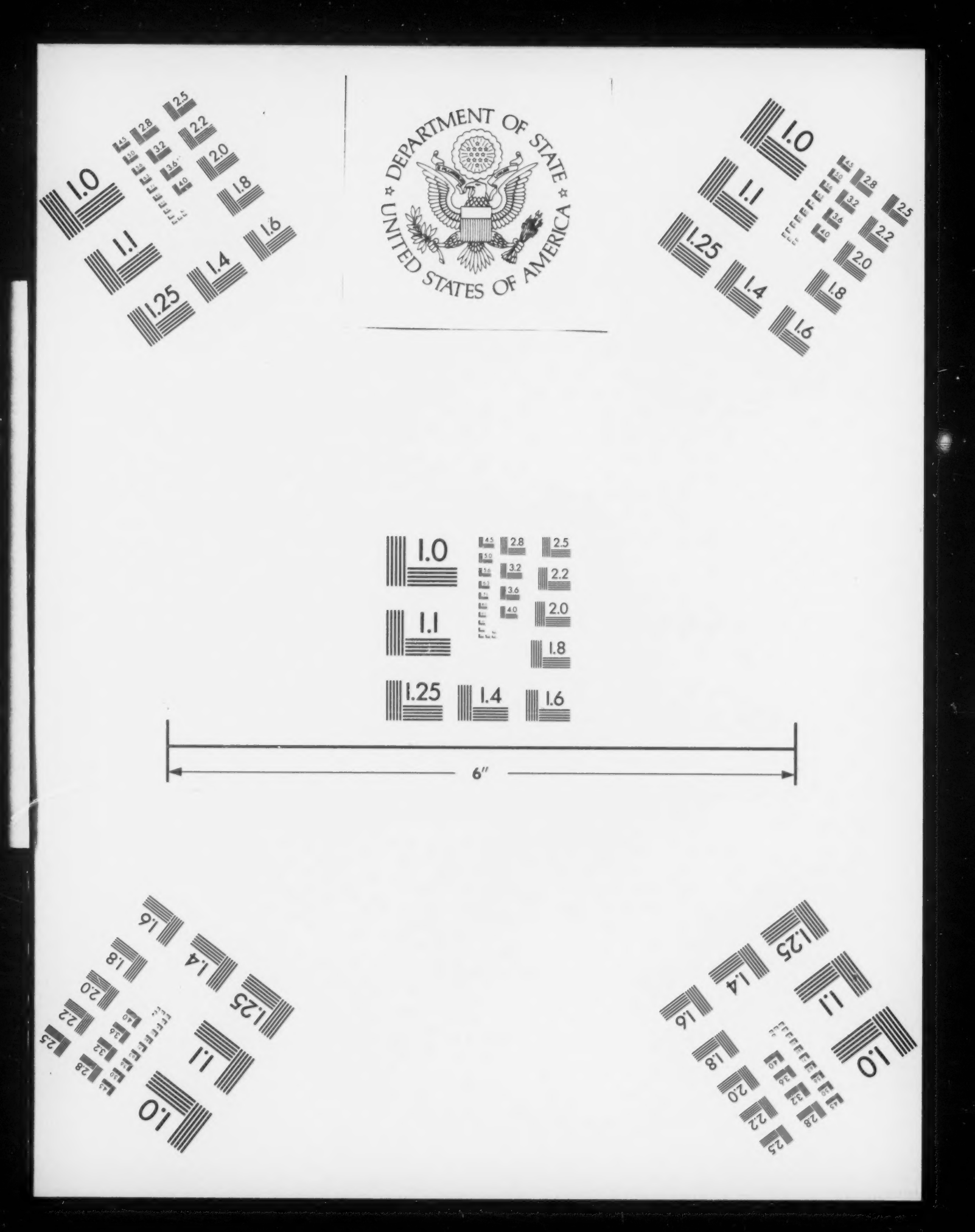
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